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The Authors contain'd in this Volume see over Leaf.

Vol. II.

L O N D O N:

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T H E C O N T E N T S O F T H E Second Volume.

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VOYAGES and *TRAVELS*,
I N T O
B R A S I L,
A N D T H E
E A S T - I N D I E S :

C O N T A I N I N G,

An Exact Description of the *DUTCH BRASIL*,
and divers Parts of the *EAST-INDIES*;

Their P R O V I N C E S, C I T I E S, L I V I N G
C R E A T U R E S, and P R O D U C T S :

The M A N N E R S, C U S T O M S, H A B I T S,
and R E L I G I O N of the I N H A B I T A N T S :

W I T H

A most particular A C C O U N T of all the
remarkable Passages that happened during the
Author's stay of Nine Years in *BRASIL*;

E S P E C I A L L Y,

In Relation to the R E V O L T of the *Portugueses*,
and the Intestine War carried on there from 1640. to 1649.

A S A L S O,

A most Ample Description of the most famous
City of *BATAVIA*, in the *East-Indies*.

By Mr. J O H N N I E U H O F F.

Both Adorned with Copper Plates, done after the Life.

Translated from the D U T C H Original.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER

I*T is about Nineteen Years since my Brother, John Nieuhoff, just before his Second Voyage into the Indies, presented me with his Description of China, and certain Draughts he had made during his Embassy in that Empire, which being afterwards Published, were soon after Translated into Six several Languages.*

My Brother had, before that time, not only been in Brasil, and several other Places in those Parts, but also since that time, has had the Opportunity of Travelling through a great part of Asia, till 1671. when returning into Holland, he brought along with him all his Papers, Observations, and Draughts, he had Collected during his Voyages; which, though much Coveted by all curious Persons, yet, for some Reasons best known to himself, he did not think fit to commit to publick View.

But, after his Decease, considering with my self, that such useful Collections ought not to be Buried in Oblivion, I thought fit to Publish them for the Publick Good.

*As those Things which he relates of the Revolt of the Portugueses in Brasil, are Extracted verbatim out of the Records kept during my Brothers Abode of Nine Years in Brasil, under the Government of the Lords, Henry Hamel, Peter Bas, and
Adrian*

Advertisement to the Reader.

Adrian Bullestrate, and *Authentick Letters*; so the Truth thereof admits not of the least doubt from Unbiass'd Persons.

The vast Countries through which my Brother Travell'd in his Life-time, as Brasil, part of Persia, Malabar, Madura, Coromandel, Amboyna, Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Tagowan, and part of China, besides many Islands, could not in the least Insect him with that Disease, so incident to Travelers, to Relate Fables instead of Histories, it having been his constant Practice, to Adhere most Religiously in all his Treatises, to the Naked Truth, without the least Disguise.

His last Voyage to the Isle of Madagascar, where he was lost, I have taken partly out of his own Letters, partly out of the Journal of Captain Reinard Claeson, which he brought along with him from thence.

As to his Person, I will only add thus much: He was Born at Uffen in the Earldom of Benthem, (where his Father, Brother, and Brother-in-Law, were all Three Bourgermasters) of a good Family, the 22d of July 1618. He was a comely Person, of a good Understanding, good Humour'd, and agreeable in Conversation, a great Admirer of Poesy, Drawing and Musick: As he delighted in Traveling, so he was thereby become Master of divers Languages: In what Station he Lived during his Abode in Brasil, and the East-Indies, will best appear by the Two following Treatises.

HENRY NIEUHOFF.



Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF's

REMARKABLE

Voyages and Travels

TO

BRASIL.

IN the Year 1640. I entred into the Service of the *West-India* Company, and on the 24th of *October*, went in the Quality of Merchant Supercargo, aboard the Ship called the *Roeback*, of 28 Guns and 130 Men, Commanded by *Nicholas Selles* of *Durkendam*. We set Sail out of the *Texell* the same day, in Company of several other Vessels bound for *France*, *Spain* and the *Streights*; And pursued our Voyage the 28th. with a favourable Gale through the Channel betwixt *France* and *England*.

On the 30th. We were overtaken with a most violent Tempest, which obliged us to take in all our great Sails: It continued from Morning to Night, when the fury of the Winds being somewhat allay'd, we found that we had escaped without any considerable damage; but the Sea continued very turbulent all that Night. The next Day following our Sea-Men catch'd a Wood-Snipe, a Wild Pidgeon, and several other small Birds; which were forc'd into the Sea by the Violence of the Storm.

On the 31. We found our selves under the 45th Degree of Northern Latitude, The next Morning being the first of *November*, some of our Sea-Men catch'd a Sea-Hog by the means of a Harpoon; it was so big, that four Men could scarce lift it into the Ship. It's Taste was not very agreeable, but Rankish, which was the reason our Men did not catch any more of them, tho' they Swam in vast Numbers round about our Vessel. By Sun-set the Wind beginning to encrease, we parted from the other Ships, bound for *Spain* and the *Streights*, which were not separated from us in the last Storm, steering our Course South West. The 2d and 3d.

it blew very hard, with Thunder and Lightning, so that we were forc'd to take in all our great Sails, and, the Ship being very Leaky ever since the last Tempest, to ply the Pump with all our might. *Another most violent Tempest.*

The 4th. We found our selves under the 40 Deg. 30 Min. when about Midnight the Wind encreased with so much violence, that the Air which surrounded us, appearing no otherwise than one continual Fire, occasion'd by the Lightning which scarce ever ceas'd all that Night. During this Calamity we perceived certain small Fires or Lights fixt to the Mast: They are called *Peacables Fires* by the Sea-Men. These Fires are suppos'd to be certain Sulphureous Vapours, forc'd by the violence of the Winds from the Shoar into the Sea, where being Lightned by the violent agitation of the Air, they burn till their Oily Substance be consumed. The Sea-Men look upon them as a good Omen, that the Storm is going to abate; which prov'd true in effect, the fury of the Winds beginning to allay from that time; and we had the good Fortune to discover two Leaks near our Forecastle, which else might have prov'd of dangerous Consequence.

The 5th we pass'd the *Barrels*, under the 39th Degree; where according to an ancient Custom, every one, of what Quality or Degree soever, that has not passed there before, is obliged to be Baptized, or redeem himself from it. He that is to be Baptized, has a Rope tyed round his Middle, wherewith he is drawn up to the very top of the Bow-sprit, and from thence three times successively tumbled into the Water. There were some who look'd very blank upon the

They paid the Barrels.

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

Matter, but others went cheerfully about it, and for a Measure of Spanish Wine, suffered themselves to be re-baptized for the Master and the Merchant. But this Custom is abolished of late Years, by special Orders from the Governors of the Company, to avoid Broils and Quarrels, which used often to arise upon this occasion.

The 6th as we were steering our Course S. S. W. with a fresh Gale, we discovered two Vessels, making all the Sail they could towards us, whom we supposing to be *Turkish* Pirates (as indeed they proved afterwards) it was resolved to defend us till the utmost extremity. Accordingly Orders were given to clear every thing upon the Deck, and to furnish the Scamen with Musquets, Hangers, Pikes, and other such like Weapons. Every one having taken his Station, we put up the Bloody Flag, and expected their coming under the sound of our Trumpets. The Master of the Ship, being all that time very ill of some Wounds he had received formerly, which were now broken up afresh, and the Commissary *Francis Zwiers*, not being in a condition, by reason of his great Age, to remain upon Deck, I was fain to undertake the whole management of the Ship, and encouraged them to fight bravely for their Lives and Liberty, ordering them not to Fire at all, till they were in their full reach, they being much better Manned than we.

About Noon we saw the *Turks* make up towards us with Orange-colour'd Flags, which however they soon after changed for the Bloody Flags, and the biggest of them saluted us with two Cannon Shot out of his Forecastle, without doing us the least harm, but the second time almost shot our Foremast in pieces. In the mean while we were come so near to one another, that we sent them a good Broadside into their Ship, which the *Turks* repaid us immediately; but it was not long before we observed the biggest of the two had received a Shot betwixt Wind and Water, which made her keep at some farther distance, till she had repaired her damage, which gave me opportunity to encourage our People with Words, and a good proportion of Wine; which they mix'd with some Gunpowder, and I, to please them, followed their Example.

By this time they returned both to the Charge, and saluted us so fiercely with their Cannon and Small-shot, that they took away the Roof of our

great Cabin, and did us some damage in our Rigging. I then changed my Scimeter for a Musquet, and discharged continually upon the Enemy, and I found my self sore for several Weeks after, by the Hurt I received from a Musquet of one that stood hard by me, which being by a Cannonball forced out of his Hands against my Body, I fell down stretch'd all along upon the Deck, without Sense or Motion: but having after some time recovered my self, I returned to my Post. I then perceived the Captain of the biggest *Turkish* Ship with a Turbant on his Head, in the Stern, encouraging his Men, which made me order those about me, to aim at him with their Small-shot, which, as I suppose, succeeded according to our hopes, it being not long before we lost sight of him. Notwithstanding this, the heat of the Fight increased on both sides, many Broadsides passing betwixt us, accompanied with most dreadful Outcries and Lamentations of the Wounded on both sides. However the *Turks* durst not attempt to Board us; whether it were that they thought us better Mann'd than really we were, or that they feared we would set Fire to the Ship, which we threatened we would, shewing them a Match ready for that purpose. They answered us in Dutch, That they would not part with us upon those Terms; yet was it not long, before we saw them make away from us, having received many Shots thro' their Ships; and we with a brisk Gale, made all the Sail we could to be rid of these unwelcome Guests, steering a quite different Course, which with the advantage of the darkness of the Night, brought us quite out of sight of them by next Morning.

We gave Thanks to God, for his having delivered us from the danger of Slavery, and crowning our Endeavours with success against an Enemy much stronger than us, the biggest of them carrying 24 Guns, and the other two; whereas we had no more than 18, besides that they were much better Mann'd than we. After having taken a view of our Ship, and found it found under Water, we betook our selves to repair the damage we had received during the Fight; but whilst we were busie in this Work, we were on the seventh surprized by so violent a Storm, that we were forced to take in all our Sails. This put us to a great Nonplus, but by good fortune the Storm blew soon over, when Orders were given to give an Allowance of three Pounds

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and Travels to BRASIL.

and a half of Bisket per Week to the Seamen, all our other Bread being become musty by that time. The 10th. we found our selves under the 39th Degree, and 30 Minutes, about 20 Leagues off of the *Canary Islands*; here we discovered the Pike of *Tenariff*, being two Leagues and a half high, and accounted the highest Mountain in the World, it may be discovered at 60 Leagues distance from the Shoar. Thus we continued our Voyage till the 14th, without any memorable Accident, when we passed the Tropic of *Cancer*. About Noon we were overtaken by another Storm, which made us take in most of our great Sails, for fear of the worst, but it lasted not long.

This Tract of the Sea, is called by the *Dutch*, the *Kraut Sea*, by the *Portuguese*, *Mar del Aragua* (or *Largaco*, or *Suargaco*) &c. The Sea of Ducks-meat, because hereabouts, viz. from the 18th to the 30th Degree, or as some will have it, from the 20th to the 22d and 23d Degree of Northern Latitude, it is found in great quantity, and carried along with the Stream: Its Leaves are of a pale green colour, like that of Parrots, small, thin and carved at the end. It bears Berries of the same colour, about the bigness of a Pepper-corn, but are quite hollow, without any Seed within, or taste. It is sometimes so closely twisted together, that it stops a Ship in its full course; tho' we had the good Fortune to pass thro' it without much difficulty; being then about 400 Leagues from the Coast of *Africa*; where are no Islands, nor Anchorage. It may be pickled with Salt and Pepper, and used like as we do Capers, being accounted a good Remedy against the Gravel: It is generally found without Roots, having only a few thin Sprouts, which, as it is supposed, take Root in the Sandy Grounds of the Sea; tho' others are of opinion, that it is carried by the violence of the Stream from the Islands into the Sea.

The 18th. one of our Ships Crew died, who was the next Day thrown overboard, at which time I observed, what indeed I had heard often before, That the dead Carcasses always float with their heads to the East at Sea.

The 22d. we were overtaken by another Tempest, called *Travado*, which with horrible Thunder and Lightning surprizes the Ships so suddenly, that they have scarce leisure to take in their Sails, and sometimes returns three times in an hour. We catch'd here abundance of

Fish, such as *Bonytes* of 10 Foot long, and *Korrets*, and a great Lamprey, which we had enough to do to bring aboard, we only took out the Brains, being used upon as a Sovereign Remedy against the Stone in the Bladder, the Flesh being of an Oily Taste.

The 24th. we saw great Quantities of small Birds about our Vessel, and catch'd one not unlike a Crane, but somewhat smaller, it being a very fair Day.

The 26th. being under the fifth Degree, 47 Minutes, we were so becalmed that we could not perceive the Ship to move, and spent our time in catching of Fish, of which we had such Plenty, that we chose only the best for our eating; among the rest we met with a Fish called the *King's-Fish*: For by reason of the impenetrable Depth of the Sea in this place, the Waters are so clear and transparent in still Weather, that you may see the Fish in vast Numbers swimming near two Feet deep; so that you need but fasten a crooked Nail or any thing else like a Hook to a String, and hanging it in the Sea, you may catch as many Fish as you please. This Calm was followed by a most violent Storm of Rain.

The 30th we found our selves under the fourth Degree, 41 Minutes, where we saw abundance of *Flying Fish*.

The 3d of *December* we came under the first Degree, 30 Minutes, where we met with Millions of Fish, and did catch as many as we thought fit: Some we put in Salt, others we rubbed in the Belly with Pepper and Salt, and hung them up by the Tail in the Sun.

The 4th by Break of Day, being very clear Weather, we saw the Island of *St. Paulo*, as it is called by the *Portuguese*, which at a distance represents a Sail, which as you approach nearer to it, proves five high Rocks. About Noon we found our selves at 53 Minutes of Northern Latitude, taking our Course five Leagues to the West. Here at several times we catch'd some Sea-Gulls; those Birds make a shew as if they would bite you, but remain unmoveable in the place, till they are caught or kill'd.

The 5th about 11 a Clock we passed the Equinoctial Line, so that in the Afternoon we found our selves at five Minutes Southern Latitude, where we had but little reason to complain of cold; it being often so calm here, that Ships are forced to spend a considerable time in passing this Tract. It is extremely hot here, and great scarcity of good and sweet Water, the Rain Water being not

They eat abundance of Fish.

It is called S. P.

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wholesome, but causing the Scurvy, by reason of its being corrupted by the violent heat of the Sun.

About three Years after my Arrival in *Brasil*, a certain *Portuguese* Ship was found a-drift under the Equinoctial Line, without any living Creature in it, which according to the Journal, had been six whole Weeks under the Line. We had a very good Passage, and catch'd abundance of Fish, and among the rest a certain Fish called the *Blower*, which swallow a considerable quantity of Water in their Guts, and then at once spout it forth again. They will follow the Ships for a long time.

The 8th we pass'd by the Isle, called *Illa Ferdinando* of *Neronha*, it being very Serene Weather, we saw vast numbers of Birds, and whole Shoals of Flying Fish, which were followed by the *Bonites* and *Korsets*.

The Island of *Ferdinando* of *Neronha*, situate under the fourth Degree of Southern Latitude, about 50 Leagues from the Coast of *Brasil*, was about the Year 1630. inhabited by the *Dutch*, but by reason of the vast numbers of Rats which consumed all the Fruits of the Earth, deserted by them a few Years after; it being otherwise a very fruitful Island, and abounding with Fish, the Inhabitants of *Recief*, being us'd to send their Fish-boats thither, which return commonly well freighted with Fish. The Council of *Brasil* did afterwards send a certain number of Negroes thither, under the Conduct of one *Gellis Pepant*, to cultivate the Grounds for their Subsistence, who likewise stay'd there for some time. About a Year and a half after the Council of Justice banish'd several Malefactors into that Island, who being furnish'd with necessary Instruments for cultivating the Ground, were forced to seek for their Subsistence there.

The 11th at Night we found our selves under the seventh Degree, over against the Province of *Goyana*, about 20 Leagues on this side of *Olinda*, with Break of Day we saw the Shoar of *Brasil*, but kept out at Sea till it was broad Day.

The 12th. it was very foggy, and we kept our Course with fair Wind and Water all along the Coast, and arrived before Noon safely near the *Recief*, where we cast our Anchor at several Fathoms depth, after we had spent seven Weeks and one Day in the Voyage.

After we had return'd our Thanks to God for his Deliverance from the Dangers of the Sea, and Slavery of the *Turks*,

I went ashore the same Night with the Master and Commissary in a Boat, to notify our happy Arrival, and to deliver a Letter to Count *Maurice*, and the Governor of the Council. I continued ashore that Night, but return'd aboard the next Day. And

The 15th the Pilots conducted our Vessel into the Harbour of the *Recief*, where we found 28 Vessels and two Yachts lying behind the *Water Castel*.

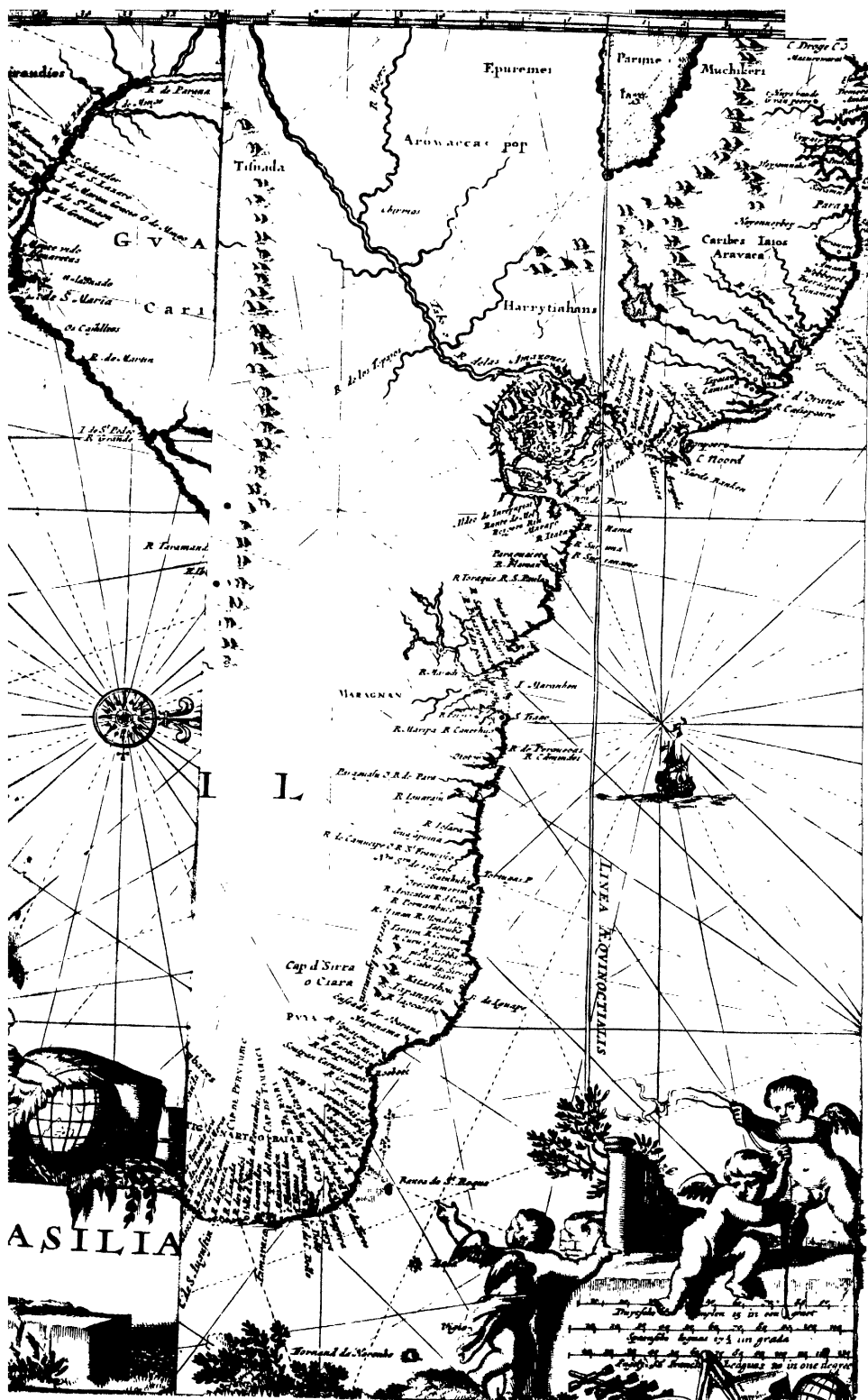
Towards the latter end of *Aug.* 1643. I received Orders from the Council to sail with the Yacht called the *Sea-Hog*, loaden with Fullers-Earth to the Isle of *St. Thomas*, to exchange it for Black Sugar, this being the chief Commodity transported from thence. My Voyage proved fortunate enough, not meeting with any sinister accident, except with a violent Storm of Thunder, Lightning and Rains, and came the 9th of *September* at an Anchor there; the Cargo did bear no good Price, yet after a stay of 14 Days, I return'd with a Cargo of Black Sugar to *Brasil*, where I arriv'd the third of *October* before the *Recief*, after a Voyage of near three Months.

The Isle of *St. Thomas* is of a circular Figure, about 36 Leagues in compass; the high Mountains in the midst of that Island are always covered with Snow, notwithstanding that in the Low Grounds, by reason of its situation under the Line, it is excessive hot. It is very fertile in Black Sugar and Ginger; the Sugar-fields being continually moistned by the melted Snow that falls down from the Mountains. There were at that time above 60 Sugar-Mills there, but the Air is the most unwholsome in the World, no Foreigner daring to stay as much as one Night ashore, without running the hazard of his Life; because by the heat of the Sun-beams such venomous Vapours are drawn from the Earth, as are unsupportable to Strangers. This Fog continues till about ten a Clock in the Morning, when the same is dispersed, and the Air cleared, which made us always stay a Board till after that time. This Mist is not observ'd at Sea.

The Air here is very hot and moist throughout the Year, except in the Summer about *June*, when the South-East and South-West Winds abate much of the heat of the Climate. The Vapours drawn up by the Sun, occasion certain epidemical intermittent Fevers, which carry off the Patient in a few days, with excessive Pains in the Head, and violent Torments in the Bowels,

1643

The Island of St. Thomas



tho' some attribute it to the immoderate Use of Women, and of the Juice of *Coco's*. Certain it is, that among 1000 Foreigners, scarce 10 escape with Life, and those seldom live till 50 years of Age; tho' some of the Inhabitants, as likewise the Negro's (who are all lousie here) live to a great Age. Its first Inhabitants were *Jews*, banish'd out of *Portugal*; they are of a very odd Complexion. Among the Mountains dwell abundance of Negro's, who are run away from the *Portugueses*, and make sometimes Excursions to the very Gates of the City of *Pavaosa*. It is almost next to a Miracle, that any People should inhabit so unwholsom a Climate; but that the hopes of Lucre makes all Danger easie.

The City of *Pavaosa*, belonging to this Island, is situate upon a *Bay*; it contains about 800 Houses, and 3 Churches. This City, as well as the whole Island, was 1641. Octob. 16. conquered by the Admiral *Comandante Toi*, after a Siege of 40 Days, without any considerable Loss; But both he and his Lieutenant, as well as several other Commanders and many Seamen were swept away by this Pestilential Air; and of 300 *Brasilians* not above 60 escaped with Life.

But, before I proceed to give you an Account of all the Remarkable Passages, that happened in *Brasil*, since the Revolt of the *Portugueses*, and during my stay of Eight Years there; it will not be amiss to insert a short Description of this Country.

A Description of Brasil.

America (or the *West-Indies*) is divided into the Northern and Southern *America*. *Brasil* is part of the last.

The Northern *America* borders to the North upon the *Terra Incognita*, or rather upon *Hudson's Straights*; to the South and West upon the *South-Sea*, and to the East upon the Straights of *Panama*, the Bay of *Mexico*, or (*Nieu Spain*) and the North Sea.

It comprehends the following Provinces: *Esotiland* and *Labrador*, *Nieu France*, *Canada*, *Bakaloot*, *Nieu England*, *Virginia*, *Florida*, *Nieu Spain*, the Provinces of *Mexico*, *Nieu Mexico*, *Tlaskalla*, *Guaxaca*, *Mechoakana*, *Zakaula*, *Kolim*, *Tukutan*, *Tabasko*, *Nieu Galicia*, *Nieu Biscay*, *Chiamerla*, *Kaliaka*, *Cimalon*, *Nieu Granada*, *Kalifornia*, *Anian*, *Quivira* or *Nieu Albion*, *Konibas*, *Guatemala*, *Sokonusko*, *Chiapapa*, *Vera Paz*, *Honduras*, *Nicaragua*, *Kostakaka*, and *Veragua*.

The Southern *America* is a Demi-

Island, in form of a Pyramid; the Basis of which lies to the North, the Point extends to the Straights of *Magellan*, under the 53d. Degree of Southern Latitude; bordering to the East, upon the *Atlantic Ocean*, or *North Sea*, and to the West upon the *South Sea*, its whole Circuit being of about 4000 Italian or 1000 German Miles. It contains the Provinces of *Kastilla d'Or*, *Tierra firme*, called by the *Portugueses*, *Paria*, *Kumana*, *Karibana*, *Brasil*, *Chika* to the East, to the West *Popayan*, *Peru*, *Chili*, besides several Inland Provinces.

Brasil was first discovered by *Pedro Alvarado Kapralis* a *Portuguese*, some time before *Americus Vesputius*, viz. in the Year 1500. He gave it the name of *Santa Cruz*, which was afterwards by the *Portugueses* changed into that of *Brasil*, from the Wood of the same name, which is found there in great quantity, and from thence Transferred into all Parts of *Europe*, for the use of the Dyers.

It is situate in the midst of the *Torrid* or *Situa Zone*, extending to the *Tropic of Cancer*, and the *Temperate Zone*.

Concerning its Extent from North to South, there is no small difference among the Geographers; but according to the best Computations, its beginning may be fix'd under the second Degree and a half of Northern Latitude, near the River *Para*, and its end under the 24th Degree and a half of Southern Latitude, to the River *Capibari*, two Leagues above the City of *St. Peter*; so that its whole Extent from North to South, comprehends 25 Degrees or 375 Leagues; Some place *Brasil* betwixt the River of *Maranhao* and *Rio de la Plata*. The Extent of *Brasil* from the East (where it borders upon the *North Sea*) to the West, is not determined hitherto, there being very few who have penetrated so deep into the Country; tho' its bigness from East to West may be computed to be 742 Leagues; there are however some who extend its limits farther to the East, and to the West as far as *Peru* or *Guiana*, which makes an Addition of 188 Leagues; Some make the Boundaries of *Brasil* to the North the River of the *Amazons*; to the South *Rio de la Plata*; to the East the *North Sea*, and to the West the Mountains of *Peru* or *Guiana*.

Brasil thus limited, is divided by the *Portugueses* into 14 Districts, called by them *Kapitanias*, or Captainships; viz. *Paria*, the first of all towards the North; *Maranhao*, *Sicara*, *Potigi* or *Rio Grande*, *Paraba*, *Parnambuko*, *Tamarika* or *Ita-*

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

3. *marika, Seregippe del Rey, Quirimwe* or *Bahia dos todos los Santos, Nhac-Kombe, or os Ilhos, Pakata, or Porto Secino, Rio de Janeiro* or *Nheteroya, St. Vincent and Espiritu St.*

Whilst part of *Brasil* was in our Possession, it might conveniently be divided into the *Dutch* and *Portuguese Brasil*. Each of these *Captainships* is watered by some considerable River or other, besides several others of less note; Most of these have very rapid Currents in the rainy Months, and overflow the adjacent Country.

The River of *St. Francis*, the largest and most considerable in those Parts, is the common Boundary of the *Captainship* of *Parnambuco* and *Bahia de todos los Santos*, or the *Bay of all Saints*. In some places it is so broad, that a Six-pounder can scarce reach over it, and its Depth is 8, 12, and sometimes 15 Yards; But it admits of no Ships of Burthen, because its Entrance is choak'd up with Sands.

Its first Spring is said to arise out of a certain Lake, which being augmented by many Rivulets out of the Mountains of *Peru*, but especially by the Rivers of *Rio de la Plata* and *Maranhao* exonerates it self into the Sea. Some of our People went in a Shallop near 40 Leagues up the River, and found it of a good depth and pretty broad. If we may believe the *Portugueses*, there are about 50 Leagues from the Sea, certain impassable Cataracts, or Water-falls, called by them *Kakocras*; Beyond those the River winds to the North, till you come to its Source in the Lake, in which are many pleasant Islands, inhabited by the Barbarians; as is likewise the Shoar round about it. They find good store of Gold Dust in this Lake, but it is none of the best, being carried thither by the many Rivulets, which wash the Gold-bearing Rocks of *Peru*; here is also most excellent Salt-Petre.

It is observable, That in the Summer and those Winter Months, when it Rains but seldom, this River has more Water than in the rainy Season: The reason alledged for it is, the vast distance from its first Source, whither the Rains that fall from the Mountains must first be conveyed by many Rivulets; All the other Rivers near the *Receif*, are so empty of Water during the Summer Season, that they are rendred quite Unnavigable. But the Ridges of Mountains which lie not far from the Sea-shore, exonerate their Waters as well here as in *Peru*, back-

wards to the West, and dividing themselves into two Branches; The first runs to the North, and joins with the large and most rapid Rivers of *Maranhao*, and of the *Amazons*; the other with the Rivers of *St. Francis de la Plata*, and *Janeiro*. The Waters of these Rivers being considerably encreased by many Rivulets, they exonerate themselves with so much violence into the Sea, that the Seamen meet often with fresh Water at a considerable distance at Sea.

The increase of the Waters in this River, during the dry Season, may likewise be attributed to the vast quantity of Snow among the Mountains, which being melted by the heat of the Sun, occasions the River to transgress its ordinary bounds; which in this point is quite different from other Rivers, which commonly in the Winter time overflow their Banks.

Six of those *Captainships* were under the Jurisdiction of the *West-India Company*, before the *Portuguese* revolted from the *Dutch*, which they had conquered with their Swords, viz. The *Captainship*, (it begins on the Southside) *Seregippe del Rey* of *Parnambuco*, *Itamarika*, unto which belongs *Gauiana*, *Paraiba*, *Potigi* or *Rio Grande* and *Siara*, or *Clara*. The *Captainship* of *Maranhao* was 1644, by special Command of the Company, left by the *Dutch*. This part of *Brasil* used to be called by the *Portugueses*, the *Northern Brasil*, as the other remaining in their possession, went by the Name of *South Brasil*.

The 6 *Dutch Captainships* did extend all along the Sea Coast from North to South, in length about 160 or 180 Leagues; for from *Rio Grande*, to the Northern Border of *Seregippe del Rey*, is 100 Leagues: the two others, viz. that of *Siara* to the North, and *Seregippe del Rey* to the South, make up the rest. Each of those *Captainships* contain several other lesser Districts, call'd by the *Portugueses* *Fregesias*, and by us *Fregesien*; as for instance, in *Seregippe del Rey*, are *Pojuka*, *Kameragibi*, *Porto Calvo*, *Serinbaim*, and several others. *Fregasie*, comprehends a certain Tract of Ground, composed of divers Villages, Rivers, Hills and Vallies, betwixt each of which is commonly a Tract of barren Hills, of about three or four Leagues in length. Most of the *Dutch Captainships*, are but indifferently cultivated, because the *Portugueses* used not to manure the Ground in those parts, beyond three or four, or at farthest, five Leagues distance from the Sea.



and Travels to BRASIL.

1643. The *Captainship* of *Seregippe del Rey*, is likewise called *Carigi*, from a certain small Lake of that Name; it is situate in the Southern part of *Brasil*, extending about 32 Leagues along the Sea Coast, bordering on the North side, upon the River of *St. Francis*, by which it is divided from *Parnambuco*, as on the South side it is separated by *Rio Real*, from *Bahia dos todos los Santos*. *Seregippe del Rey*, has among others, a certain *Fregasie*, called *Porto Calvo*, situated betwixt the 9th and 10th degree of Southern Latitude; being encompass'd on the North West-side by the *Fregasie* of *Serinheim*, and the small River of *Pirafenunga*, extending to the South as far as the River *Parepuera*, by which it is divided from the *Fregasie* of *Alagoasi*, containing in all about 12 Leagues in length near the Sea shore, its bounds to the Land side reaching to the unpassable Woods.

In this *Fregasie*, is a Village call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Villa de bon Sucesso de Porto Calvo*, but was formerly called *Portocano Dos quatro Rios*, it being situate at the confluence of the four Rivers, *Maleita*, *Tapamunde*, *Commentabunda* and *Monguaba*. It is built upon a rising Ground, about 4 Leagues from the Sea shore, and by the *Dutch* strengthened with 2 Forts; the biggest of which was called *Bon Sucesso*, being built all of Stone, surrounded with a good Counterscarp, with a large Basin for fresh Water within. The other Fort was called by us, the *New Church*, being created out of the Ruines of an old Church, called by the *Portuguese*, *Nossa Senhora de Presentacao*. Betwixt both these Forts, a third was ordered to be erected by Count *Maurice*, upon the Banks of the River, but it lying within the reach of Musket-shot from the Mountains, was not brought to perfection.

The Village has two Streets, the chief of which runs parallel with the River, from one Fort to the other; and is called *St. Joseph's street*, it contained no more than three Houses of one story high, and about 36 others, covered with Pan-tiles, being only built upon the Ground. The *Portuguese* have in lieu of their Churches, which were demolish'd, when the Fortifications were erected, built themselves another on the other side of the River, where they sometimes hear Mass. The Village is situate in a most pleasant and wholesome Air, being cooled by the continual Brezes from the

1643. Night time they enjoy the benefit of the Land Wind, which drives the cool Vapours arising from the neighbouring Rivers thither: Formerly there was a certain Town called *Seregippe del Rey*, somewhat higher up the River, in a very barren place, of a considerable bigneess, and well built, with three goodly Churches, and a Monastery belonging to the *Franciscans*, but without any Fortifications. Above this Town you see a Chappel dedicated to *St. Christopher*, whither the *Roman Catholics* come on Pilgrimage.

This *Captainship* was first of all reduced under the Obedience of the *Portuguese* or *Spaniards*, by *Christorvan de Barros*; who for this his good service, had all the Lands betwixt the small Lake of *Segegippe* and *St. Francis*, granted to him, with full power to settle Colonies there within a limited time. This drew many of the Inhabitants of the *Bay of all Saints* thither; who within a few Years after laid the Foundations of this Town, by erecting 4 Sugar-Mills, and building about 100 Houses, with 400 Stables for their Cattle. But this Town, with all the circumjacent Houses, was 1637, the 24th of December, laid desolate by our People, the Inhabitants retreating to the *Bay of all Saints*. For the *Spanish General Benjola* being, 1637, posted with a Body of 2000 Men near that place, did with ravaging and burning, considerable damage to our Colonies, which obliged Count *Maurice* to dislodge him from thence; but being then sick of an Ague, he committed this Expedition to the charge of Colonel *Schoppe*; for which purpose having gathered a Body of 2300 Men, besides four hundred *Brasilians*, and 250 Seamen out of the adjacent Places, near the River of *St. Francis*, *Alagoas*, the Cape of *St. Austin*, out of the *Receif* and *Moribeka*, and given him for his Assistant Mr. *John van Gijffelen*, a Member of the Great Council, he commanded the *Dutch Admiral Lichthart*, to cruise with his Fleet near the *Bay of all Saints*, thereby to draw the Enemy out of his advantageous Post to the Sea-shore. The *Spanish General* had no sooner notice of our passing the River, but fearing to be enclosed betwixt us and the Fleet, marched with his Body to *Torre Garcia de Avila*, a place about 14 Leagues to the North of the City of *St. Salvador*.

The *Dutch General Schoppe*, hearing of his removal, immediately attack'd the place, which he laid desolate and returned

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

Here he intrench'd himself, with an intention to annoy the Enemy, by cutting off his Provisions, and driving away his Cattel; which succeeded so well, that we kill'd above 3000 of their Horn Beasts; besides what was carried away on the other side of the River; so that what was left by the Soldiers, was by the Inhabitants carried to the Bay of all Saints; from whence it is evident, what vast Numbers of Cattel this Countrey did produce at that time.

The Great Council took once a resolution to re-people that part of the Countrey, and agreed for this purpose with *Nanno Offerdi*, Councillor of Justice in the *Receif*, who found means to settle several Families there: But the Council of XIX. disapproving the matter, it was laid aside.

In the Year 1641, Count *Maurice* reduced this place under the Obedience of the *West-India* Company, erected a Fort there, and surrounded the Town *Seregippe del Icy* with a Ditch. It lies upon a small River, betwixt *St. Francisco* and *Real*, which however at Spring-Tide has 14 Foot Water or thereabouts. Within the jurisdiction of this *Captainship*, is the Mountain of *Tahayna*; from whence several sorts of valuable Oar was presented to the Council of XIX; but upon Proof, was found not worth farther looking after.

The Captainship of Parnambuko.

The *Captainship* of *Parnambuko*, is one of the chiefest and biggest of the *Dutch Brasil*. It extends above 60 Leagues along the Coast, betwixt the River of *St. Francis*, and the *Captainship* of *Tamarika*. *Parnambuko* properly denotes the Entrance of the Harbour, which by reason of the many Rocks and Shelves hidden under Water, was called by the *Portuguese*, *Inferno Bokko*, and broken *Parnambuko*, or the Mouth of Hell. It is subdivided into 11 lesser Districts, inhabited by the *Portuguese*, viz. the City of *Olinda*, *Garazu*, *Receif*, *Moribeka*, *St. Anthony*, *Poyuka*, *Serinheim*, *Gonsalvi d'Una*, *Porto Calvo*, the Northern *Alagoa*, and the Southern *Alagoa*. Among which *Olinda* and *Garazu* were the chiefest.

The Town, or rather the Village of *Garazu*, lies at some distance from the Shoar, over against the Island of *Tamarika*, upon a River of the same Name, about 5 Leagues from *Olinda*. It was formerly Inhabited by *Portuguese* Handicrafts Men, but since our taking of *Olinda*,

several rich Families settled there; we became Masters of the Place 1633, in 1843

May *Moribeka* lies deeper into the Coun-
try, more to the South, about 5 Leagues off of the *Receif*.

St. Anthony is about 7 or 8 Leagues distant from the *Receif* to the South, near the Cape of *St. Austlin*.

The City of *St. Michael de Poyuka*, lies about 10 Leagues to the South of the *Receif* upon a River of the same Name, which discombogues in the Sea, on the South side of the Cape of *St. Austlin*. It was formerly a very Populous Place, and had 13 Sugar-Mills.

The Village *Serinheim*, much about the same distance thence with the former, is a very pleasant place, has 12 Sugar-Mills, each of which produces 6 or 7000 *Aroba's*, an *Aroba* making about 27 or 28 Pound weight.

The Village of *Gonsalvi d'Una*, lies 20 Leagues from the *Receif*; it has 5 Sugar-Mills.

The Village called *Porto Calvo*, is 25 Leagues distant from the *Receif*; it has 7 or 8 Sugar-Mills. Here is the Castle of *Po. ocano*, which was not Conquered by us, till under the Government of Count *Maurice*.

The Towns of the Northern and Southern *Alagoa's*, are 40 Leagues from the *Receif*.

Within the District of *Parnambuko*, are two Woods, called by the *Portuguese* the greater and lesser *Palmairas*, or Palm-tree Woods.

The lesser *Palmairas*, which is inhabited by 6000 Negroes, lies about 20 Leagues above the *Alagoa's*, being enclosed with Woods near the small Lake of *Guagobubi*, which exonerates it self into the great Lake of *Parayba*, 6 Leagues from thence to the North, about 4 Leagues from the Lake *Meridai*, to the South of the Northern *Alagoa*, being near that point of Land commonly called *Jaragoa*. The Village consists of 3 Streets, each near half a League in length. Their Huts are made of Straw twisted together, one near another, their Plantations being behind. They retain something of the Religious Worship of the *Portuguese*, but have their peculiar Priests and Judges. Their Business is to rob the *Portuguese* of their Slaves, who remain in Slavery among them, till they have redeemed themselves by stealing another: But such Slaves as run over to them, are as free as the rest. Their Food is Dates, Beans, Meal, Barley, Sugar, &c.

11 Towns and Villages of Parnambuko.

Garazu.

and Travels to BRASIL.

3643 canes, Tame Fowl, (of which they have great Plenty) and Fish, which the Lake furnishes them withal. They have twice a Year a Harvest of Barley, which being over, they make merry for a whole Week together. Before Sowing time, they light great Fires for 14 Days, which may be seen at a great distance. The shortest way from the *Receif* to this *Palmaira*, is along the Lake of the Northern *Alagoas*.

The greater *Palmaira* is betwixt 20 and 30 Leagues distance behind the Village of *St. Amav*, near the Mountain of *Bebe*, being surrounded with a double Enclosure. About 8000 Negroes are said to inhabit the Valleys near the Mountains, besides many others, who dwell in lesser Numbers of 50 or 100, in other places. Their Houses lie stragling, they Sow and Reap among the Woods, and have certain Caves whither they retreat in case of necessity. They dress their Victuals in the Day time, and at Night tell over their whole Number, to see whether any be wanting; if not, they conclude the Evening with Dancing and beating the Drum, which may be heard at a great distance. Then they go to sleep till 9 or 10 a Clock the next Day. During the dry Season, they detach a certain Number among them, to steal Slaves from the *Portugueses*. The shortest cut to their Habitations, is from the *Alagoas* through *St. Amav*, and to cross the Plains of *Nimnaban* and *Koioipe*, towards the backside of the Mountain of *Warukahy*, till you come to the Lake *Paraiba*; along which you must pass till you reach the Mountain *Bebe*, from whence you go directly into the Valleys. Under the Government of Count *Alamice*, the Negroes of this *Palmaira* did considerable mischief, especially to the Country People about the *Alagoas*; to repress which, he sent 300 Firelocks, 100 *Ammelukes*, and 700 *Brasilians*.

The Receif, Maurice's Town, and Anthony Vaez.

The *Receif* is, by reason of its commodious and advantageous situation the strongest place of all *Brasil*; besides that, it is strengthened and defended by several adjacent Forts: But to give you the most commodious View both of the *Receif*, and the Situation of *Maurice's Town*, it is to be observed, That the whole Coast of *Brasil*, is from one end to the other, surrounded with a long, thick, and flat ridge of Rocks, which in some places is

20, and in others 30 Paces broad: However there are certain Passages in this Ridge, through which the Ships approach the Shoar, and some few Places, where this Ridge is not found at all. Thus a League on this side *Rio doce*, 2 Leagues on the Northside of the City of *Olinda*, there is nothing of this Ridge to be found; but begins again near *Pomaville* or *Saxamundo*, and extends to the Isle of *Itamarika*. Betwixt the Ridge and the Continent, you may pass in Boats at High-water; for at Low-Tide most of those Rocks appear above Water; tho' the Tide never fails to cover the same. The Rock over against the *Receif* of *Pernambuko*, is between 20 and 30 Paces broad, being not only at Spring-Tides, but at all other Tides overflowed by the Sea; it is thereabouts very flat, without any Prominencies, and extends for a League from South to North. On the North Point is an open Passage for Ships to approach the Shoar, lying 500 Paces further to the North, than the *Receif* it self. It is but narrow, and at Spring-Tide not above 22 Foot deep.

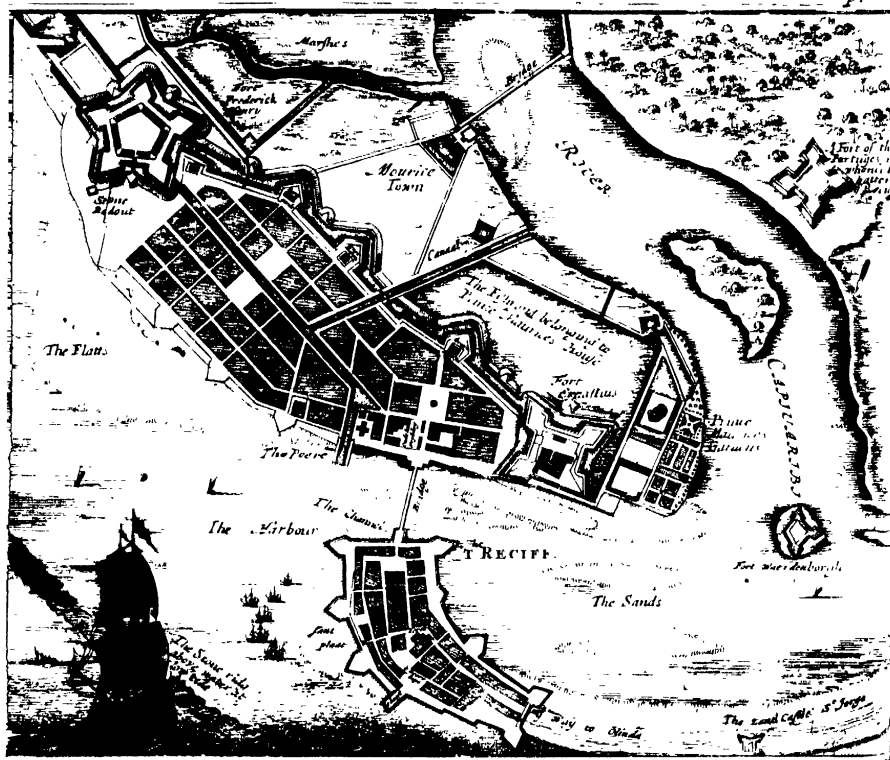
Betwixt this Rocky Ridge and the Continent, there is a Sandy Ridge, or small Island extending to the South from *Olinda*, a League in length, and about 200 Paces broad. This is by our People commonly called, *The Sandy Receif*, to distinguish it from, *The Stony Receif*.

On the Southern Point of this little Island, a League off *Olinda*, the *Portugueses* had built a Village, called *Povoacano*, which signifies *Peopling*, or else *Receifo*; it was very Populous for a considerable time, till the building of *Maurice's Town*, in the Island of *Anthony Vaez*. For after *Olinda* was forsaken by its Inhabitants, and destroyed by us, many of them, but especially the Merchants, settled in this *Receifo*, or the Village of *Povoacano*, where they erected magnificent Structures. At our first Arrival, we found no more than 200 Houses there, which were afterwards increased to above 2000, some of which are very goodly Edifices. We surrounded it with *Palisadoes* on the side of the River *Biberibi*, which at Low-water is fordable; and for its better security fortified it with 3 Bulwarks. One towards *Olinda*, the other to the Harbour, and the third towards the *Salt River*; upon each of which was raised a good Battery with 3 great Cannon. This *Receif* is situate under the 8th degree, 20 Minutes Southern Latitude.

The Sandy Receif

1643.

of Peace and War, were transacted in this place. In the time of the *Portugueses*, all the Ships coming out of the Sea, did unload on the Village of *Povoacano*, or the *Receif*, and the Goods were from thence in Boats and Lighters conveyed up the River *Biberibi*, to the Suburbs of *Olinde*.



with suitable Artillery and other Provisions. When we took the place, we found 9 Brass, and 22 Iron pieces of Cannon within it; so that it seems both by Art and Nature impregnable; there being no coming near it on Foot, at High-water.

Upon the uttermost Point of the Stony Reefs, on the left side as you enter the Harbour out of the Sea, is a strong and large Castle, built of Free-stone, furrounded with a very high Wall, upon which are mounted many heavy Cannon,

The Island of *Anthony Vaez*, and
Maurice's Town.

To the South of the *Receif*, opposite the I
to it, lies the Ile of *Anthony Vaez*, So of *Am*
called *Vaez*.

and Travels to BRASIL.

ed by our People, from its ancient Possessor. It is about half a League in Circuit, being divided from the *Receif*, by the *Salt River*, or *Biberibi*.

On the East-side of this Island, Count *Maurice* laid the foundation of a City, which after his own Name, he call'd *Maurice's Town*, or City; the Ruines of the Churches and Monasteries of the City of *Olinda*, furnished the Materials for the building of it, which were from thence carried to the *Receif*, and so transported to this place.

On the West side it is environ'd with a Morass; and on the East side washed by the Sea, which passes the Stony Ridge. Besides which it is on the Land side strengthened with an Earthen Wall, four Bulwarks, and a large Moat.

On that side where the Fort of *Ernestus* was, the Town lay open, and the Houses took up a larger compass than those in the *Receif*; but after the Revolt of the *Portuguese*, most those Houses were pull'd down, and the place drawn into a more narrow Compass, to render it more defensible: Yet was the place well stock'd with Inhabitants, as well Merchants as Handicrafts Men.

Maurice's Town was on each side guarded by a Fort. On the South side by the Fort called *Frederick Henry*, or the Quinquangular Fort, from its 5 Bulwarks. This Fort was besides this, surrounded by a large Ditch and Pallisadoes, and strengthened by two Hornworks, so that it commanded the whole Plain, which at Spring-Tides us'd to be overflown by the Sea.

The second Fort *Ernestus*, thus called after *John Ernest*, the Brother of Count *Maurice*, was foursquare, with 4 Bulwarks, with a very large Ditch; it commanded the River, the Plains, and *Maurice's Town*. Near this last Fort was the Garden of Count *Maurice*, stor'd with all sorts of Trees, brought thither from *Europe*, and both the *Indies*.

Upon the Northpoint of the *Stony Receif*, just over against the *Sandy Receif*, lies the beforenamed Fort, built all of Stone, being about 100 Paces in Circumference, provided with a good Garrison and 20 pieces of great Cannon, tho' in stormy Weather the Water flies over it on all sides. It commands the Harbour, the Land Fort, the *Bruin Fort*, and the *Receif*.

As the Isle of *Anthony Vaez* was joyned to the Continent by a Bridge, so it was thought necessary, to joyn the *Receif* with another Bridge to the said Island;

for the conveniency of Carriage, the Sugar Chests being before that time never to be transported to the *Receif*, except at Low-Water, unless the Owners would run the hazard of exposing them to the danger of the Sea in small Boats. Accordingly the Great Council, with consent of the Governour, Count *Maurice*, agreed with a certain Architect for the building of a Bridge with Stone Arches, for the Sum of 250000 Florins. But after the Architect had consumed a prodigious quantity of Stone, and raised the Structure near to the height of the Banks of the River, finding that at Low-Water there was still 11 Foot Water, and despairing to be able to accomplish it, left it unfinished. But the Council being unwilling to desist, renewed the Work, which had already cost 100000 Florins; and by means of many Trees of 40 and 50 Foot long, stop'd the Current till the Bridge was brought to perfection, which was done in 2 Months time, and a certain Toll imposed upon all Passengers, viz. For an Inhabitant 2 Pence, for a Soldier and Negroe 1 Penny, for a Horse 4 Pence, and a Waggon drawn by Oxen, 7 Pence.

The space betwixt the *Sandy*, and *Stony Receif*, is properly the Harbour, which at High-Water has about 13 or 14 Foot depth, where the Ships ride very safe, being defended from the Sea by the *Stony Receif*. The Passage betwixt the *Sandy Receif* and the Continent, is called the *Salt River*, to distinguish it from the River *Kapivaribi* which carries sweet Water.

The River *Kapivaribi* has derived its Name from a certain kind of River or Sea Hogs, which used to be found there, and were by the *Brasilians* called *Kapivaribi*. This River arises some Leagues to the West, passing by the *Matta*, or the Wood of *Brasil*, *Masyasti*, *St. Lorenzo* and *Real*, where joyning with the River *Affogados*, near another River of the same Name, disembogues in the Sea, near the *Receif*. The River *Kapivaribi* divides it self into 2 branches; one turns to the South, and passes by the Fort *William*, and is called *Affogados*; the other running to the North, retains its former Name, continuing its Course betwixt the Continent and *Maurice's Town*, or the Isle of *Anthony Vaez*, (into which you may pass over it by a Bridge) and so to *Waerdenburgh*, where it joyns with the River *Biberibi*, or *Salt River*, both which are afterwards mix'd with the Sea. The two branches of this River, surround the River

3- River *Biberibi* on the West side, and to the East the Isle of *Anthony Vaer*. Upon that branch of the River, called *Affegados*, are abundance of Sugar Mills, from whence the *Portugueses* used to convey their Sugar-Chests, either in Boats, by the way of the River, or in Carts to *Barretta*, and from thence in Flatbottom'd Boats to the *Receif*, and to *Olinde*.

A League to the South of *Maurice's* Town upon the branch, called *Affegados*, is a four-square Fort of the same Name, otherwise called *Fort William*; from whence you may pass along a Dike to the *Fort Frederick Henry*, or *Maurice's* Town. It was a Noble Structure, surrounded with high and strong Walls, a large Ditch and Pallisadoes, with 6 Brass Cannon: It defended the Avenues to the Plains.

About half a League from thence, and at the same distance from the Continent, lies another Fort on the Sea-shoar, called *Barretta*: This commands the Avenues both by Sea and Land to the Cape of *St. Anstin*, and to the *Receif*.

Upon that part of the Island which lies betwixt the Rivers *Kapivaribi*, and *Biberibi*, and betwixt the Forts of *Ernestus* and the Triangular Fort of *Waerdenburgh*, were the before mentioned Gardens of Count *Maurice*, stor'd with all kinds of Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Greens, which either *Europe*, *Africk*, or both the *Indies* could afford. There were near 700 Cocoa-Trees of all sizes, some of which were 30, 40, and 50 Foot high; which being transplanted thither, out of the circumjacent Countreys, bore abundance of Fruit the very first Year: Above 50 Limon-Trees, and 18 Citron-Trees, 80 Pomgranate-Trees, and 66 Fig-Trees, were also to be seen in these Gardens.

In the midst of it stood the Seat it self, called *Vijzenburgh*, a Noble Structure indeed, which, as is reported, cost 600000 Florins: It had a most admirable Prospect, both to the Sea and Land side, and its two Towers were of such a height, that they might be seen 6 or 7 Leagues off at Sea, and served the Seamen for a Beacon. In the front of the House was a Battery of Marble, rising by degrees from the River side, upon which were mounted 10 pieces of Cannon, for the defence of the River. About 2 or 3 Rods from the River, were several large Basons in the Garden, containing very sweet Water, notwithstanding the River all round about afforded nothing but Salt Water;

besides this, there were divers Fish-Ponds, stock'd with all sorts of Fish. 1643.

At the very Foot of the Bridge which is built over the River *Kapivaribi*, from *Maurice's* Town to the Continent, Count *Maurice* had built a very pleasant Summer Seat, called by the *Portugueses*, *Baan-vista*, i. e. *A fair Prospect*. It was not only surrounded with very pleasant Gardens and Fish-Ponds, but served likewise as a Fort for the defence of the Isle of *Anthony Vaer*, and *Maurice's* Town.

Upon the *Sandy Receif*, opposite to the Sea, or *Water Fort*, was a strong Fort built of Stone, called by the *Portugueses*, *St. Toris*, our People used to call it the *Land Fort*, to distinguish it from the before-mentioned *Water Fort*; it defends the Entrance of the Harbour with 13 Iron pieces of Cannon.

About a Musket Shot thence to the North, lies upon the same *Sandy Receif*, a small Fort with 4 Bastions, called the Fort of *Bruin*; and about a Musket-shot further to the North, a Redoubt, called *Madam de Bruin*: Both these Forts were built by the Dutch.

Near the Continent, not far from the Salt-Pits, betwixt the *Sandy Receif*, and the Isle of *Anthony Vaer*, was a Triangular Fort, called *Waerdenburgh*. It was at first a four-square, but afterwards turned by the Dutch, into a Triangular Fort, the fourth Bulwark being not defensible, by reason of the Ground: Those three Bulwarks were afterwards changed into as many Redoubts, and provided with some Brass Guns: At High-Tide it is surrounded on all sides with Water.

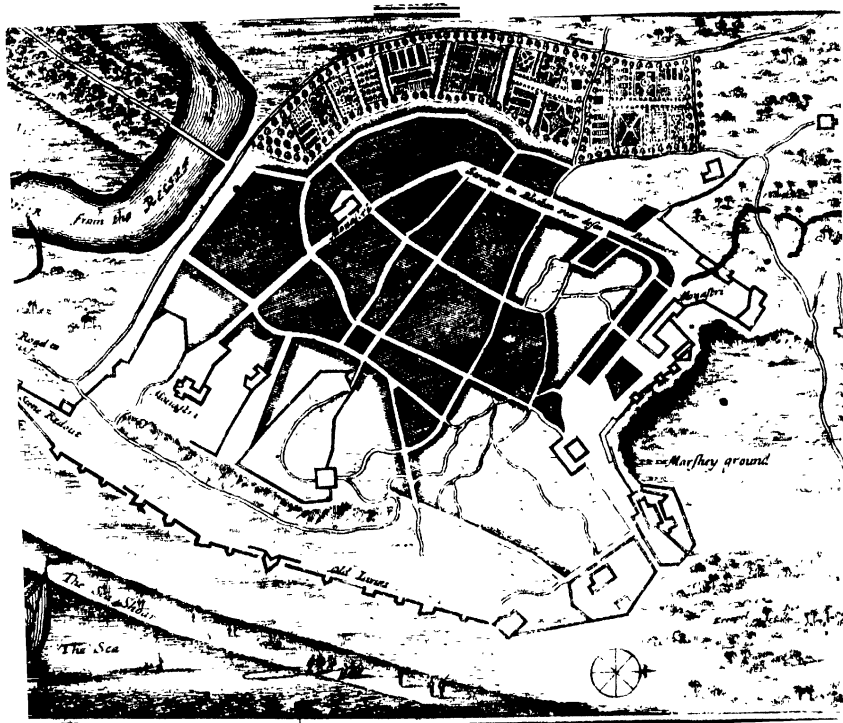
The City of Olinde.

At a small distance from the *Receif*, or *Maurice's* Town, to the North, is the ruined City of *Olinde*, once a famous place among the *Portugueses*; the whole Product of *Brasil*, being from thence transported by Sea into *Europe*. The best part of the City was built upon divers Hills; towards the Sea, on the South side, these Hills were pretty plain, extending to the Sea-shoar, which has a very white Sand all along that Coast: Towards the Land side, or the North, those Hills are more steep and craggy, full of Thorn-bushes, intermix'd with a few Orange-Trees. These Hills are an additional strength to the place, which besides this, was guarded by several Bastions to the Land side, tho' by reason of the great variety of Hills contained in its Circuit, it was a difficult Task bringing

bring the Fortifications into a regular form. There is a very fair Prospect from the higher part of the Town, both to the South and North, or to the Sea and Land side, by reason of the great quantity of circumjacent Trees, which continue Green all the Year round. You may also from thence see the Isle of *Anthony Vez*, and *Maurice's Town*. The point of Land near *Olanda*, is called *Tipo* by the Inhabitants.

Upon the highest Hill within the

place, stood formerly a Convent belonging to the *Jesuits*, being a magnificent Structure, founded by *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, who endowed it with considerable Revenues. It had a very fair Prospect, and might be seen at a good distance at Sea. Not far from thence was another Monastery belonging to the *Cappucines*; and near the Sea-shoar, another of the *Dominican* Fryars: Besides which, it had two Churches: the one called *St. Salvador*, the other *St. Peter*.



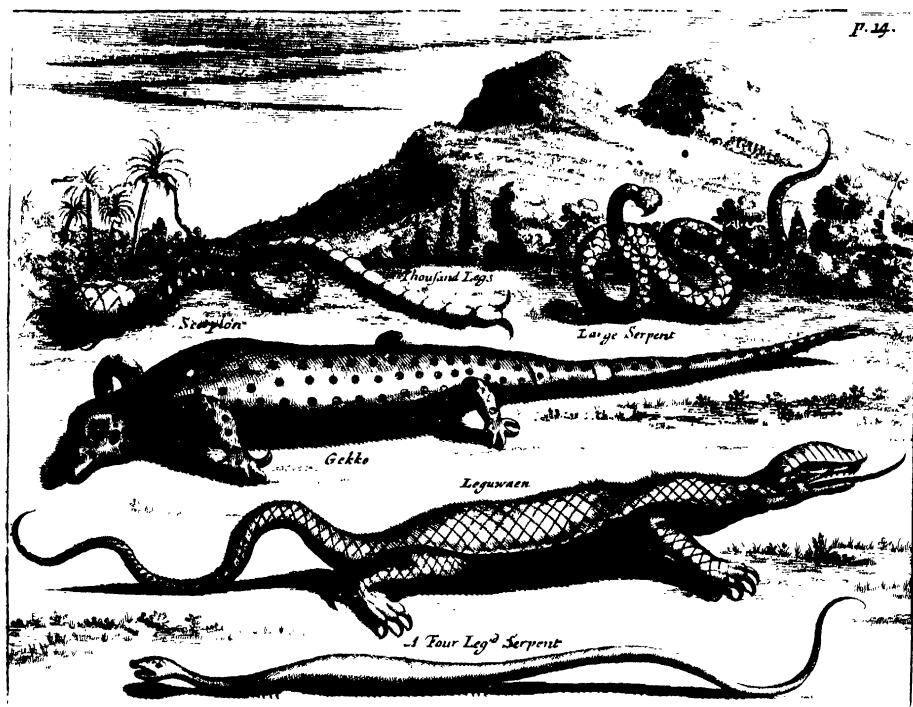
It contained above 2000 Inhabitants, besides the Clergymen and Slaves, among whom were 200, that were accounted very rich. On the foot of the Mountain upon which the City of *Olinda* was built, a strong Redoubt was erected, which in the Year 1645, was by a Serjeant betrayed to the *Portugueses*, for a Sum of money. About a League from the City, near the Waterfide, were the Suburbs, well stor'd with Inhabitants and Cuckhouses; but destitute of fresh Water, which they were fain to fetch from beyond the River.

The whole District of *Pernambuko* abounds in divers kinds of Fruits and Cattel. The Vallies afford good Pasturage, and the lower Grounds near the Rivers, great store of Sugar-Reeds, which are much cultivated hereabouts. The Mountains produce richer Minerals here, than in the other *Captainships*. During the Rainy Season, the Heat is more tolerable here in the Day time, than the cold Nights.

643. The Chamelcon, or Indian Salamander, otherwise called Gekko.

This Creature, which is not only found in *Brasil*, but also in the Isle of *Java*, belonging to the *East-Indies*, and which, by our People is called *Gekko*, from its constant cry (like, among us, that of the *Cuckoo*) is properly an *Indian Salamander*. It is about a foot long, its Skin of a pale or Sea-green colour, with red Spots. The Head is not unlike that of a *Tortoise*, with a straight Mouth. The

Eyes are very large, starting out of the Head, with long and small Eye-lids. The Tail is distinguished by white Rings: Its Teeth are so fine to make an impression even upon Lead. Each of its four Legs had five Claws armed on the end with Nail. Its Motion is very slow, but whereever it goes, it is not easily removed. It commonly upon rotten Trees, or the Ruins of Old Houses and Churches, it oftentimes settles near the Bees, which makes sometimes the Moes down their Huts.



Its constant cry is *Gekko*, but before it begins, it makes a kind of hissing noise. The Sting of this Creature is so venomous, that the Wound proves Mortal, unless it be immediately burnt with a red hot Iron, or cut off. The Blood is of a palish colour, resembling Poison it self.

The *Javaneses* use to dip their Arrows in the Blood of this Creature; and those who deal in Poisons among them (an Art much esteemed in the Island of *Java*, by

both Sexes) hang it up with a string tied to the Tail on the Ceiling, by which means it being exasperated to the highest pitch, sends forth a Yellow Liquor out of its Mouth, which they gather in small Pots set underneath, and afterwards coagulate into a body in the Sun. This they continue for several Months together, by giving daily Food to the Creature. It is the unquestionably the strongest Poison in the World; its Urine being of so corrosive a quality, that it not only raises Blisters,

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There are also several sorts of *Serpents* in *Brasil*, such as *Rattle Serpents*, *Double-headed Serpents*, and such like; of which the *Brasilians* enumerate XXIII. viz. *Boigvatu*, or *Liboya*, *Alabo*, *Rioby*, *Boiciminga*, *Poitrapo*, *Boykupkanga*, *Bapoba*, *Kukuru*, *Kannana*, *Kurukuringa*, *Grimipajaguara*, *Ibiara*, *Jakapekoja*, *Ibiboboca*, *Jaravaka*, *Manima*, *Vona*, *Taviboya*, *Kakaboya*, *Amorepinima*.

Serpents in Brasil.

We will give you an account of those only that dwell in the Houses and Woods of *Pernambuco*, passing by the rest, as not so well known among us; and it is observable, that tho' some of the *American* or *Brasilian Serpents* exceed those of *Europe* in bigness, they are nevertheless not so Poisonous.

The *Serpent* of *Boiciminga*, or *Boiciminga*, likewise called *Boiquira*, by the *Brasilians*, is by the *Portugueses* called *Kafkaveda* and *Tangedor*, i.e. *A Rattle*, and by our People a *Rattle Serpent*, because it makes a noise with its Tail, not unlike a Rattle: This *Serpent* is found both upon the Highway and in desolate Places; it moves with such swiftness, as if it had Wings, and is extremely venomous. In he midst it is about the thickness of a Man's Arm near the Elbow, but grows thinner by degrees, towards the Head and Tail. The Belly and Head is flatish, the last being of the length and reachth of a Finger and a half, with very small Eyes. It has 4 peculiar Teeth longer than all the rest, white and sharper than a Thorn, which it hides sometimes within the Gums. The Skin is covered with thick Scales, those upon the Back being somewhat higher than the rest, of a pale yellowish colour, with black Edges. The sides of the Body are likewise yellowish with black Scales on each side; but those upon the Belly are larger, foursquare and of a yellow colour. It is 3, 4, and sometimes 5 foot long. It has a round Tongue split in the middle, with long and sharp Teeth. The Tail is composed of several loose bony Joynts, which make such a noise, that it may be heard at a distance. At the end of the Tail, is a

long piece consisting of several Joynts, joyned within one another in a most peculiar manner, not unlike a Chain. Every Year there is an addition of one of these Joynts, so that you may know the exact Age of the *Serpent* by their Number, Nature seeming in this Point to have favoured Mankind, as a Warning to avoid this Poisonous Creature by this noise. One of these Joynts put in the Fundament, causes immediate Death; but the Sting of this Creature proceeds much slower in its Operation; for in the beginning a Bloody Matter issues from the Wound, afterwards the Flesh turns blue, and the Ulcer corrodes the adjacent Parts by degrees.

The most sovereign Remedy used by the *Brasilians* against the Poison of this and other *Serpents*, is the Head of the same *Serpent* that has given the Wound; which they bruise in a Mortar, and in form of a Plaster, apply it to the affected part. They mix it commonly with Fastning Spittle, wherewith they also frequently moisten the Wound. If they find the Poison begins to seize the nobler Parts, they use the *Tiproka* as a Cordial, and afterwards give strong Sudorificks. They also lay open the Wound, and apply Cupping-glasses, to draw the Venom from thence. Or else they burn it with a red hot Iron.

The *Serpent Kukuru*, is of an Ash colour, with yellow Spots within, and black Speckles without, and has just such Scales as the *Rattle Serpent*.

The *Serpent Guaku*, or *Liboya*, is unquestionably the biggest of all *Serpents*; some being 18, 24, nay 30 foot long, and of the thickness of a Man in the middle. The *Portugueses* call it *Kobre de hado*, or the *Roebuck Serpent*, because it will swallow a whole Roebuck or any other Deer it meets with; and this is performed by sucking it through the Throat, which is pretty narrow, but the Belly vastly big. After they have swallowed such a Deer, they fall asleep, and so are catch'd. Such a one I saw near *Paraiba*, which was 30 foot long, and as big as a Barrel. Some Negroes saw it accidentally swallow a Roebuck, whereupon 13 Musqueteers were sent out, who shot it, and cut the Roebuck out of its Belly. It was of a greyish colour, though others are inclining more to the brown. It is not so venomous as the other *Serpents*. The *Negroes* and *Portugueses*, nay even some of the *Dutch* eat the Flesh; neither are its Stings look'd upon as very infectious, the Wound heal-

The Roebuck Serpent.

ing often up without any application of Remedies ; so that it ought not to be reckoned among the number of Poisonous Serpents, no more than the *Kan'na-na*, *Mavina* and *Vocia*. This Serpent being a very devouring Creature, greedy of Prey, leaps from amongst the Hedges and Woods, and standing upright upon its Tail, wrestles both with Men and wild Beasts ; sometimes it leaps from the Trees upon the Traveller, whom it fastens upon, and beats the Breath out of his Body with its Tail.

ta. The Serpent *Jararaka* is short, seldom exceeding the length of an Arm to the Elbow. It has certain protuberant Veins on the Head, like the Adder, and makes much such a noise. The Skin is covered with red and black spots, the rest being of an Earth colour. The Stings of this Creature are as dangerous, and attended with the same Symptoms, as those of other Serpents. Its Body, the Head, Tail, and Skin being before taken away together with the Entrails, boil'd in the Water of the Root of *Jurepeba*, with Salt, Dill, and such like, is look'd upon as a very good Remedy.

The Serpent *Boitrapo*, call'd by the Portuguese, *Cobra de Cipo*, is about 7 foot in length, of the thickness of a Man's Arm, feeds upon Frogs, and is of an Olive colour, it is very venomous, and when it stings occasions the same Symptoms, as the Serpent *Kukuruku*; nay, the Wound is accounted past curing, unless you apply the hot Iron.

The Adder *Ibiara*, by the Portuguese called *Cobra Fega*, or *Cobra de das Cabeças*, i. e. *The Doubleheaded Serpent*, because it appears to have two Heads, which however is not so. They are found in great numbers lurking in holes under Ground. They feed upon Pismires, are of the thickness of the length of a Finger, and a foot and a half long, of a Silver colour ; nothing is more poisonous than the Stings of these Creatures, tho' not beyond all hopes of Cure, provided the beforementioned Remedies be applied in time.

The Serpent by the *Brazilians* called *Ibiboboka*, the Portuguese call *Cobra de Corais*. It is very beautiful, of a Snow white colour, speckled with black and red spots, and about two foot long : Its Sting is Mortal, but kills by degrees.

The Serpent *Biobi*, called by the Portuguese, *Cabro Verde*, or the *Green Serpent*, about three quarters of a yard long, and the thickness of a Thumb ; of a shining green colour. It lives among Houses and hurts no Body unless when provoked.

Its Sting is however full of Poison, and scarce curable. A certain Soldier being wounded by one of these Creatures, which lay hidden in a Hedge, in his Thigh, did for want of proper Remedies, die in few Hours after : His Body swell'd, and turn'd pale blue.

The Serpent *Kaninana* is yellow on the Belly and green on the Back, its length is about 8 Hands, and is look'd upon as the least venomous of all. It feeds upon Eggs and Birds, and the *Negroes* and *Brazilians* eat the Body, after they have cut off the Head and Tail.

The Serpent call'd by the *Brazilians* *Iburakoa*, is of several colours, with white, black, and red spots. The Sting of this Creature is very Poisonous, attended with the same Symptoms as that of *Kukuruku* ; for it kills infallibly, unless proper Remedies be applied immediately. If the Poison has not seized the Heart, they boil the Flesh of the same Serpent with certain Roots, and give it the Patient in Wine.

The Serpent *Tarciboya*, and *Kakaboya*, are amphibious Creatures. The first is of a blackish colour, very large, and Stings when provoked, but is not very difficult to be cured. The *Kakaboya* is of a yellowish colour, 6 Hands long, and feeds upon tame Fowl.

Of the Senembi or the Leguan.

Not only in the Captainship of *Pernambuko*, but also all over *Brazil* and *America* ; as likewise in the Isle of *Java* in the *Last-Indies*, are a certain kind of Land *Crocodile*, call'd by the *Brazilians*, *Senembi*, by our People *Leguan* ; some are larger than others, some being 3, others 4 foot long, but seldom exceed 5 : They are all over covered with Scales, which are somewhat bigger on the Back, Legs, and beginning of the Tail, than on the other parts : The Neck is about a Finger and a half long, the Eyes are black and bright, and the Nostrils in the hindermost part of the Head. Each Jawbone is full of small, black, and short Teeth ; the Tongue is very thick : All along the Back from the Neck to the Tail, are small sharp Teeth of a greenish colour ; they are biggest on the Neck, and grow smaller and smaller towards the Tail : Under the Throat are likewise many of the same kind. The whole Skin is of a delicate green, with black and white spots. It has 4 Legs and Feet, with 5 Claws armed with very sharp Nails : It can live 2 or 3 Months without Food.

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Its Flesh is as white as that of a Rabbit, and of as good a taste as that of Fowls, or Rabbits, if it be boil'd or well fry'd with Butter. In the Head of this Creature are certain Stones, which are an infallible Remedy to break and drive the Gravel out of the Kidneys, given to the quantity of 2 Drams at a time, or carried on some part of the Body.

There are in *Brasil* Lizards both great and small; some are green, others greyish, and some 4 foot long, with sparkling Eyes. The Negroes feed upon some of them, whom they kill with blunt Arrows; they broil them, after they have skin'd them, and eat them without the least harm. Among all those that are found among the Thorns and Bryars, or the Ruins of Houses, there is but one kind Venomous, which is called *Bibora*. They are like the others, but lesser, not exceeding the bigness of a Thumb; they are of an Ash-colour, inclining to White; the Body and Limbs thick and swell'd with the Poison, but the Tail short and broad. The Wounds given by them are full of a thin stinking Matter, with Blue Swellings, with a Pain near the Heart, and in the Bowels.

There are also certain Creatures, called *Thousand Legs*, as likewise *Hundred Legs*, by the Natives called *Ambua*, who bend as they crawl along, and are accounted very Poisonous. The first are commonly found in the Houses, and the last among the Woods, where they not only spoil the Fruits of the Earth, but also plague Men and Beasts.

Scorpions, by the *Brasilians* call'd *Jacairas*, are found here in great Numbers, being in shape like the *European* Scorpions, but not so pestiferous, and consequently the Wounds given by them are easily cured. They lurk in Houses, behind old Stools, Benches and Chests. They are exceeding big, no bigger being to be found in any other parts, some being 5 or 6 foot long, and of a considerable thickness.

There are such prodigious quantities of Pismires in *Brasil*, that for this reason, they are called by the *Portugueses*, *Roy de Brasil*, i. e. King of *Brasil*. They eat all that lights in their way, as Fruit, Flesh, Fish, and Insects without any harm. There is also a certain Flying Pismire of a Fingers length, with a triangular Head, the Body being separated into two parts, and fastned together by a small string. On the Head are two small and long Horns, their Eyes being very small. On the

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foremost part of the Body are 6 Legs, 3 Joints each, and 4 thin and transparent Wings; to wit, 2 without, and 2 within; the hindmost part is of a bright brown colour and round, which is eaten by the Negroes. They dig into the Ground, like the Moles, and consume the Seed.

There is another kind of great Pismires, resembling a great Fly; the whole Body of which, is about the length of half a Finger, and separated into 3 several parts. The last part resembling in shape and bigness a Barly-corn; the middlemost of an Oblong Figure, with 6 Legs, half a Finger long, each of which has 4 Joints: The foremost part, or the Head, is pretty thick, in the shape of a Heart, with 2 Horns, and as many black crooked Teeth: The White of the Eyes is inclining to Black, the whole Composition of the Head being the 2 Eyes, placed opposite to one another, resembling the Figure of a Heart. The fore and hindmost parts are of a bright Red colour.

There is another kind of Pismire, of a bright black colour, with black and rough Legs. It is about the length of a Finger, with a large foursquare Head, starting black Eyes, and Teeth, and 2 Horns, half a Finger long. The Body is also separated into 3 parts. The foremost of an Oblong Figure, not very thick, with 6 Legs, each of the length of half a Finger; the Middlemost very small and square, not exceeding the bigness of a Louse; the Hindmost is the biggest of the three, of an Oval Figure, and sharp on the end. These 3 parts are fastned together, with a single string, the *Brasilians* call it *Tapijai*.

There is besides this another Pismire, call'd by the *Brasilians* *Kupta*, of a Chestnut brown colour; its Head being as big as another Pismire, with Black Eyes, 2 Horns, and 2 Tusks instead of Teeth. The whole Body is covered with Hair; it is divided into 2 parts: The Foremost with 6 Legs being somewhat less than the Hindmost; at certain Seasons it gets 4 Wings, the foremost being a little bigger than the hindmost, which it loses again at a certain time.

The Iron-pig of *Brasil*, called by the *Brasilians*, *Kuandu*; and by the *Portugueses* *Ourico Kachiero*, is of the bigness of a large Ape, its whole Body being covered with sharp Spikes of 3 or 4 Fingers long, without any Hair. Towards the Body those Spikes are halfways yellowish, the remaining part is black, except

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cept the Points, which are whitish, and as sharp as an Awl. When they are vexed, they are able by a certain contraction of the Skin, to throw or dart them with such violence, that they Wound, nay, sometimes Kill Men or Beasts. Their whole Body to measure from the hindmost part of the Head, to the beginning of the Tail, is a Foot long, and the Tail a Foot and 5 Inches in length, which likewise has half ways sharp Spikes, the rest being covered

with Bristles like other Hogs. The Eyes are round, starting and glistering like a Carbuncle; about the Mouth and Nose are Hair of 4 Fingers length, resembling those of our Cats or Hares: The Feet are like those of Apes, but with 4 Fingers only without a Thumb, instead of which you see a place vacant, as if it had been cut away. The fore Legs are less than the hindmost, they are likewise armed with Spikes, but not the feet.



This Creature commonly sleeps in the Day time, and roves about by Night; it breaths through the Noftrils, is a great lover of Fowl, and climbs up the Trees, tho' very slowly. The Flesh is of no ungrateful Taste, but Roasted and Eaten by the Inhabitants. It makes a noise Jii, like the *Luyacert*.

That four-legg'd Creature, by the *Brazilians* called *At*, by the *Portugueses* *Pigwaa*, and by the *Dutch* *Luyacert* (Lazy-back) from its lazy and slow pace, because in 15 Days time it scarce walks above a Stones throw. It is about the

bigness of a middle-sized Fox, its length being a little above a Foot, to measure from the Neck (which is scarce 3 Fingers long) to the Tail. The fore-legs are 7 Fingers long to the Feet, but the hindmost about 6; the Head round of 3 Fingers in length: Its Mouth, which never is without a Foam, is round and small, its Teeth neither large nor sharp. The Nose is black, high, and glib, and the Eyes small, black and heavy. The Body is covered all over with Ash-coloured Hair, about 2 Fingers long; which are more inclining to the white towards

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towards the Back. Round about the Neck the Hair is somewhat longer than the rest. It is a very lazy Creature, unable to undergo any Fatigues, by reason its Legs are as it were disjointed in the middle; yet it keeps upon the Trees, but moves, or rather creeps along very slowly. Its Food is the Leaves of the Trees, it never Drinks, and when it Rains, hides it self. Wherever it fastens with its Paws, it is not easily removed; it makes, tho' seldom, a noise, like our Cats.

The *Pismit-Eater*, is thus called, because he feeds upon nothing but *Pis-mires*; there are two sorts, the great and the small: The *Brasilians* call the first *Tamanduas*, and the last *Tamandui-Guacu*. It is a Four-legg'd Creature, of the bigness of a Dog, with a round Head, long Snout, small Mouth, and no Teeth. The Tongue is roundish, but sometimes 25 Inches, nay two Foot and an half long. When it Feeds, it stretches out its Tongue upon the Dunghills, till the *Pis-mires* have settled upon it, and then Swallows them. It has round Ears, and a rough Tail; is not nimble, but may be taken with the Hand in the Field. The small one, called *Tamandui-Guacu*, is of the bigness of a *Brasilian* Fox, about a Foot in length. On the fore-Feet it has four crooked Claws, two big ones in the midst, and the two lesser on the sides. The Head is round, yet pointed at one end, a little bent below; with a little black Mouth without Teeth. The Eyes are very small, the Ears stand upright about a Fingers length. Two broad black Lifts run along on both sides of the Back; the Hairs on the Tail are longer than those on the Back, the extremity of the Tail is without Hair, wherewith it fastens to the Branches of the Trees. The Hairs all over the Body are of a pale yellow, hard and bright. Its Tongue is round, and about eight Fingers long. It is a very savage Creature, grasps every thing with its Paws, and if you hit it with a Stick, sits upright like a Bear, and takes hold of it with its Mouth. It Sleeps all day long, with its Head and fore-feet under

the Neck, and roves about in the Night time. As often as it Drinks, the Water Spouts forth immediately through the Nostrils.

They have also a kind of Serpente, of about two Fathoms long, without Legs, with a Skin of various Colours, and four Teeth. The Tongue is split in the middle resembling two Arrow, and the Poison is hid in a Bladder in its Tail.

The four Legg'd Creature, called by the *Brasilians*, *Tatu* and *Tampera*, by the *Spaniards*, *Armadillo*, by the *Portugueses*, *Encuberto*, and by the *Dutch*, *Schilt-Verken*, (Shield-Hog,) because it is defended with Scales like as with an Armour, resembles in bigness and shape our Hogs; there are several sorts of them. The uppermost part of the Body, as well as the Head and Tail, is covered with bony Shields, composed of very fine Scales. It has on the Back seven Partitions, betwixt each of which appears a dark brown Skin. The Head is altogether like that of a Hog, with a sharp Nose, wherewith they grub under ground; small Eyes, which lie deep in the Head; a little, but sharp Tongue; dark brown and short Ears, without Hair or Scales: The Colour of the whole Body inclining to Red; the Tail in its beginning is about four Fingers thick, but grows by degrees sharp and round to the end, like those of our Pigs: But the Belly, the Breast, and Legs are without any Scales; but covered with a Skin not unlike that of a Goose, and whitish Hair of a Fingers length. It is generally very bulky and fat, living upon Maloens and Roots, and does considerable mischief in the Plantations. It loves to rout under-ground, Eats Rabbits, and the dead Carcasses of Birds, or any other Carrion: It Drinks much, lives for the most part upon the Land, yet loves the Water and marshy Places; Its Flesh is fit to be eaten. It is catcht like the *Doc* in *Holland* with the Rabbits, by sending a small Dog abroad, who by his Barking, gives notice where it lurks under ground, and so by digging up the Ground it is found and catcht.

Shie
Hog



Batts.

The Batts in *Brasil*, called by the Inhabitants *Ardirika*, are of the bigness of our Crows; they are very fierce, and Bite most violently with their sharp Teeth. They build their Nests in hollow Trees, and holes.

Wild-Geese.

The Bird called by the *Brafilians*, *Spekats Apoa*, by the *Portugueses*, *Pata*, is no more than a Goose; and for that reason by the *Dutch* called a Wild-Goose. It is of the bigness of one of our Geese of about nine Months old; and in all other Respects resembles them. The Belly, and underpart of the Tail, as likewise the Neck, is covered with white Feathers; but on the Back to the Neck, on the Wings and Head, the Feathers are black, intermixed with some green. There are also some black Feathers intermixed with the white ones on the Neck and Belly. They differ from our Geese in this, that they are somewhat bigger; their Bills resemble rather those of our Ducks, but are black and turn'd at the end; and on the top of it grows a broad round and black piece

of Flesh, with white speckles. They are commonly found near the River-side, are very fleshy and well-tasted.

The Bird by the *Brafilians* called *Toukan*, (or large Bill) is about the bigness of a Wood-Pigeon. It has a crop about the Breast of three or four Fingers in compass, of a Saffron colour, with high red coloured Feathers round the edges, which are yellow on the Breast, but black on the Back and all the other parts of the Body. Its Bill is very large of the length of a Palm of a Hand, yellow without, and red within. It is almost incredible how so small a Bird is able to manage so large a Bill, but that it is very thin and light.

The Bird call'd by the *Brafilians*, *Ko-Kokoi*, is a kind of a Crane, very pleasing to the sight, as big as our Storks. Their Bills are streight and sharp, about six Fingers in length, of a yellowish colour inclining to green. The Neck is fifteen Fingers long, the Body ten, the Tail five: Their Legs are half ways covered with Feathers, about eight Fingers in length,

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length, the remaining part being six and an half. The Neck and Throat is white, both sides of the Head black, mixt with Ash colour. On the far and undermost part of the Neck are most delicious, white, long, and thin Feathers, fit for Plumes: The Wings and Tail are of an Ash colour, yet mixt with some white Feathers. All along the Back, you see long and light Feathers, like those on the Necks, but are of an Ash colour: Their Flesh is very good, and of a grateful Taste. There is another kind of these Birds, which is somewhat bigger than a tame Duck. Its Bill is straight and sharp at the end, of the length of four Fingers and a half; with a double Set of Teeth both above and below: The Head and Neck, (which is two foot long) resembles the Crane, with black Eyes enclos'd in a Gold colour'd Circle. The Body is two foot and a half in length; the Tail, which stands even with the extremity of the Wings, four Fingers. The Bill is of an Ash colour towards the Head, the rest yellow, inclining to green. The Head and upper part of the Neck are covered with long pale yellowish Feathers, intermixt with black. On the Back and Wings it has Ash colour'd Feathers inclining to yellow; but the Legs and Feet are dark grey: The Flesh of this Bird is Eatable, and tastes like that of a Crane.

The Bird called by the *Brazilians*, *Jabiru*, and by the *Dutch*, *Schnur Vogel*, (or Barn-Bird) has no Tongue, but a very large Bill, near seven foot and a half long; round and crooked towards the end, of a grey colour. On the top of the Head is a crown of white and green Feathers. The Eyes are black, behind each of which are two great Concavities instead of Ears. The Neck is ten Fingers in length, one half part of which as well as the Head, is not covered with Feathers, but with an Ash colour'd whitish rugged Skin. This Bird is of the bigness of a Storck, with a short black Tail, which stands even with the extremities of the Wings. The other part of the Neck, and the whole Body is covered with white Feathers, and those on the Neck very long, ones: The Wings are likewise white, but mixt with some red. The Flesh, if Kill'd, after the Skin is taken off, is good Food, being very white, but somewhat dry.

Brazil produces incredible quantities of other Wild-Fowl, of all sorts, both great and small, some of which live a-

mong the Woods, others in the Water, but are very good Food.

Of the best kind are the Thrushes, called by them *Barodi*; Pheasants of diverse kinds, called by the *Barbarians*, *Machigu*, *Taku*, and *Arakua*.

Monon is a Bird of the bigness of a Peacock, but has black Feathers, the Flesh is very good and tender. Because this Country is full of Fruit-Trees and Woody Places, it produces abundance of Sparrow-Hawks, and other Hawks, called by the *Portugueses*, *Guaelon*, and by the *Brazilians*, *Teguatá* and *Inga*, which are always in Company with the Chickens and Pigeons.

Among these that live both in the Water and upon the Land, the Wild-Ducks claim the Precedency. Some of these are smaller than the European Ducks, others much exceed them, being as big as a Goose. They have also a sort of Snipes, called *Guana-Miri* and *Guaku*. Besides these there are Crabs, Quails, and Ostriches, and many others of that kind; the Flesh of which is Eatable, but not very toothsome.

The rest of these Birds are very greedy after the Amber-Greese, which is thrown a Shore by the boisterous Sea, which they devour before the Inhabitants can come thither to gather it. They have also abundance of Parrots, or small Parrots, these never speak; but their Parrots are extraordinary fine and large, some of which learn to speak as distinctly as a Man. I have seen some of these Parrots express every thing, what they heard cried in the Streets, very plainly; and among the rest, I saw one, which if put in a Basket upon the Floor, would make a Dog, that belonged to the same House, sit up before the Basket; crying out to him, *Sit up, Sit up, You misty Toad*. Neither did this Parrot leave off Calling and Crying, till the Dog came to sit up before the Basket. It was afterwards presented to the Queen of Sweden.

There is among the rest, a certain small Bird, no bigger than a joint of a Finger, which notwithstanding this makes a great noise, and is catch'd with the Hands, whilst it is sitting among the Flowers, from whence it draws its Nourishment. As often as you turn this Bird, the Feathers represent a different colour; which makes the *Brazilian* Women fasten them with golden Wires to their Ears, as we do our Ear-rings. The Birds here are never destitute of Food, which they always meet with either

643. ther among the Flowers or Fruits of the Trees, which are never spoil'd here during the Winter Season.

Fish. The Rivers and Lakes of *Brasil*, as well as the Neighbouring Sea, furnishes them with great store of all sorts of Fish, which are accounted so wholesome here, that they are even allowed for those that are troubled with Agues. The standing Waters near the Sea-side, which sometimes are quite dry'd up, produce abundance of Craw-Fish, Tortoises, Shrimps, Crabs, Oysters, and divers others of this kind, which are all very good Food.

There are abundance of Fish in *Brasil*, common to the Sea and Rivers; especially during the Rainy Season; when a great quantity of the River Water being conveyed into the Sea, the sweetness of the Water allures the Fish into the Rivers, where meeting with abundance of green Weeds, (the product of the bottom of the Rivers) they never return to the Sea.

Among the River Fish the chiefest are, the *Duja*, *Praijuba*, and *Akara-Puku*, the last of which resembles the best and largest of our Perches.



Brasil produces also various kinds of Insects, some of which are of four Fingers length, and an Inch thick. They have likewise Silk-Worms, called by the *Brasilians*, *Isokuku's*, and their Silk, *Isokurenimbo*. There are also divers sorts of Fire-Flies, which are likewise found in the *East-Indies*, where we shall give you a further account of them. Besides these, there are many sorts of other Flies, Hornets, Wasps, and Bees, some of which produce Honey, some none at all.

Among other kinds of Spiders there is one of a prodigious bigness, which is always found either in Dunghills, or in the Concavities of hollow Trees: They call it, *Nbandugua*. These Creatures Weave Cobwebs like other Spiders; the Skin is rough and black, provided with sharp and long Teeth. This Creature, if provoked, wounds with its poisonous Sting, (which is so small as scarce to be visible) and raises a blueish Tumour, which is very painful, and if care be not taken in time, occasions an

and Travels to BRASIL.

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Bullar, or
Kabbito.

Inflammation, attended with such dangerous Symptoms, as prove afterwards incurable.

Near *Rio St. Francisco* are vast numbers of a certain small Insect not unlike our Crickets; I have been very curious to get sight of this Creature, to satisfy myself as to its Shape and Resemblance to others of this kind; but tho' it makes a very shrill Noise, which resembles that of our Crickets, I was never able to see any of them; for as soon as you approach, they desist, so that you are at a loss which way to look. They Sing sometimes for a quarter of an Hour without intermission. In the Island of *Java* in the *East-Indies* it is commonly heard in the Months of *February* and *June*. At last I had the good fortune to get one of these Creatures into my hands, by means of a certain *Chinese* Woman, after I had often been in search of it, both within and without the City of *Buravia*. The *Javanese* set two of these little Creatures fighting together, and lay Money on both sides, as we do at a Cock-Match.

There are also abundance of ravenous wild Beasts in *Brasil*, such as Tygers, Leopards, &c. The Tygers are extremely Savage here; they fall upon Beasts, and sometimes upon Men, of whom several were kill'd by them in my time. A certain *Portuguese* had a Sugar-ry pleasantly situated near a Wood, we used to go to divert our selves sometimes. The *Portuguese* sitting one time with four more of his Friends in the House, with the Windows drawn up, for the conveniency of the Land-Air, a Dog belonging to the House, who had ventured too far into the adjacent Wood, was pursued by a Tyger, so that to save his Life, he leapt into the Window to seek for shelter near his Master; but the Tyger closely pursuing him, leapt also through the Window into the Room, where the Door being shut, he tore two of those there present in pieces, before the rest could make their escape, and afterwards went his way.

There is another sort of Savage Beast in those Parts, called by some of our People, *Jan-over-Zee*, (or Jack beyond Sea) which surpasses all others in nimbleness, and tears all to pieces it meets with.

Brasil has also great plenty of Cattel, but the Flesh will not keep above 24 hours after it is dress'd. The *Dutch* cut off the Fat, and cut the Lean in thin slices, and dry it in the Sun like Fish. No Butter is to be made here, because

the Milk turns to Curds immediately; The *Dutch* Butter is drawn out of a Vessel like Oil.

Their Hogs are small and black, but very well tasted and wholesome; there is another kind of amphibious Hogs, by the *Portuguese*, called *Kapiverres*, they are very near as black as the others, and good Food.

There is another four legg'd Creature in *Brasil*, called by the Inhabitants *Tape-rete*, and by the *Portuguese*, *Antes*; its Flesh has the taste of Beef, but somewhat finer. It is about the bigness of a Calf, but shaped like a Hog; it Sleeps all day among the Woods, and seeks for Belly-Timber in the night: Its Food is Grass, Sugar-Reeds, Cabbages, and such like. They have likewise good store of Goats, call'd by them *Pakas* and *Kotius*, and Hares and Rabbits, which don't give way in goodness to those of *Europe*. There is also an excellent kind of Lizards, call'd, by the Inhabitants, *Vuano* and *Seju*, which are accounted a dainty Bit.

The Fish in *Brasil* are no less considerable for the supply of our Plantations, than the Cattel, which are on the Coasts of *Brasil*, but especially in *Pernambuko*, where they are found in such Plenty, that at one Draught they catch sometimes 2 or 3000 fine Fish in the four or five Summer Months; for, during the rainy Season, they catch but few. There are certain Districts along the Sea-Coast whither the Fish most resort; some of those belong to the Inhabitants, the rest to the Company, and are Farm'd at a certain Rate per Annum. The Lakes, as well as the Bays, are stor'd with an incredible multitude of Fish; the first are by the *Portuguese* call'd *Alagoas*; and the best they produce, are the *Sindia*, *Queba*, and *Noja*, all without Scales. And tho' the Fish, which are catcht in the Lakes are not so much esteemed as the River-Fish, nevertheless are they not much behind them in goodness, because these Lakes are not always standing Waters, but intermix'd with several Rivers. Some of these Fish they dry in the Sun. The chiefest of this kind, are those called by the *Brasilians*, *Kurima Parati*, and by the *Dutch* Inhabitants *Herders*. They abound no less in Sea-Fish of all sorts. The Fish call'd by the *Brasilians*, *Karapan-tangele*, which is not unlike our Perch, has the Preference among them. And as the Rivers furnish infinite numbers of Fish, so they are generally fatter, and better tasted than the Sea-Fish. Those which are catcht in those Fisheries near

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7th the Sea-shore, are for the most part Salted, and carried from thence into the Country, for the use of the Sugar-Mills, which cause great Plenty among them.

The Craw-Fish, which are in great quantities near the Rivers and in the marshy Grounds, serve likewise for Food to the *Brasilians* and *Negro's*, and some of our People like them tolerably well.

It is further to be observed, that whereas a considerable number of Cattle, during the War, was run astray out of the Parks into the Forests and Woods beyond the River of *St. Francis*, it was thought convenient by the great Council of the Company here, to agree with certain Persons to catch this Cattle, and bring it to the *Receif*, in order to be kill'd for the use of the Inhabitants. The time of the said Contract being expired, it was consulted, whether the same should be renewed; but it being apparent, that there were not enough left, to quit the same was laid aside, and this Resolution sent to the Council of *NIX.* For, in the mean while, the Inhabitants near *Rio St. Francis* and *Rio Grande*, having applied themselves with great Industry to the Breeding of Cattle, their Parks were so well stocked by this time, that they not only furnish'd the Inhabitants of the *Receif*, but also the Sugar-Mills, with plenty of Meat, which was bought at the rate of three and four Pence per Pound in the Country; besides, that they provided the Garisons with the same for a Twelve-Month, after the Store-Houses of the *Receif* were emptied; notwithstanding this, the Inhabitants of those Parts were not out of Debt, when those of *Pernambuko* and *Alagoas*, were involved over Head and Ears; which shews what Advantage they reap from the Breeding of Cattle; and that if the *Dutch Brasil* had continued in Peace, those Parks might have furnished all the Garisons with Meat, without impairing their stock for Breeding; which, together with the great Plenty of Fish, are the two main Pillars of the State of *Brasil*.

Notwithstanding all which, it is certain, that the Inhabitants of the *Dutch Brasil* cannot be provided with sufficient Maintenance, without a yearly Supply from *Europe*, as well of Eatables as other Commodities, as has been found by experience, to the great Detriment of the Company; after our Store-Houses were exhausted by the several Expeditions against *Angola*, *Maranhao*, and other Places.

In the Rivers and Lakes here, are also found Crocodiles, by the *Brasilians*, called *Takete*, and in the *Fish-Lakes*, *Kaymans*. They are like the *African Crocodiles*, but not quite so big, seldom exceeding five Foot in length. They lay 20 or 30 Eggs bigger than Geese-Eggs, which are Eaten by the *Brasilians*, *Portuguese*, and *Dutch*, as well as the Flish.

In the Seas, near the Coast of *Brasil*, they meet also sometimes with great Lampreys. Before the Bridge from the *Receif* to *Maurice-Town* was built, one of this kind of a considerable bigness did lurk near that Passage, where the Boats used to pass over from one side to the other, and snatch all that fell in his way, (both Men or Dogs, that swam sometimes after the Boat) into the Water. But at a certain time, by the sudden falling of the Tide, being got aground with the foremost part of the Body, he was with much ado brought ashore.

The District of *Pernambuko* does also abound in various sorts of Fruits, as well as all the other Parts of *Brasil*, of which we shall say more hereafter.

Upon the Captainship of *Pernambuko*, Borders to the North, the Captainship of *Tamarika*, which owes its Name to an Isle of the same Name, being the chiefest part of this District, which however extends near 35 Leagues along the Sea-Coast on the Continent.

The Island of *Tamarika* lies two Leagues to the North of *Poiverello*, in the Sea; being parted from the Continent by the River *Tamarika*, its most Southern Point lying under the 7th Degree 58 Minutes Southern Latitude. It is from South to North about two Leagues long, and its Circuit near seven. To the Jurisdiction of this Isle did also belong *Goyana*, *Kapivaribi*, *Terukupa*, and *Abray* on the Continent. Formerly it had but few Inhabitants, and scarce any Houses, tho' it is a very pleasant Isle, and tolerably fertile, producing *Brasil-Wood*, *Coco-Nuts*, *Cotton*, *Sugar-Reeds*, *Melons*, and such like; besides Wood for Firing, and fresh Water for the conveniency of the *Receif*: It abounds likewise in Wood both for Building of Houses and Shipping. This Island was much infested with Wild-Beasts, which did great mischief to the Sugar-Reeds: This moved *Peter Pas*, Director of the Captainship of *Tamarika*, to make his Application to Count *Maurice*, and the Great Council, 1647. to know their Pleasure,

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Pleasure, whether they should dispose of those Beasts by Contract to such as would be at the Charge of catching of them, or whether they should be taken and kill'd for the use of the Garrisons; But this was rejected by the Council, who enjoyn'd the Inhabitants, not to kill those Beasts in the open Fields, unless they should break into their Plantations, it being for the Interest of the Company to preserve them in case of a necessity: The Damage which from thence might accrue to the Sugar-Reeds, being to be prevented by surrounding their Plantations with Pales and Stakes.

The Consequence of this Issue.

The Island is look'd upon as of the greatest Consequence to us, it having been propos'd by some to transfer the Seat of the *Dutch Brasil* from the *Receif* thither; but the Directors of the Company did not agree to it, considering that at that time* this Island was quite desolate; whereas upon the *Receif* were Store-Houses, Magazines, Ware-Houses, and such like Buildings ready to their Hands, besides that the Place was much more pleasant, fertile, and stronger; and the Harbour much more convenient for Ships: The River *Tamarika* on the other hand being not Navigable, but for small Vessels, by reason of the shallowness of the Harbour, which was noted for Shipwracks. The Defect of fresh Water in the *Receif*, in which this Isle abounds, may be supplied from the River *Biberibi*; besides that, they had several Basins with fresh Water within the *Receif* for their present use. During the War with the *Portugueses* we were sensible of the Conveniencies we received from this Island, by reason of its strength both by Art and Nature, which might serve as a safe Retreat upon all Emergencies; besides, that its preservation was absolutely necessary for the *Receif*, which was supplied from thence with Fish, and several other sorts of Provisions.

Upon the Banks of the River at the South Entrance of the Harbour, we had built a Quadrangular Fort, called *Orange*. It was provided with a goodly Wall, but the Ditch was not very deep, and for the most part without Water, for which reason it was strengthened with Pallisadoes. On the Northside we had a Hornwork, but much decay'd; within the Body of the Fort was a Powder-Vault, and other Conveniencies for the Bedding of Soldiers. Several Batteries were raised upon the Walls, mounted upon six Brass and as many Iron great

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Guns. In the Island near the entrance of the River close by a Morais, full of Thorn-Bushes, was a small Town, most inhabited by Soldiers, called by the *Portugueses*, *Nossa Senhora de la Conceicao*. Upon a hanging Rock, just by, was an old Redoubt erected by the *Portugueses*, called by the same Names, which together with the whole Island, was taken by the *Dutch*, under the Command of Colonel *Schop* from the *Portugueses*, and the Place after his Name, called *Schop's Town*. This Fort was afterwards by the *Dutch* closed up on the backside towards the Church, so that it afterwards served both for the Defence of the Town and the Harbour, as the *Blockhouse* on the Northside covered the Gates. There were then 11 pieces of Cannon mounted upon it. At the North Entrance of the Harbour was another Redoubt, which defended that passage on that side, with three iron Cannon. One Mr. *Dornick*, Governor of *Tamarika*, found under the before mentioned Rock, in 1645, as he was digging a Well, a Spring of fresh Water, which proved very useful for the Garrison, because it could not be cut off by the Enemy.

Somewhat higher up the River *Tamarika*, lies an Island called *Magioppe*, where are found abundance of *Mandooka* Roots. You may go quite round this Island in Barks; it having a kind of a Harbour on both ends, viz. to the South and North, but the first is the best; because there rises from the Northern shore of the Continent, a Shelf, which reaches very close to the Island, the Channel betwixt both not having above 10 or 12 Foot Water. The only Harbour fit for use thereabouts is the South-Entrance of the River, which makes *Tamarika* an Island, where Ships, that drew 14 or 15 Foot Water, may pass through; There is no convenient Anchorage. That end, where the River returns into the Sea, is by the *Dutch* called the North-Entrance, and by the *Portugueses*, *Katnamma*.

Betwixt *Pomerello*, and the River *Tamarika*, a River comes from the Continent fit for Barges, called *Marasarinha*; and half a League within the Mouth of the River *Tamarika*, another falls likewise from the Continent, called *Garassou*, but is of little moment. From thence to the North, are several other Rivers near the Sea-shore, which are Navigable, with Barges for the conveyency of the Sugar-Mills, of which there are several thereabouts.

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A League and an half further to the North of the North-Entrance of *Tamarika*, is a noted point of Land called by the *Portugueses*, *Punto Pedra*, surrounded with a *Receif*, betwixt which you may pass with Barges and Yachts.

The River
Goyana.

A League further to the North from this Point, and three Leagues to the North-West of *Tamarika*, is the small River *Goyana*, under 7 Deg. and 46 Min. which disembogues in two Branches in the Bay; At the entrance lies a great Rock, where is great store of Sea-Fowl. Before it lies a great *Receif*, but within it are so many Shelves that renders the passage very dangerous.

The River
Auyay.

About two Leagues and a half beyond the River *Goyana*, to the North, is a great River, called *Auyay*, but the Entrance is so choak'd up with Sands, that there is scarce any passage for Barges. This River sends forth several Branches into the Country, upon one of which to the North, lies the Village of *Maurice*, and upon the Southern Branch the Village *Auyay*.

Porto
Francisco.

Among others, *Porto Francisco* lies in a Creek three long Leagues to the North of the River *Auyay*; and five Leagues to the North-West of the same River, an Unnavigable River called *Grammana*, besides several other Rivulets.

Cape of
Parayba.

About a League and a half to the North-West of the River *Grammana*, is the *Cabo Blanco*, or White Cape, and three Leagues from thence to the North-West, the Cape of *Parayba*, being a long point of Land, with a large adjacent Bay. The whole Coast from *Pomerello* to the Cape of *Parayba*, is covered with *Receifs* or Rocks, which lying for the most part about half a League from the Shore, and the Water betwixt them being generally very smooth, affords an easy passage to Barges, even in tempestuous Weather; when it is almost impossible for Ships to pass without the Rocks, by reason of the violence of the Current from the Northern, and the Southern Winds, which blow there continually.

The Town
of Goyana.

Three Leagues within the Mouth of the River *Goyana* is a Town of the same Name, where is kept the Court of Judicature of this *Captainship*. There are five or six Sugar-Mills thereabouts, situated upon the Banks of the River, for the more commodious Transportation of Sugar in Barges to *Pernambuco*. This Country produces likewise *Brass*, *Wood*, *Ginger*, *Cotton*, and *Indian Nuts*; The People called *Patiguaves* Inhabit here;

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tho' this whole Tract of Land, as far as *Cabo Blanco*, is not very populous, having only a few Villages, inhabited by the *Brazilians*.

The Isle of *Tamarika* has several landing Places on the River-side, the chiefest are: *Os Markos* and *Pedreiros*; where the River is narrowest; *Tapasima* and *Kamboa* of *Domingos Rebeyro*; the great *Makqueira* and *Kamboa* of *Conrad Pauli*; in which Places the Enemy landed in that Island. The Pass near the North-Entrance of *Tapowa*, and the Island, *Taposoka*, where with one single Ship you may defend the passage from the Rivers *Tujukapape* and *Masserandaku*, as likewise from the Sea. For the rest the Shore all along the River being very marshy and full of *Manga's* Trees, is of a very difficult access. The Shore towards the Sea-side is very flat, but Woody, which together with the Sands, that are at some distance in the Sea, makes the approach of Ships very dangerous on that side. Formerly the Court of Judicature of the *Captainship* was kept in this Island, but was afterwards transferred from thence, as we told you before, to the Town of *Goyana* and *Kapvoaribi* on the Continent, because these Places were both more populous, and more Sugar-Mills were built thereabouts, the Ground being much better here than in the Island. In my time there were five Judges belonging to this Court, three of which lived at *Goyana*, the other two in the Isle of *Itamarika*. However, this Court was afterwards likewise removed from *Goyana*. In the year 1641. Mr. *Peter Pas* was Director of the *Captainship* of *Itamarika* for the *West-India Company*, and Captain *Sluiter* Commander in Chief over the Soldiers.

This *Captainship* has derived its Name from the Capital City, which has borrowed hers of the River *Parayba*, upon which it is situate. It is one of the most Northerly *Captainships*, about five Leagues distant from the Sea. It was formerly in the Possession of the French, who were 1585. chased from thence, and several other Harbours, by the *Portuguese* General *Martin Leytan*.

Five Leagues upwards the River *Parayba*, is a City founded by the *Portugueses*, and after *Philip King of Spain*, called *Filippen* and *Nossa Senhora de Nives*, otherwise *Parayba*, from the River *Parayba*; which Name was by the *Dutch*, after they had in November 1633. conquered the whole *Captainship*, changed into that of *Frederick's Town*, after *Frederick Henry Prince of Orange*. This City

The (th)
Parayba.

City had been but lately built by the *Portugueses*, and had several stately Houses with Marble Pillars, the rest being only of Stone. Here is kept the Court of Judicature of this *Captainship*. Before the time of the Rebellion of the *Portugueses*, this Place was Inhabited as well by the *Portugueses* as Dutch, being much frequented by the Inhabitants of the circumjacent Country, was used to Exchange their Sugar for what other Commodities they stood in need of, which was afterwards from thence transported to other Places.

Within the Mouth of the River *Parayba*, were three very considerable Forts. One on the South-Point, by the *Portugueses* called *Catharine*, but by Count *Maurice*, afterwards named *Margaret*, after his Sister. It was defended with five goodly Bastions, and a Hornwork without.

The Fort called *St. Antonio* by the *Portugueses*, was built upon a small Island, which by a narrow Branch was separated from the North-Point. This is only the Remainder of a large four square Fort, formerly erected by the *Portugueses*, which was afterwards Rased by the *Dutch*, part of it having been washed away by the River. It is surrounded with Pallisadoes and a good Ditch, supplied with Water from the beforenamed Branch of the River: The Walls are very strong, and upon a Battery are mounted 6 Iron pieces of Cannon. It may be defended by the Cannon, both from the City of *Parayba*, and from the Fort *Margaret* lying just opposite to it on the South-side, which is the reason it was always but carelessly guarded by the *Portugueses*.

The Third Fort lies upon a Triangular Island, called *Refinga*, not far from thence, more upwards the River. It was strengthened with Pallisadoes, and upon the Batteries, were mounted five Brads, and as many Iron pieces of Cannon.

The *Captainship* of *Parayba* is watered and divided by two considerable Rivers, viz. the *Parayba*, and *Mongoapa*, otherwise called *St. Domingo*. The great River of *Parayba* lies under the 6th Deg. 24 Min. four Leagues to the North of of *Cabo Blanco*, and discharges it self in two Branches into the Sea, being separated by a large Sand Bank: One is called the Northern, and the other the Southern Entrance. From the last extends a Rocky-ridge as far as *Cabo Blanco*, and within the River lies a Sand Bank quit cross to the Fort *Margaret*. This

River is very shallow during the Summer time, but in the Winter Season, the Waters rise to that height, that they overflow all the adjacent Country, sometimes to the great loss of Men and Cattle.

Two Leagues beyond this River to the North, is a Bay, which affords a very safe Station to the largest Ships. It is by the *Portugueses* called *Porto Lucena*, and *Porto* by the *Dutch*, the *Red Land*, the Grounds *Lucen* being *Red* hereabouts. There is very good Anchorage here at 5 and 6 Fathom Water, and the Country near it affords very good fresh Water; which is the reason why the *Dutch* Ships bound for *Holland* from the *Receif*, used to stay for one another coming in this Bay, and to provide themselves with fresh Water.

Half a League further to the North, under 6 Deg. 34 Min. is the River *Mon-River* *Mo goapa*, or *Mongoanawapy*, exonerates it self *goapa*. into the Sea: This River is much larger, towards its Source than at the Mouth; the Banks on both sides being full of Briars, Bulshes, and *Manga* Trees. Before its Entrance, lies a *Receif*, and at the very Mouth two dangerous Sand-Banks; It has three Fathom Water at low Tide.

About two small Leagues to the North of the River *Mongoapa*, is a Bay, called by the *Portugueses*, *Bahia de Treyçano*, or *Treyson*, where, at about a Leagues distance from the Shore, is 11 or 12 Fathom Water. Five Leagues to the North of this Bay, you meet with the River *Barra Koryon* or *Konyo*, which is scarce passable for Yachts. About a League and a half from thence is a large Bay of about two Leagues in length, called *Pernambuko*; and five Leagues beyond it to the North, the River *Jan de Sta*, or *Estan*.

The Natives of *Parayba* inhabit about 7 Villages, the chiefest of which is called *Pinda Una*, which in 1634. contained about 1500 Inhabitants, whereas each of the others had scarce 300; each of these comprehending not above 5 or 6 very long Buildings, with a great many Doors, but very small ones.

The chief Commodities of this *Captainship*, are Sugar, *Brasil*-Wood, Tobacco, Hides, Cotton, and such like. The Sugar-Reeds did bear extremely well, because they were transplanted into fresh Grounds. Whilst the District of *Parayba* was under our Jurisdiction, there were above 21 Sugar-Mills on both sides of the Banks of the River, 18 of which sent away every year 4000 Chests of Sugar. Near the River-side, the

Country is low and plain, but not far from thence rises by degrees, and affords a very agreeable variety of Hills and Valleys. The flat Country, which is also the most fertile, is distinguish'd into several Divisions, some of which have borrowed their Names from small Rivers which run through them, as for instance: *Gramamina*, *Tapoa*, *Tibety*, *Ingeby*, *Alonguappe*, *Incery*, *Kamaratuba*, and several more. All those Countries are extremely fertile, occasioned by the overflowing of the River *Parayba*. Their Products are: Sugar, Barley, Turkey Wheat, Potatoes, *Anana's*, *Coco-Nuts*, Melons, Oranges, Citrons, *Banana's*, *Pakova's*, *Markoma's*, Cucumbers, and all other Necessaries for the Sustainance of Men and Beasts. They have here a kind of wild Pears, called *Kajou's*, which are very juicy and well-tasted; within is a certain Bean or small Nutt, the Rind of which is bitter, but the Kernel sweet if roasted in the Ashes. The Pear is very cooling, but the Nutt has a contrary quality.

Towards the end of November 1634. the Dutch undertook the Expedition against *Parayba*, their Forces being Embarked in 32 Ships under the Command of Colonel *Schoppe*, *Artisjoki*, *Hinder son*, *Strachouwer*, and *Carpentier*. The whole Fleet was divided into 2 Squadrons, the first consisted of 21 Ships, in which were 1945. the other of 11 Yachts, with 409 Men. *Schoppe* was the first that landed 600 Men, and advanced towards the Enemy, who betook themselves to their Heels, leaving their Arms and Cloaths behind them; *Anthony Albuquerque* their General, himself scarce escaping their hands. In the mean while, the rest being likewise got a Shore, 3 Companies, under the Conduct of *Gasper Ley*, marched directly to the Fort of *Margaret*, and intrencht himself near the Fort, whilst *Schoppe* kept all along the Shore, and *Artisjoki*, posted himself on the right side in sight of the Garrison: At the same time Mr. *Lichtbart* attackt the Fort in the small Island *Restinga*, which he took by force, and put the Garrison to the Sword. By this time, *Schoppe* had raised a Battery against the Fort, from whence he so sorely gall'd the Besieged, that their Commander *Simon d'Albuquerque* surrendered the Place. Hereupon the Fort of *St. Antonio* was summoned to surrender, *Maglianes* the Governor desired three days delay, which being denied, he marched away secretly by Night, leaving the Place to *Lichtbart*,

who found there 5 great Brass Pieces, and 19 Iron Pieces of Cannon.

The same Night our Forces marched towards the City of *Parayba*, being 1600 strong, and having pais'd a small Branch of the River called *Tambra Grande*, made themselves Masters of it without any opposition: The Spanish General *Banjola*, who commanded there with 250 Men only, having left the Place before, and being retired to *Goyana*, after he had either sunk or nail'd up the Cannon, and set fire to three Ships, and two Warehouse, in which were consumed 3000 Chefts with Sugar. The Fort of *St. Catharine* being much decay'd, was ordered by Count *Maurice* to be repaired, and the Ditch to be enlarged and deepned; giving it the Name of *Margaret* after his Sister. The Fort of *St. Antonio* was rased for the greatest part, there being only one Bulwark left for the Defence of the North-point of the River. The Fort *Restingas* was ordered to be surrounded with new Palliades, and the Convent of *Parayba* fortified with a Wall and Outwork; and the Command thereof given to *Elias Harkman*, together with the Government of the whole Captainship.

The Captainship of *Potigi*, or *Potingi*, *Potigi*, or *Poteingi*, is otherwise by the Portuguese called *Rio Grande*, from a River of the same Name: The Dutch call it *North Brasil*, in respect of the more Southern Captainships of *Brasil*. It Borders to the South upon *Parayba*, and to the North upon the Captainship of *Siara*; tho' the Portuguese Geographers extend its Bounds as far as the Island *Marambaon*.

The French were once Masters of this Captainship, till 1597. they were Chased from thence by the Spanish Commander, *Feliciano Creca de Karvalasho*. It has four Divisions, named after so many Rivers, that run through them; viz. *Kunhao*, *Goyana*, *Mumpobu*, and *Potezy*. And tho' this District has been much neglected by the Portuguese, yet does it produce plenty of Wild-Fowl, and Fish, which are so luscious, that they commonly Eat them only with Lemon-Juice or Vinegar, without Oil. There is an incredible number of Fish in the Lake *Goraires*, besides which, abundance of *Farinha* is planted here. This part of the Country stood us in good stead during the late Rebellion of the Portuguese, our Garrisons in *Parayba*, and other Places, being supplied from thence with good store of Flesh and Fish.

The Dutch
conquer
Parayba.

Above

1643.
River Rio Grande.

Above the River *Rio Grande*, is a Town of no great moment, called *Amsterdam*; the Inhabitants live by Planting *Farinha* and *Tobacco*, and Fishing. Higher up in the Country live some *Moradores*, or Husbandmen, who cultivate the Grounds; but on the North-side of *Rio Grande* are but few Inhabitants.

The River *Rio Grande*, i. e. the *Great River*, is so called by the *Portugueses* from its bigness; but by the *Brasilians*, *Potigi*, or *Poteingi*. The Mouth of this River lies under 50 Deg. 42 Min. Southern Latitude, 3 Leagues from *Punto Negro*, coming from the West-side of the Continent. It disembogues 4 Leagues above the Fort *Keulen*, call'd by the *Portugueses*, *Tres Rayos*: It bears Ships of great Burthen; But the River *Kunhao* in the same *Captainship* is only Navigable with Barges and Yachts. The Bays of this *Captainship* are, *Bahia Formosa*, *Punto Negro*, *Ponto de Ipaes*, and the Bay of *Martin Tuisen*. The Bay of *Ginapabo* lies beyond *Rio Grande* to the North; and beyond that a River called *Guaßau*, upon which near the Mouth lies the Village *Arape Wappa*. Near to the North you meet with the River *Siria Mixui*; and near the Village of *Natal*, and the Fort of *Tres Rayos*, passes a River called the *Cross River*, which arises out of a small Lake in *Rio Grande*. Over against the same Fort, a fresh River falls into the *Great River*, betwixt two Land-Banks, and not far from thence another Salt-Water River.

The Fort Keulen.

The Fort *Keulen* was four-square, built upon a Rock, or Point of a *Recess*, at some distance from the Shore, at the Mouth of the River *Receij*; being surrounded with Water as often as it's flowing Water, so that at high-Tide there is no coming at it but with Boats. In the midst of this Fort is a small Chapel, where in 1645, and 1646, our People found a Wall about a Foot and a half wide on the top, but at the bottom 3 feet, cut within a Rock, which brings fresh Supplies of good and sweet Water every Tide; with an ordinary Tide, 225, and at Spring-Tide, about 350 Quarts; which is more than sufficient for the use of the Garrison, in case of a Siege. The Fort is built of square Stone; being towards the Shore defended with two half Bastions, in form of Hornworks. In the year 1646, there was an Artillery of 29, as well Bras as Iron pieces of Cannon in the Place, and provided with a good under-Vault, and convenient Lodgements for the Soldiers.

This Fort was in 1633, taken by the Dutch under the Command of *Martin van Keulen*, one of the Governors of the Company, who being assisted by several noted Captains, viz. *Byma*, *Kloppenburgh*, *Lechtbarr*, *Gaßman*, and *Mansfeld van Feulen*, set Sail thither with 808 Men, embarked in 4 Ships, and 7 Yachts, and made himself Master of it, and the whole *Captainship* at the same time; since which it changed its Name *Tres Rayos* into that of *Keulen*, from the Commander in chief of this Expedition.

The *Tapoyers*, (or Mountaineers) use commonly twice a year, especially when the dry Season puts them in want of fresh Water, to make an Inroad into this *Captainship*; there being a constant Enmity betwixt them and the *Portugueses*. It happen'd in July 1645, that these *Tapoyers* being advertized that the *Portugueses* intended to Revolt from us, and had actually begun the same in *Pernambuk*, did, under the Conduct of one of their Leaders, called *Jacob Rabbi*, after several Provocations given them by the *Portugueses*, make an Incurſion into *Kunhao*, where they killed 36 Persons in a Sugar-Mill, belonging to one *Gonsalvo d'Oliveira*. From thence they marched to a certain Place, where the *Portugueses* had cast up a Line for their Defence, which they made themselves Masters of, and put the *Portugueses* to the Sword. The *Brasilians* told us, that this had been done in requital of what had been done to some of those Mountaineers by one *Andrew Vidal* in *Serinheim*, after quarter given them before, of which we shall say more hereafter. Since which time, the *Portugueses* have laid this Tract desolate, which the Dutch once had a mind to Re-people, and to put it in the same Condition as the *Portugueses* had possess'd it, but for want of People that design was fain to be laid aside.

The *Captainship* of *Siara* is one of the most Northerly Districts of *Brasil*, bordering upon *Maranhao* to the North upon the River *Siara*. It is of no great extent, its whole Compaſs being not above 10 or 12 Leagues.

The River *Siara*, which rises deep in the Continent, disembogues about seven Leagues and a half to the North of the Bay *Mangorypa*, under 3 Deg. 40 Min. Southern Latitude.

The Native Inhabitants of this *Captainship*, according to the Report of those that have frequently visited it, are very large of Stature, with ugly Features, long Hair, and black Skin; ex-

1643.
The River Keulen, the Dutch

The River Siara.

1643.

cept the space betwixt the Eyes and Mouth. They have holes in their Ears, which hang downwards upon the Shoulders; some make holes in their Lips, some in their Noses, in which they wear Stones as an Ornament. Their Food is *Farinha*, Wild-Fowls, Fish, and Fruit. They Drink most Water, but make likewise a certain Liquor out of *Farinha*; and of late began to be used to Drink good store of Brandy, tho' it was expressly forbidden to bring it into the Villages, to keep them from the excessive use of strong Liquors. The Country produces Sugar-Reeds, Chrystal, Cotton, Pearls, Salt, and several other Commodities. Ambergreese is also found on the Sea-shore.

The Inland part of the Country was in 1630. govern'd by one of their own Kings, call'd *Algodoi*; in some respect Tributary to the *Portugueses*, who had built a Fort upon the River *Siara*, and made themselves Masters of the whole Sea-Coast thereabouts; notwithstanding which they were in continual Broils with one another till 1638. This Fort and the whole Country was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueses* in the following manner.

Siara conquered by the Dutch.

Count *Maurice*, and the Council, being solicited by the Natives of that Country to make themselves Masters of the *Portuguese* Fort on that side, and to deliver them from the Oppression they lay under at that time, they offering their Assistance, and giving two young Lads of their best Families, as Pledges of their Fidelity, this Expedition was resolved upon. The chief Command over the Troops design'd for this Exploit, was conferr'd upon Colonel *John Garfman*, a Man of more than ordinary Conduct in Martial Affairs, tho' as the case then stood, this Enterprize was not likely to meet with any considerable Difficulties; being assured of the Assistance of the *Brasilians*, who bore an old hatred to the *Portugueses*, and were acquainted with the Strength and Condition both of their Forces and Places. *Garfman* being provided with Ships, Men, Ammunition, and all other Necessaries requisite for such an Expedition, set sail towards the River *Siara*; where being met by the *Algodoi*, or King, with white Ensigns in token of Peace, and having landed his Men, 200 of the Natives joyned with them. With those he marched directly to the Fort, which after a brave Resistance from the *Portugueses*, who killed some of his Men, he

took by Storm; and made most of the Garrison Prisoners, among whom were some Commanders of Note: They found good store of Cannon and Artillery in the Place.

Since that time, the *Dutch* built a small Fort upon the *Siara*, unto which they gave likewise the Name of *Siara*, which was provided with a Garrison of betwixt 30 and 40 Soldiers only; not so much for the defence of the Country, as to maintain a good correspondency with the *Brasilians*, who being very numerous in those Parts, might do us considerable Service in time of War. It was upon this Consideration, that the great Council always commanded their Officers, sent thither, to cultivate a good Understanding with them; and at several times sent them some small Presents, which, however proved ineffectual in the end, for in 1644. they attackt and killed several of our Men at *Komefy*, (a Place about 30 Leagues from *Siara*) as we shall hear anon.

For, the *Brasilians*, being in 1641. increased to such a number in *Siara*, that the Villages thereabouts were not able to contain them without great inconvenience whereas the District of *Rio Grande*, was almost destitute of Inhabitants, and consequently not in a Condition to oppose an Enemy, one *Andrew Uliis*, proposed to the great Council, to build a Village in *Rio Grande*, for the use of such as intended to settle there q^t of *Siara*, desiring to be constituted Chief of the said Village: Count *Maurice*, and the Great Council, being informed of the Inclinations of those of *Siara*, who were willing to Settle in *Rio Grande*, their ancient Place of abode, and considering the Benefit that was likely to accrue to the Company, from the Settlement of those *Brasilians*, so near at hand, granted *Uliis*'s Request, wishing him to bring thither as many of the *Brasilians* of *Siara* as he thought convenient, for the compass of a Village of which he was made Chief or Captain. Things being thus settled, they chose, with the Approbation of our Directors, certain Chiefs or Heads out of the most antient Families of each Division, called *Residoor* by the *Portugueses*, and certain Judges; as for instance in *Goyana*, *Domingoi*, *Fernandes*, and *Karapera*; in *Parayba*, *Peter Poty*; and in *Rio Grande*, *Anomoi Perapera*. Notwithstanding all this, the *Brasilians* of *Siara* revolted against the *Dutch* in 1644. surprized the Garrison in the Fort, which they razed, and killed the Commandey

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1643. in Chief, *Gideon Morritz*, with the whole Garrison, besides all the Workmen belonging to the Salt-Pits near the River *Upamema*, who were all cut in pieces by these Barbarians.

A certain Master of a Ship, with a Captain, Lieutenant, and some Soldiers, who happened to come ashore in a Boat to fetch some fresh Provisions, being ignorant of their Treachery, were also put to the Slaughter, three Seamen having the good fortune to escape with their Lives into the Wood.

Some laid the Cause of this Rebellion at the door of the *Portugueses* and *Brasilians* of *Maranhao*, bordering upon them; but if we search into the true Source of this Evil, it must be attributed to the Misconduct of our own Officers, who by their hard-usage, had forced the Inhabitants to revenge themselves for the Injuries received at their hands.

Thus much concerning the *Captainships* of the *Dutch Brasil*; we will in the next Place give you an Account of all the memorable Transactions that happened betwixt the *Dutch* and *Portugueses* in *Brasil* during our stay there; after I have represented to you the Excellency, and convenient Situation of this Country, together with the Ecclesiastical State of the *Dutch Brasil*.

The Excellency of Brasil.

Brasil is a Country excellently well-qualified by Nature for the producing of all Things, which are generally found in the *West-Indies*, under or near the same Climate; except, that hitherto no Gold or Silver-Mines have been discovered here worth taking notice of. But next to Gold and Silver, the Sugar claims the precedence here before all other Commodities. Among all the Harbours and Places of the *West-Indies*, there is not one that can compare with *Brasil*, either for the Product, or Convenience of Transportation of Sugar; the whole Coast of *Brasil* being full of small Rivers, which flowing through the adjacent Valleys, disembogue in the Sea; from whence the Sugar-Mills built in the Valleys reap the Benefit of saving vast Charges, which else must be bestowed upon Labourers and Carriages; whereas these Rivers drive the Mills, serve for the Transportation of Sugar to other Places, and furnish them at an easy rate with what Commodities they stand in need of; all which Conveniences, as they are not to be met with in any other Place of the *West-Indies*; so, no Sugar-Mills could be erected there with any prospect of Profit. The Exportation of

Sugar from *Brasil* into *Europe* and *Africa* is likewise performed with much more Ease than from any other Places in the *West-Indies*; for the Situation of *Brasil*, (being the most Eastern part of all *America*) is such as could not be more conveniently contrived by human Art or Nature for the Transportation of so general and agreeable a Commodity, as Sugar, into all the other Parts of the World; considering those two Excellencies of *Brasil*, together with its vast extent, it is most certain, that, provided it were well peopled, it might Command both the *North* and *Aethiopian* Seas, and spread its Commerce over all Parts of the World; nay, it might extend its Conquests both to the East and West, or at least establish Factories there for the Convenience of Traffick. To prove which, it is to be observed,

That all *East-India* Ships both going and coming, must pass by the Coast of *Brasil*; and, as those Ships in their Voyage thither, are often forced to touch upon this Coast, so in their return, nothing could be more commodious for them, than to be supplied with fresh Provisions here. From *Brasil* you may sail in 14 days to the *Caribbee* Islands, and in the same time, or a little longer, to *Sierra Leona* on the Coast of *Guinea*. It is impossible to enter deep into the great South Sea, (whereabouts a great part of the Terrestrial Globe remains as yet undiscovered) unless you take in fresh Provisions and Firing in *Brasil*, or expose your self to the greatest Hazards imaginable in so long a Voyage; as is sufficiently evident from the Journals of *Oliver Van North*, *Spilbergen*, *le Maire*, and *John P. Heremste*. And Experience has taught us, since Mr. *Brewer's* Voyage to *Chili*, how easy the passage is betwixt *Brasil* and the South Sea; for he lost not so much as one Ship out of four, and very few died in the whole Voyage.

Brasil enjoys likewise the advantage of a very wholesome Climate; for though it lies betwixt the Equinoctial Line and the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and consequently is subject to burning heats, yet are the same much allayed by the Winds, that blow out of the East from the Sea, their free passage being not interrupted by any Mountains or Islands; which is the reason, that in *Brasil* the same Distempers are rarely to be met with which are so frequently in *Angola*, *Guinea*, &c. *Thomas*, and several other places, where the East-Winds cannot afford them the same advantage. A

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Plague is a thing unknown in *Brasil*, in which it excels all other Countries; tho' they are not free from continual putrid Fevers, caused by the hot and moist Air, and the excessive use of raw Fruits.

Those that are bound for the Coast of *Brasil* ought to have a special regard to the Season of the Year, which regulates the Winds and Stream thereabouts; and to be very careful to Sail above the Harbour whither they are bound; for if they miss, and come below it, they lose their aim, and must stay till the next turn of the Wind and Stream. For it is observable, that on the Coast of *Brasil*, the Stream runs from *February* till past *July*, constantly Northerly, during which time there is no passing from the North to the South; but after those Months are past the Stream turns, and from the beginning of *September* to the latter end of *November*, runs as violently to the South as it did to the North before, and consequently there is no failing from the North to the South, no more than before from the South to the North. The Winds here turn with the Stream; and at the beginning of *March* blow South, South-East, and South-East. And like the Stream changes its Current till *September*, so the Winds continue in the East, and blow till that time out of the East South-East. For there are but two Winds that reign along this Coast, viz. the South East and North-East Winds; according to which Ships must regulate their Course here.

The Ecclesiastical State of the Dutch *Brasil*.

The Ecclesiastical State of the Dutch *Brasil* was in my time thus ordered:

Before the Insurrection of the *Portugueses* there were to the South of the *Recife* five Protestant Churches; viz. in *Kio St. Francisco*, *Porto Calvo*, *Serinhambam*, the Cape *St. Austin*, and *St. Anthony*; tho' these were seldom altogether provided with Ministers; because that some or other of them returned into *Holland*, after their limited time was expired. In the Isle *Tamarika* and *Fort Orange* was at that time, a Minister one *John Offrigo*, who lived formerly in the Town of *Schoor*, and at the same time Preached in the Church of *Igarassu*, which was afterwards left by the Dutch and possess'd by the *Portugueses*. In *Jo Grande* Preached one *John Theodore Pelheim*. In *Parayba* were formerly two Ministers, whilst the Town of *Frederica* was as yet under the Dutch Jurisdiction, but after the revolt of the *Portugueses* the place was left by the Inhabitants,

and *Henry Harman* was the only Minister in those Parts. In the *Recife*, *Maurice's Town* and the Circumjacent Forts, which contained about 400 Protestants, Dutch, French and English, were three Ministers, who Preach'd in the Dutch Tongue; *Nicholas Vogel*, *Peter Ongena*, and *Peter Grib*. Besides these there was a fourth called *Jodocus Afsen*, who formerly had been Minister of the Cape of *St. Austin*, but now was employed either aboard our Fleet, or upon any Land Expedition. The French Church here remained without a Minister, after the departure of *Joachim Soler*, so that they were forced to be contented with the reading of certain Chapters of the Bible, and Prayers every Sunday Morning. The English Minister was one *Samuel Batchelour*, who 1646 return'd likewise to England; about which time there were seven Dutch Ministers in the Dutch *Brasil*. Our Religious Worship was both in its Doctrine and Practice regulated exactly according to the Prescription of the Synod of *Dort*, and peculiar care was taken for the Education of the Youth, for which purpose the Catechism was every Sunday in the Afternoon explained both in the *Recife* and *Maurice's Town*. Four times in the Year the Holy Sacrament was Administered, those who desired to be partakers of it, being obliged to make their Confession, before the Church-Council, or the Ministers, who entred their Names in a Book; and if they came from abroad, published their Names to the Congregation; and in all other respects the Church Discipline was carefully observed. The Church Council was composed of six Church-Wardens, besides the Minister; these met duly once a Week, and if any business of moment happen'd, such as choosing a Minister, &c. they called the Deacons, who were likewise six in number, to their assistance. Out of the Deacons were every Month chosen two, who (besides their ordinary business) were to visit the Sick and Wounded, and to provide for them if necessity required. They also took care of the Orphans, to have them instructed in reading and writing. In the same manner the other Churches were regulated, with this difference only, that the number of Church-Wardens and Deacons was less, in proportion to the number of their respective Congregations. Thus much of the Ecclesiastical State.

1643.

Their Church Council.

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1643.
Bees.

Besides those living Creatures we have given you a description of before, there are divers sorts of Bees in *Brasil*, call'd *Eiruku's*, which settle upon the Trees in a most surprising manner. They are not unlike our Bees, but somewhat smaller, and swarm chiefly among the Woods. The *Brasilians* distinguish them into 12 different kinds; viz. *Amanakay-Mori*, *Amanakay-Veu*, *Aibu*, *Mumbuka*, *Pixuna*, *Orutuera*, *Tubuna*, *Tuguba*, *Eiruku*, *Eixu*, *Kebiara* and *Kurupiera*; the last of which are in no esteem among them.

The Bees *Eiruku* are the largest of all, and produce a very good Honey, tho' it is not commonly used. They make their Combs within the hollows of Trees, which the *Brasilians* draw from thence by the means of a hollow Pipe. The Bees called *Eiku* and *Kopy*, are smaller and of a blackish Colour; they make holes from without, in the Bark of the Trees, in the nature of Bee-hives; and the Comb within is all of white Wax; this is now counted the best thing, but is not gathered in the same quantity as the former; besides that these Bees sting very furiously. The Bees *Thanbuka*, are likewise small, of a Yellowish Colour, they fix their Combs on the top of the highest Trees, and afford the best Honey, which is in great quantities transported from hence to *Europe*, where it is sold very cheap. It is little inferior in goodness to the *European* Honey, and of a good substance, transparent and of an agreeable scent. It is accounted very Balsamick, corrects the sharp humours in the Intestines, and especially in the Kidneys, and provokes Urin. They make of this Honey *Metheglin*, which is very strong, and will keep a great while: You may also make Meath with this Honey without boiling; only mix'd with some Spring-water and exposed to the weather.

Brasil produces likewise several sorts of Balsams; the best of which is called by the *Brasilians* *Kopaiba*, from the Trees from whence it comes. *Kopaiba* is a very high wild Tree, with an Ash colour'd Bark, which spreads at the top, into many Branches. The Leaves are about half a Foot long, sometimes larger, sometimes lesser, which in the midst of the Branches stand opposite to one another, but on the end like other Leaves. At the end of the great Branches are abundance of lesser Sprouts full of Leaves, out of which comes forth the Blossom, and afterwards Berries, not unlike our Laurel-berries. They are Green

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at first, but as they Ripen turn Black and sweet. Within is a round hard Stone, the Kernel of which is White, but Mealy, and not fit to be eaten. The Berries ripen in *June*, when the *Brasilians* suck the Juice out of them, and throw away the Stone and Skin. The Apes take great delight in the Fruit.

The Oily and Odoriferous Balsam, in which this Tree abounds, drops every Full-Moon, provided you cut a slit thro' the Bark as deep as to the Pith, in such quantity, that in three Hours time you may gather about twelve *Angels*. But if that does not drop immediately, the slit is made up with Wax; and within Fourteen Days after they are sure the Balsam will come in great quantity. This Tree does not grow so plentifully in the *Captainship* of *Perambuco*, as in the Isle *Maranhao*, from whence this Balsam is transported into *Europe*. The Balsam is hot in the second degree, of a thick Oleaginous and Relinous substance. It is very Stomachick, and a good remedy against the Colick, occasion'd by Cold, externally applied to the affected Parts; some few Drops taken inwardly strengthen the Bowels, and stop the overflowing in Women, the looseness and involuntary emission of Seed in Men; against which Distempers it likewise is used in Clysters or by Syringing. Thus far concerning the sole *Dutch Brasil*; we will now proceed to give you an account of what pass'd during our abode there.

In the Year 1640, Mr. *Henry Hamel*, one of the Directors of the *West-India* Company for the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, and Mr. *Dick Kodde Van der Bugh* (both Persons excellently well qualified for the management of the *Dutch Brasil*, and of great Experience in Affairs of Commerce) were at the request of the Council of *XIX* sent to *Brasil*, and arriving there on the 8th of *August*, the two preceeding Directors or Councillors, *Matthias Van Keulen* and *John Gysling*, resigned their places to them, and with them the chief management of the *Dutch Brasil*, under the Government of *John Maurice Count Nassau*.

At the time of their arrival in *Brasil*, there were under the Jurisdiction of the States the following *Captainships*: *Perambuco*, *Itamarika* (unto which belongs *Goiara*) *Parayba*, *Rio Grande* and *Saara*, being the Northern part of *Brasil*: The Southern part, which contained the *Captainships Bahia*, *Illoes*, *Porto Seguro*, *K* *Spirito*.

Dutch Brasil.

Sp.rito Santo, Rio Janeiro and St. Vincent, remained under the *Portugueses*, who inhabited the Country as far as *Rio de Plate*. Nor many Months after the Island of *Maranhon* was joined with the *Dutch Brasil*, but the charges we were fain to be at to defend it against the *Portugueses*, those of *Para* and the Natives, which over balancing the profit, the Company was likely to reap from thence, it was thought most expedient to quit the same; which was done accordingly, in the Year 1644, or rather to confess the truth, by the Combination of the *Portugueses*, those of *Grand Para* and the Natives, we were forced to abandon it.

Before the arrival of those new Directors, a Fleet had been sent to the *Babia*, to Land some Men there, and to Destroy all with Fire and Sword; which after they had put in Execution, and returned to the *Recess*, the same Fleet under Command of Admiral *Jol* and *Cornelius Lichtbart*, was by special Command from the Council of XIX in *Holland* ordered to the *West-Indies*, to lay in wait for the *Spanish Plate Fleet* of *Terra firma* and new *Spain*; but they returned without doing any thing, 1640 in *December*, having lost four or five Ships in this Voyage. Colonel *Korn* was much about the same time sent with a Body of Souldiers, into the *Captainship* of *Rio Real*, to bridle the *Portugueses*, by making a diversion in their own Territories; but those Troops being but indifferently supplied with Necessaries in an Enemies Country, and forced to undergo great fatigues; they were so much weakened that it was thought advisable to recall them out of *Rio Real*, and to assign them Quarters of refreshment in the Garrisons. Major *Van Brande* had worse Success than all the rest, for being sent abroad with a Party to fetch in some Cattle, was put to the Rout, and he himself taken Prisoner.

In the mean while that our whole Fleet was waiting for the *Spanish Plate Fleet* on the Coast of *America*, and we consequently were not in a condition to undertake any thing at Sea; Our Directors had all the reason in the world to fear, that the *Portugueses* would take this opportunity to revenge their loss, by destroying our Sugar-Mills, which made them leave no Stone unturn'd to cure the *Dutch Brasil* and its Inhabitants, against the attempts of the Enemy: and considering that a great part our Security depended on the good

inclinations of the *Portugueses* living among us, it was thought convenient, to call an Assembly of the chiefest *Portuguese* Inhabitants of the three *Captainships* of *Pernambuko*, *Itamarika* and *Parayba*, towards the latter end of *August*, to concert measures, how to defend their Sugar-Mills and Fields against the Incursions of the Enemy.

The most effectual means that could be pitched upon in this Assembly were, to provide their Forts with good Garrisons on the borders, and to secure the Sugar-Mills, by putting a certain number of Soldiers in or near them, for the security of the adjacent Fields. This was put in Execution accordingly, and the Officers had strict charge to keep a watchful Eye upon the least motion of the *Portugueses*, notwithstanding which it had not the desired effect; because those *Portugueses* who lived at a considerable distance from us, and near the Enemies Frontiers, durst not give timely notice of their approach; besides that many among them having a constant hatred, to our Nation, did favour the Enterprises of those Parties that burnt the Sugar-Fields, and plundered the Mills, served them sometimes for Guides, and had their share in the Booty; which obliged our People to be at a constant Charge of a strong Guard to conduct their Goods, and defend them against any sudden attempts. Such an Incursion was not long after made by the *Portugueses* into our Territories. For in *November* the Viceroy, the Marquis of *Montelvano* sent two Barges full of Soldiers, to burn our Sugar-Reeds in the Plains, which they effected, but durst not go too far, or attempt any thing against our Mills, for fear of the Soldiers quartered thereabouts; who could not prevent their burning in the Fields, as being done in the Night-time. The *Dutch* were the greatest losers by it, because they had generally the greatest share in those Fields and Mills; besides that the *Portugueses* spared those of their own Country-Men; all which brought a great damp upon Trade, every one being afraid to venture in any business, where he might lose all his Substance in one Night, and that perhaps by the Hand of a single Person; whereby the Revenues of the Company were greatly impaired, and their Charges increased, being forced to maintain 20 or 30 Soldiers for the Defence of any considerable Plantation or Sugar-Mills; which prevented them from bringing a sufficient

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Body of Men into the Field, to make head against the Enemy. This was the State of the *Dutch Brasil* towards the latter end of 1640.

The 22d of Decemb. in the same Year, Mr. *Adrian van Bullestraete*, arrived at the *Receif* from *Middelburgh*, in the Quality of Director of *Brasil*, so that now the Great Council being compleat, the best expedient to obviate all these difficulties, was judged to consist in our Fleet, Pursuant to this Resolution, all our Ships were ordered to the *Bahia*, to make the Enemy sensible, that we were in a condition to be even with them, and thereby to facilitate the Negotiation that was in hand, for the surceasing of burning on both sides. The Council of XIX having also sent express orders, to Cruise with some Ships before *Rio Janeiro*, from whence the Spanish Ships used generally to return into *Spain*, about the Month of May or June, some of the biggest Ships were ordered that way to intercept if possible the *Flota*, the rest being left near the *Bahia*.

The Dutch Ships ordered to the Bahia.

But whilst our Commissioners were treating with the Viceroy about the surceasing, of burning and plundering, a certain Portuguese, *Paulo de Kunha* by Name, committed unheard-of Cruelties, with Murthering, Plundering and Burning, in the open Country, which made Count *Maurice* Write the following Letter to the Viceroy.

Count Maurice's Letter to the Viceroy.

Count Maurice's Letter to the Viceroy.

THE Barbarities lately committed by *Paulo d'Kunha*, with Burning, Murthering, and Plundering in the open Country, gives me great Reason to fear, that your last obliging Letter was designed for a Compliment, without any Reality. The Confidence I had in your Excellencies Sincerity, made me recall our Ships and Forces from your Territories, to take away all means of Offence: But the long stay of our Deputies, affords great occasion of Suspicion, that your Intention is only to amuse us; which has obliged me to dispatch a Vessel to let them know, That in case the Treaty is not brought to a Conclusion, to return without delay; it being our Intention, that the said Negotiation should not be continued longer. Your Excellency will there dismiss them, together with our Two Hostages, as we are resolved to send back to you *Martin Feirera*, left with us as a Hostage from your Excellency, his Company being Dead of late.

Hereupon, by the Mediation of the Clergy, living under our Jurisdiction, but especially by the indefatigable Care of *Dirk Koadde vander Burgh*, who was sent thither for that purpose, the Treaty was brought to a happy Conclusion in February 1641. by Virtue of which, all Destructions by Burning and Plundering were to Surcease on both sides; which being published by Proclamation, the Portuguese were ordered to quit our Dominions; whereby we reap this Advantage, that now we might turn all our Forces where we found it most expedient.

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In June 1641. Count *Maurice* and the Great Council received Advice of the Ten Years Truce concluded betwixt the States of *Holland*, and the King of *Portugal*, with all the Articles thereunto belonging, which were published by Proclamation in all our Captainships, and all Acts of Hostilities ceased on both sides; the Dutch living in good Understanding with the Inhabitants of the *Bahia*, giving them all the Demonstrations of Friendship, sufficient to convince the Portuguese, that they had not the least reason to fear any Infraction on their side.

The Great Council being willing to Improve this Interval of Peace for the Advancement of Traffick, and the Benefit of the Company, gave all imaginable Encouragement, (in proportion to the Circumstances of time and place) to all the Inhabitants of what Nation soever, for the Cultivating the Lands; which had this good effect, That the Masters of the Sugar-Mills rebuilt their Mills, and the Husbandmen betook themselves with so much eagerness to the Cultivating of their Sugar-Fields, that they borrow'd considerable Sums, upon a prospect of sure gain, which would over-pay their Debts; as without question it would have done in a short time, if by the Treachery of the Portuguese they had not been disappointed in their Hopes. The next thing to be taken in hand, was, to make such wholesome Laws as were thought most Expedient for the Establishment and Increase of Commerce both in the *Receif* and other Places, and to improve the Domains and other Revenues belonging to the Company during this time of Truce.

Trade then began to flourish apace so that some time after the Truce, the Merchants and Factors sold more Commodities, than had ever been known either before or since. Many Millions were gained in a little time, the Merchant

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chants and Factors being contented to Sell to those, who would Pay some Money in part, tho' there were Buyers enough who would and could Buy for ready Cash.

The Finances of the Company in *Brazil* were in so good a State, by the extraordinary Care of the Great Council, that in 1640, and 1641. they bought considerable quantities of Sugar upon the publick Account, which they sent to *Holland*. In the *Recess* and *Maurice's* Town, we saw several goodly Structures erected by the Inhabitants, who lived in great Plenty and Magnificence, every one looking upon his Debts as secure, and having a fair prospect to encrease his Riches, by the flourishing State of Commerce, and Improvement of the Lands,

But this was of no long continuance; for in the beginning of 1643 things began to appear with a quite different face. For the Magazines of the Company being exhausted by several Expeditions against *Angola*, &c. and having received no Supplies in their stead out of *Holland*, as they used to do before, the *Great Council* was obliged to make use of what was due to the Company, for the payment of the Garrisons, and other Officers, and consequently to force their Debtors to prompt Payments.

For at the beginning of the Government of the new Directors, the Company had a considerable Naval Force upon the Coast of *Brazil*, their Magazines were well provided with Provision and Ammunition, and they maintained a good number of Soldiers. The *Great Council* of the *Dutch Brazil* relying upon their Strength, did with Consent of Count *Maurice*, send in 1641. several Fleets with Soldiers to *Spirito Santo*, *Rio de Janeiro*, the Isle of *Maranhao*, *Angola*, *St. Thomas*, and other Places thereabouts, to attack the same, which succeeded according to Expectation; but their Magazines were greatly exhausted by those Expeditions. Besides this, the Merchants in *Holland* began to call upon their Servants and Factors for considerable Sums of Money, in Return of what they had received from them; who being obliged to send all the Money they could bring together from their Creditors, to their Masters in *Holland*, this occasioned great scarcity of ready Money, and consequently no small Detriment in Traffick; which continuing thus from time to time, there arose such a general scarcity of Money, as is scarce to be ima-

gined; many of the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, that had no ready Money to satisfy their Debts at the appointed time, being forced to take up Money upon Credit, and to pay 3 or 4 per Cent per Month; which reduced many of them to such an extremity in a little time, that they were neither able to pay the Principal nor Interest.

Upon the arrival of the three new Directors, or Members of the *Great Council* in 1640. viz. *Henry Hamel*, *Kodde*, and *Bullestraete*, they found, that the Inhabitants, but especially the *Portugueses* of the *Dutch Brazil*, by Buying of Sugar-Mills, and Plantations, as well as Negro's, and other Commodities, had run themselves much in Debt; having bought their Negro's, not only at 300 pieces of Eight per Head; but also given most extravagant Prices for all other sorts of Commodities, and purchased whole Warehouses without making a just account how to be able to pay for them. This was done by the *Portugueses* in hopes of the good Success of those great Fleets they understood were Equipping in *Spain* to reduce *Brazil* under the King's Obedience, which they supposed would free them from their Debts; which the Factors not being aware of, and blinded with the prospect of vast Profit, sold their Goods to the *Portugueses* without Reluctancy. But the design of the *Portugueses* vanishing into Smoak for that time, they were forced to Pay; But new Supplies of all sorts of Commodities being sent out of *Holland*, they bought on a-fresh, heaping Debts upon Debts; till failing in their Payments, their Credit began also to fail with the Merchant, who now began to urge for Satisfaction of their Debts. For the Country Traders, being urged by the Factors and Merchants, who received those Commodities from their Correspondents in *Holland*, was obliged to call to an Account the *Portugueses* unto whom he had Sold the Goods. And because the *Portugueses* had not bought those Commodities from the *Dutch*, but with an Intention never to Pay for them, the Country Trader, who was obliged to Pay the Merchants in the *Recess*, saw himself reduced to Ruin, the *Portugueses* having not wherewithal to satisfy their Debts.

Thus through the unwariness and mismanagement of those Factors, whom the Merchants in *Holland* had intrusted with their Goods, such a Confusion was introduced, as tended to the great Detriment

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of their Correspondents in *Holland*. All the Business at that time lay among the Lawyers, and in the Courts of Judicature, which considering the Chargeableness of Law-Suits in *Brasil*, tended to their farther Ruin; for, when they had obtained Sentence and Execution against the Debtors, the greatest difficulty was, how and which way to lay the Execution; most of the *Portugueses* Suing for Protection from the Regency, which, if they could not obtain, they lived *incognito*; especially those who had no Lands or Effects, or if they had, it was no easy matter to find out where they were. Besides that, if the Creditors executed their Executions upon the Lands, they were forced to be the Buyers themselves, and to live in the Country to manage the Lands; a thing altogether inconvenient to the Merchants, who had other Business upon their Hands in the *Recess*. Such as were cast in Prison must be maintained there at the Charge of the Creditor; which in process of time, amounted to such a Sum, that they themselves were fain to solicit the Release of their Debtors, and to make the best Composition with them they could.

Mortality among the Negro's.

Besides these Inconveniences there have happened of late several others, viz. A great Mortality of the Negro's and *Brasilians*, by a certain infectious Distemper, incident to the Natives, called *Bexigas*, resembling our Small-Pox in *Europe*. Most of these Negroes were bought at the rate of 300 pieces of Eight, and consequently their loss drew after it the Ruin of the Planters, who also complained much of Vermin, and several Inundations that had done considerable Damage to the Sugar-Fields. This Confusion in Traffick introduced no small Broils among the Inhabitants themselves, who, in case of Non-payment, threw one another in Prison without Mercy, and endeavoured to prevent one another by Clandestine Means, to get in their Debts before the rest; offering considerable Abatements and Rewards, to such as would underhand surrender or transport their Effects; and those Divisions were not a little fomented by some ill-minded Persons, to the prejudice of the Government; many of those, who either by Unwariness or other Mismanagement lost the r Debts, laying the fault thereof at the Door of the Regency, and of the Courts of Justice, vainly imagining that what they had lost by their own Neglect or want of Care, should

be made good by the publick Purse; especially if it happened so, that the same Persons were Indebted to the Company, as well as private Persons, there arise great Contests about the Preference.

The Debts of the Company did also increase every day, which at last amounted to some Millions: For the Directors, which before the year 1640. had the Management of Affairs in *Brasil*, did Sell most of the Confiscated Estates, Sugar-Mills, and Merchandises, as well as the Negro's bought on Account of the Company in *Africk*, upon Credit, so that their Books were filled with Debts, but their Cash empty of Money. The succeeding Members of the Great Council; Mr. *Hamel*, *Bullefract*, and *Kodde*, did leave no Stone unturn'd to correct this Custom, and to Sell their Commodities for ready Money, or otherwise to Exchange them for Sugars, thereby to Ease the Company in the great Charge they were forced to be at in their several Expeditions; and it is certain; that in 1540, 1641, and 1642. they sent such vast Cargo's of Sugar to *Holland*, that the like had never been known before in *Brasil*. Notwithstanding which, by the vast numbers of Negro's that were Imported, after our Conquest of *Angola*, the Company fell more and more in Debt by reason their Debtors were very dilatory in their Payments. The Council of XIX. sent express Orders, to Remedy this Evil, by Selling the Negro's for ready Money, or Exchanging them for Sugar; but this could not be put in Practice, because there was no Body who would Buy upon those Conditions, so that the Price of the Negro's falling daily lower and lower, and these being a great Burthen to the Company, and subject to Distempers and Mortality, this order was fain to be Revoked, unless they would see the Negro-Trade dwindle away to nothing; for the Inhabitants being for the most part such as had bestowed most of their Substance in their Sugar-Mills, Plantations, and Negro's, they could not pay ready Money, but were forced to deal upon Credit, till they could reap the Benefit of their Labour.

The Members of the Great Council did therefore take all imaginable Care, to call upon their Debtors exactly at the time of their Sugar-Harvest, and ordered their Officers in the Country to seize upon some of them on account of the Company.

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From hence arose nothing but Law-suits, Sentences, Executions, and Imprisonments: The Members of the Great Council thinking it not below their Station, to go sometimes in Person into the Country to promote the Payment of the Debts owing to the Company. But this had a contrary Effect; for the Merchants and Factors began to be extremely dissatisfied, that the Company should seize upon the Sugars in the Mills, without letting them, who were Creditors as well as they, have their share in them. This occasioned not only Murmurings, but also Threats; and Complaints to the Council of XIX. where they misrepresented these Transactions under the worst Colours they could, hoping thereby to deter the Officers of the Company from doing their Duty. The Great Council having taken the matter into mature Deliberation, and fearing, not without Reason, that in time it might occasion a general Discontent, they left no stone unturn'd to satisfy the Minds of the People, by finding out means to have their Debts satisfied. It was propos'd by several Understanding Persons, that the Company should undertake to satisfy the Debts of private Persons, either by way of Payment or Exchange, in lieu of which the Masters of the Sugar-Mills should surrender to the Company every year, the whole Product of these Mills, till they had satisfied all their Debts; and to make the same the more effectual, for the general Benefit as well of the Company and Sugar-Mills, as the Merchants and Factors, it was agreed, That certain Articles should be agreed upon for that purpose; the greatest Advantage the Company pretended to reap by it, being, That they should have a fair opportunity of recovering some of their Debts, which were given over for lost. These Agreements were wonderfully pleasing to the Council of XIX. who in the year 1645. on the 16th of June, sent their Approbation of a second Agreement made with one *George Homo Pinto*, (which indeed was of as great Consequence, as all the other Contracts together) to the Great Council, as follows:

Approbation of the Agreements.

Considering the Agreement by you (meaning the Council) on the 14th of December last, made with *George Homo Pinto*, we have had several Debates; which we find to have been brought to a Conclusion, with the previous Advice and Approbation

of the Councillors of Justice, and of the Finances: So, that both in respect of the same, and of the great Benefit that is likely to accrue thereby to the Company, we have thought fit to approve of the said Agreement; Recommending to you the Execution of it, with the same Zeal, as you have shewn your Conduct and Circumspection in the whole Management of these Contrails.

That these Agreements were by all People, that had any Knowledge of those Affairs, looked upon as greatly for the Interest of the Company, is most Evident from hence, that several other Merchants, that were sensible of this Advantage, made Agreements with their Debtors, much upon the same Terms, as the Company had done; which that it may be put beyond all doubt, we will give you a Copy of one of those Agreements, from whence it will plainly appear, with how much Circumspection the Council proceeded in this matter, betwixt the Company, the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, and their Debtors.

The COPY of an Agreement.

MR. Peter John Bas, and John van The C Ratsfield, Councillors of Justice of of an Brasil, by special Commission from the West-green India Company, and John van Walbeeck, Assessor of the Great Council, did appear before us on one side; and Manuel Fernando Cruz, Sieur d'Ingenho Tapicura in behalf of himself and his Heirs; as also Benjamin de Pina, for 10600 Guilders; Isaac de Costa, for 13108; Joseph Abenacar, for 490; Symon de Vale, for 325; Gasper Francisco and David Brandoa, for 1133; Abraham de Tovaer, for 1600; John Parente, for 350; John Mendonça de Moeribeca, for 4350; James Gabay, for 1050; More de Leon, for 600; Balthasar de Fonseca, for 600; Simon Gomes de Lisboa, for 5910; Bartholomew Rodrigues, for 900; and Daniel Cardosa, for 910 Guilders; the whole amounting to 40526 Guilders, being all Creditors of the said Manuel Fernando Cruz, and for the most part Debtors to the Company, on the other side, who profess and declare, to have Agreed among themselves, that the beforementioned Manuel Fernando Cruz, shall pay to the Company the full Sum of 60795 Guilders, viz. 19269 Guilders upon his own Account, being by him Owning to the said Company, and the remaining Sum on the Account of his Creditors, which proportionably to their respective Debts, to be discounten'd for with him by the Company, upon the following Condition

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II. That no Discounts shall be entred in the Books of the Company, till after the Payment of the due Proportion appointed for each respective term or time.

III. That the Creditors of those with whom they have entred into Articles of Agreement, as well as the Debtors of the Company, shall not be discharged of their Debts in the Books of the Company, but in case of failure or delay of Payment, either of the whole Sum or part thereof, all the respective appointed times, shall stand engaged and answerable, each for his respective Debt, unless they give other Security to the Company; But those Creditors who have no Debts in the Books of the Company, shall have liberty to transfer other Debts, or else to receive their share in two years time, either by Assignments or in Negro's; but not in any Commodities imported, from abroad, or Sugar to be exported; provided nevertheless that the Articles of Agreement be fulfilled; or otherwise the Sum be put to their own Account immediately, in which case they are to allow 18 l. per Cent. and nevertheless be liable to see the Agreement put in Execution.

IV. Those who are entred into Articles of Agreement shall be obliged to Engage both their Body and Goods for the performance thereof, but especially to deliver an Inventory of their Personal Estates, confirmed by Oath; besides which, they are to give such Securities as shall be approved of by the Great Council; with renouncing, the beneficium ordinis, divisionis & excusationis, as well for each respective Payment at the appointed times, as the whole Sum in general.

V. Those before-mentioned Securities are to be Persons well-qualified, of good Substance, not involved in Debts, but especially in the Companies; and shall be warranted by the Magistrates of their respective Places of Abode.

VI. Publick notice is to be given to all Persons, who have any Bonds, Bills, or Accounts, or other Engagements, relating to the Personal Estates (which shall be returned) of such as are Entred into the same, that within the space of

Three Weeks they are to produce the same, or else to be excluded from the benefit thereof, till after the Expiration of the time mentioned and appointed in the said Agreement.

VII. That he, who has engaged himself in such an Agreement or Contract, shall not be permitted to Contract new Debts, unless with the Consent of the Great Council; otherwise the same to be void and null, of which publick notice shall be given. Neither shall he alienate any Sugars by Land as remains, under the Penalty of Restitution to be made with full Interest and Charges.

The Creditors shall be obliged to surrender and renounce all their Pretensions, Engagements and Actions to the Company; neither shall they lay any claim upon that score of precedence or otherwise.

Whenever it shall be judged requisite by the Great Council, to send a certain Person to the Ingenho of any Person entred into such an Agreement, for the better security of their Debt, and the receiving and sending away the Sugar, allotted to the Company, he shall be obliged to find him with Victuals and Lodgings in his Ingenho; but the Company shall pay him for his Pains.

Pursuant to which, the before named Manuel Fernando Cruz, with the Advice and Consent of his before-mentioned Creditors, has obliged himself in general, and by these Presents, Obliges and Engages his Person and Estate, both Real and Personal, without any Reservation or Exception; but especially the before-named Ingenho Tapicura, with all its Appurtenances, according to the Inventory thereunto affixed and confirmed by Oath; which Ingenho Tapicura, he declares to be free from any pre-engagements, with all the Grounds, Sugar-Fields, Pasturages, Woods, and other things thereunto belonging; viz. Eight Brajs Calderns, Ten Tachoes and Ten Parvos; besides several other Copper Vessels belonging to the said Ingenho; Twenty Slaves, belonging to the said Ingenho, and Manuel Fernando Cruz, his House, and Sixty Oxen. And for the better performance of this Agreement, Senhor John de Mendosé dwelling at Moeriboca, and Manuel Gomes de Lisboa living in Moquixac, have, after Certificates obtained from the Magistrates of their respective dwelling places, engaged themselves, and do by these Presents engage themselves as Securities of the whole Debt, and as Debtors for each and every part thereof, promising to indemnify the Company of all Actions, Suits, or other Presen-

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1643. Pretensions which may be made against them on the account of any other Creditors of the said Manuel Fernando Cruz, not mentioned or engaged in this Agreement; as likewise, that no Sugar shall be surreptitiously conveyed away or abalienated: That in case of non Payment, the Company shall be hereby fully empowered to recover their Damages with Interest and Charges, upon their Persons and Estates; they renouncing by these Presents all Exceptions, or dinis, divisionis & exculpationis, as likewise all other pretensions of Privileges tending to the Invalidity of this Contract. The before-named Creditors also, in general, and every one of them in particular, declare that they have given in a true account of all their respective pretensions upon the said Manuel Fernando Cruz, neither that they do demand any other Summ or Sums of him, but what have been specified there under their respective names; promising to be well satisfied with what has been Stipulated, and, if put in Execution accordingly, to renounce all Actions, or private Engagements, Discontents or Preference, in favour of the Company; and that in case of non Payment they will be obliged to make good and restore to the said Company, not only each particular Summ paid at certain limited times, but also the whole, in the same manner, as if the said agreement had never been made betwixt them; leaving it to the discretion of the Company, whether they will lay their Actions against Manuel Fernando Cruz and his Securities, or against themselves and their Estates; under the condition, they were in before the Conclusion of this Agreement; the benefit of Actionem cessam being allowed them against the said Cruz and his Securities, for the recovery of their just Debts. In witness and confirmation of which we have granted these our Letters, as usual in such cases, sealed with the ordinary Seal of the Court of Justice, and signed by the Secretary of the Council. Translated in the Receit 23. September 1644.

In the same manner all the other Contracts were made and penn'd; the Contents of which amounted in the whole to 2125807 Gilders, which were due from the Farmers to the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, and from those again to the Company.

For what Reason the Agreements were made.

The chief, if not the only reason, why these Agreements were resolved upon, was, (as we said before) the intolerable Vexations and Exactions put upon the Masters of the Sugar-Mills by their Creditors, who, unless these Ma-

sters paid them at the Rate of 2 or 3 per Cent. Interest per Month, made immediate Seizure of their Negroes, Oxen, Coppers, and other Necessaries belonging to the Sugar-Mills; so, that the Masters of these Sugar-Mills being reduced to a necessity of paying such exorbitant Exactions, or else to see themselves entirely ruined, began to defend their Plantations and Mills by force, so that things seemed to tend at that time to a general Insurrection, if the same had not been prevented, by entering into those Contracts; by which means the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, being freed from the Oppressions of their Creditors, and in lieu thereof now become Debtors to the Company, and time given them to employ their Mills for the Payment of their Debts, at certain limited times, and that at the Rate of 1 per Cent. Interest per Month only, all Pretensions and Occasions of a Revolt were thereby removed at least for that time; the first term of Payment being set out for a considerable time.

To make this the more Evident, these following Heads deserve our particular Observation: That the Company and the Merchants, being Creditors of the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, endeavouring at the same time to force them to the Payment of their Debts, by Executions. This occasioned from the year 1647. to the time of the making of those Contracts, such a Confusion, as must needs have tended to the total Destruction of the Sugar-Mills, and consequently of the Merchants and Company; which induced them to apply themselves to the Great Council, to find out some means, by way of Discount, or otherwise, to put these Debts into the Company's Hands.

The Councillors of Justice did not at first agree in all Points to these Proposals, but at their meeting on the 12th of August 1644. being better convinced of the matter, and that the Company was sufficiently secured and benefitted thereby, the next following day did not only approve of the same, but also were of Opinion, That some things might be rather mitigated for the Advantage of the Masters of Mills and their Creditors, than not to relieve them at this juncture; so that the Conditions were the 10th of November 1644. agreed unto with the Consent of the Councillors of the Court of Justice and the Finances.

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Pursuant to these, the Great Council took care that publick notice should be given of these Agreements made betwixt the Company, and certain private Persons, by which every one was forewarned not to Sell any thing upon Credit to them without the Consent of the Great Council; and their Creditors summoned to make good their Debts within three Weekstime, or else to be excluded from the Benefit of the Contract, till after the time therein limited was expired. From all which it is sufficiently demonstrable, with how little appearance of Truth some have attempted to insinuate, that these Contracts were prejudicial to the Company, and had given no small occasion to the ensuing Revolt of the *Portugueses*, when it is beyond all question, from what has been said before, that these were the only means to prevent those Calamities, wherewith the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, and the Farmers, or Country Planters, were overwhelmed all that time, who were forced to let their Mills stand still, and leave the Ground uncultivated; All which, as it tended to the utter Destruction of the Sugar-Mills, so the Company sustained an irreparable loss, viz. 38 l. per Cent. yearly in *Brasil*, and 37 l. per Cent. in *Holland*, which being 75 l. per Cent. did altogether arise from the use of the Sugar-Mills.

Besides this there were not a few of those Merchants that were Creditors of the Sugar-Mills, that were considerably indebted to the Company, who pleading insolvency, by reason of the non-payment of their Debtors, the Company would have been considerable losers by them, unless by this way of discounting they had found means to recover those desperate Debts. All which moved the Great Council to make a virtue of necessity, and with the Advice of the Masters of the Sugar-Mills and their Creditors, and the Approbation of the Council of XIX, to enter upon those Articles; which could not be in any wise detrimental to the Company: tho' some malicious Persons have objected against them, that (supposing there had been no Revolt) these Masters would not in 20 Years, nay, perhaps never have been in a Condition, to wrong the Company what they had laid out upon their Account; when it is sufficiently known that the Great Council never paid one Farthing of ready Money for them on the account of the Company; besides that for the satisfaction of the Com-

pany 25 Sugar-Mills were engaged, which one with another, affording from 230 to 250 Chests of Sugar Yearly, if the Company had drawn but 140 or 150 Chests from each, the same would have amounted to 420000 Guilders; from whence it is evident, that, not to include the Sugar-Mills, their Cows, Oxen, and other Instruments thereunto belonging, the Summ of 2125816 Guilders, being the Total Summ of the Debt owing to the Company by Vertue of these Contracts, might have been satisfied without much hazard; the *Portuguese* Masters of the Sugar-Mills, being by this expedient, left in the quiet possession of their Mills, and eased from the oppressions of their Creditors, and our hopes were not a little increased by the industry of the Inhabitants of the Country, who finding themselves now at ease applied themselves with so much assiduity to the improvement of their Plantations, for the better satisfying of their Debts, that in 1645 there was such a fair prospect of a plentiful Harvest of Sugar, as had not been known in many Years before.

But it seems as if the *Portugueses* out of an in-born hatred to our Nation, who had conquered them, were resolved not to rest satisfied, till by underhand Practices and Plots they had undermined our Government. Add to this that many of them having involved themselves over Head and Ears in Debt, and seeing no way to satisfy their Creditors, were become desperate, and more forward to run the hazard of an open Revolt (in hopes of assistance from *Portugal*) than to undergo the unavoidable necessities of Poverty; which made some of them frankly tell our People afterwards, that in case they were disappointed in their hopes of Succours from the *Bahia*, they would seek for aid in *Spain* or *Turkey*.

Towards the latter end of the Year 1642, there were rumours spread abroad of a Plot contrived by the *Portugueses* against the State, when they were disarmed, and their Arms brought into the Magazines, which however they got again under some pretence or other afterwards, they living very quietly among us, for fear, as I suppose, of our Garrisons, and that they were not then sufficiently assured of Succours from the *Bahia*. But it will not be amiss to trace the true Origin of this Revolt.

The 13th Decemb. 1642, one *John Fernandes Vieira*, Alderman of *Maurice's Town*, appear'd in the Great Council, Count *Maurice* being present, where he told them, that he had been informed by certain *Jews*, how he and his Father-in-Law *Beringel* were suspected in *Holland*, of having sent Letters by a Son of the said *Beringel* to the King of *Portugal*, tending to the detriment of the State. He did not deny to have sent a Letter by the said Person to the King of *Portugal*, but containing no more than a recommendation of the said *Beringel's* Person, to help him to some Employment under the King: This he offered to prove by his Copy, which being produced there was found nothing material in it, but a Congratulation to the King upon his Accession to the Crown, and a recommendation of the said *Beringel*; *Vieira* further proposed, that he thought it absolutely necessary for the safety of the Estate, to have the *Portugueses* disarmed, as likewise the Captains de *Campo*, with those under their Jurisdiction, the *Negoes*, *Brasilians*, *Mulatts* and *Mamelukes*.

There was also a Letter sent by the Council of *XIX*, Dated 1. June, 1642. to Count *Maurice*, containing in substance, that one *John Van North* who had served for 14 Months in the Quality of a Cadet in *Brasil*, had declared to them at *Amsterdam*, that he had been a Servant in a Sugar-Mill, belonging to *John Fernandes Vieira*, where after a stay of two Months, he was entreated by *Francisco Beringel Labrador*, to go with his Son *Antonio Dandrado Beringel*, as an Interpreter to *Holland*, and from thence to *Portugal*; which upon great Promises he accepted of, and they set Sail on board the Ship called the *Love* from *Brasil* for *Zeeland*, and afterwards from *Uffimen* went to *Lisbon*. He said, That this *Antomo Dandrado Beringel*, after a familiar Conversation of three Weeks, had told him that he was sent with a Letter Sign'd by *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Francisco Beringel*, *Bernardin Karvailho*, *John Bisferro* and *Lewis Bras Bisferro*, in which they gave to understand to the King of *Portugal*, that they were well provided with Men, Money and Arms, for the reducing *Brasil* under his Obedience. The Council added, that the King of *Portugal* had made the said *Beringel* a Captain for this piece of Service, and that therefore they desired Count *Maurice* and the Great Council

sensible what an averion the *Portugueses* did bear to the Dutch.

At the meeting of the Great Council of *Brasil* 16. February, 1643. Count *Maurice* assured them, that he had received Intelligence, that some of the chiefest of the *Portugueses* had resolv'd to Surprise our Garrisons in the Country, at *Moribeca*, *St. Anthony*, and some other places, and to put them to the Sword, which was to be put in Execution upon one of their Saints Days, when they used to meet in considerable Numbers. Those who had the chief management of this Affair, had their dwelling places in the *Vargea*, who had propos'd to surprise likewise the *Recess*, not questioning that if they could make themselves Masters of it, the other Garrisons in the Country, would be easily reduced, and consequently the Company not able to subsist long in *Brasil*, without Soldiers and Traffick.

Hereupon it was taken into deliberation, whether 'twere best to secure the heads of this Rebellion immediately, or to delay it till a more convenient time, for fear of alarming the whole Country by their Imprisonment: The last was resolv'd upon, because they did not think themselves as yet sufficiently assured of their Designs, and did not question, but that by the secret Intelligence Count *Maurice* was to receive of their Transactions, to prevent them. It was however judg'd advisable to draw the Garrisons out of the Country into the *Recess*, which was strengthened with new Pallisadoes, and the old Wooden Battery repaired; a Ship was also ordered with several great Chaloops, the first on the Sea-side, the others in the River, to defend the Avenues of the *Recess* with their Cannon. There were likewise divers Letters sent by private Persons, some without Names, to Count *Maurice* and the Great Council, confirming the Traiterous designs of the *Portugueses*; among others one Mr. *Van Els* sent a Letter to Count *Maurice*, Dated at *Seinheim*, the 20th of March, 1643. importing, That he had it from sure hands, that a certain *Mular*, of the Company of *Augustin Harado* being asked by certain Inhabitants of that *Fregefe*, what business they had thereabouts, had told them, That they had been to carry Letters to some persons living near the *Recess*, adding that in short time they would see that taken without any effusion of blood of the Dutch or *Portugueses*.

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mixt them and the Inhabitants of Bonas Aires.

VI. In what Condition their Places were theseabouts; of all which they were to give the best account they were able to get, after their return to the Great Council; They were also charged by word of Mouth, to make diligent Enquiry, who were the Persons, that underhand encouraged the so much feared Revolt of the Portugueses in the Dutch Brasil, and what Aid or Assistance they were to have from them; and to desire the Governour, not to permit for the future, that such of the Dutch Soldiers as Deseried out of the Receif, and went by Land to the Bahia, might from thence be transported into Portugal, but be stoppt, and sent back to the Receif.

These Envoys arrived safely the 8th of February 1644. in the Bahia, and dropt their Anchor towards the Evening near the City of St. Salvador, and the Castle of St. Antonio, where two Officers came on Board them, to enquire from whence they came, and by whom, and to whom they were sent, in order to give an Account thereof to the Governour Antonio Telles da Sylva. The next following day they were Complimented in the Name of the Governour, by Major Domingo Delgado, and Captain David Ventura, who told them, That he intended to send his Chalooop with the first opportunity to fetch them ashore. About three a clock in the Afternoon, the same Officers with three or four more, came with the Chalooop to fetch them; and they were no sooner landed, but found several Horses ready for them to mount upon, which they did, and were conducted up a high Hill, all over covered with Spectators, to the Governour's Palace. In the outward Hall was a strong guard of Soldiers; in the second, several Ensigns and other inferiour Officers; in the third Apartment they met with nothing but Captains and Lieutenants; and in the fourth with Colonels, General Officers, some Clergymen, and the Governour himself; who after having received them at the Door, desired them to Sit down next to him, upon Chairs set for that purpose. The Envoys then begun their Harangue, in which they told him, That they were extremely glad to find him in good Health at this time, when they were sent by the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil, to assure him of their good Inclinations, to maintain a good Correspondence and Friendship with him, and of

their hearty Wishes for his Majesty's, his own, and the Governments Prosperity; to preserve which, they were ready to contribute all what lay in their power. Then they told him, That they had several Things to propose to him, when he should think convenient to receive them; The rest of the Discourse run upon mutual Compliments and News. After which, the Envoys were again accompanied by the Governour to the Door of the Apartment, where he ordered the beforementioned Domingo Delgado and David Ventura, to conduct them to a certain large House finely furnished, in Bishops-street, and to Entertain them at his Charge; which, tho' the Envoys refused, alledging it to be contrary to the Intentions of their Masters, yet were they forced to accept of the same, and were very magnificently Entertained at Supper.

The next Morning about 11 a Clock they went again to the Palace, and after having desired a second Audience, were received in the same manner as before. Every one being ordered to withdraw, besides the Secretary of the Governour, the Envoys made their Propositions to the last, which they delivered to him in Writing in Portuguese, recommending the same to his Consideration, as tending towards the maintaining a good and firm Correspondency betwixt them. To which the Governour gave this general Answer; That he should always endeavour to Cultivate a good Understanding and Correspondency with us, pursuant to the strict and reiterated Orders he had received for that purpose from the King his Master. And that concerning the Propositions made by them to him, he would assemble his Council of War and Justice, and afterwards impart to them his Answer. Then they were by Domingo Delgado reconducted to his own House, where they were very well Entertained the same Day at Dinner, and the next by the Governour himself.

The 17th, They had another Audience from the Governour, who told them in very obliging Terms; That he had consulted the matter with his Council, and could give them no other Answer, but what was contained in this Letter, which he delivered to them, and told them the Contents thereof; whereupon our Envoys told him, That since thereby a Door was left open for Rogues and Vagabonds, they hoped he would at least order that the Names of such as fled to the Bahia, might be taken notice of, that the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil, might not

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1643. remain quite unsatisfied, whither they were fled; which he promised to do. After some further Compliments, and mutual Assurance of Friendship, they parted for this time.

The 22d, They took their Leave from the Bishop, and several other Persons of Note, unto whom they owed any Obligations, and last of all from the Governor himself, being conducted thither by many Persons of Quality and Officers; They return'd him Thanks for the Civilities and Respect he had been pleas'd to shew them; wishing both him and his Portuguese Majesty a long and happy Reign, and Victory against the Castilians. The Governor returned their Compliments and Conducted them out of the Room, ordering several Negro's to attend them down the Precipice of the Hill, upon which the City is built, with Chairs; but the Envoy's choosing rather to go on foot, they were in the same Chaloop they came in ashore, carried back under the sound of Musick, on Board their Yacht. The Portuguese Officers, after having taken their Leave, returned to the City, and ours made the best of their way to the Receif, where they arrived safely not long after.

their return to the Receif.

The Letter delivered to them by the Governor, was as follows.

The Governours Letter.

The Governours Letter.

Gilbert de Wit Councillor of your Courts of Justice, and Dirk Hoogstraten Commander in Chief on the Cape of St. Austin, your Lordships Deputies, whom I received according to their Quality and Merits, have delivered your Letter to me, and proposed such other Matters, as they were empowered to Treat with me about. Tho' I endeavour nothing so much, as to cultivate and maintain in the strictest manner our neighbourly good Correspondency, yet am I constrained at this time frankly to Acknowledge, That it is not in my Power to give your Lordships any more Satisfactory Answer than this; in hopes, that the many Proofs you have had of my sincere Inclinations, will serve as a Plea with your Lordships, to assure you, That I shall always be ready in all Points depending on my Government, to give the same Proofs both of Obedience and Fidelity to the King my Master, whose Pleasure is, That the Truce should be observed inviolably; and of my sincere Intentions, and the Esteem I have for your Lordships Friendship, desiring nothing more, than that you furnish me with an opportunity of gi-

ving real Demonstrations of my readiness to serve you; whom I recommend to the Protection of God Almighty.

Bahia, Feb. 14.
1645.

Signed,


Antonio Telles da Silva.

Concerning the six Points mentioned in their secret Instructions, they made the following Report to the Great Council.

I. **T**HAT the Portuguese Forces in those Parts, were generally esteemed to be less or more betwixt 3000 and 4000 Men, without the Brasilians and Negroes. But that upon the most exact enquiry they could make, they had found them to be not above 3000, including the Brasilians and Negro's, and their Garrisons both to the North and South, as far as Rio Janeiro. These consisted of five Regiments; viz. three of Portuguese, under the Colonels John Darange, Martin Soares and N. N. the fourth of Brasilians under a Brasilian Colonel, Antonio Philippo Camarao; and the fifth of Negro's, under the Command of a Neger Henrique Dias. These two last Regiments, amounting both not to above 300 Men, were divided in the Garrisons to the North, about Rio Real, on our Frontiers; they being the sum and off-casts of all their Territories, and consequently not to be quartered near the Capital City, there having of late been some broils among them in the Garrisons, whither Officers were dispatch'd, to compose them. The three Portuguese Regiments consisting of about 2700 Men, kept Garrison in St. Salvador, and the circumjacent Forts, except two Companies, one of which was quartered about Rio Real, the other in the Island Morro St. Paulo; and about 150 more, which were disposed in the Captainships of Os Ilheos Porto Seguro and Spirito Sancto; so that the Garrisons of St. Salvador and the circumjacent Forts, consisted in at least 2300, each Company consisting of 100 Men less or more; all chosen Men and well Cloathed; four Companies mounted the Guard every Night; one at the Palace, at each of the two Gates one; and the fourth in the Water-forts without the City.

II. Of their Naval strength they gave a very slender account, being more considerable in Number than Force, as only in 50 small Vessels and Tackets, the least fitted for War, which observe the least show of preparation.

and Travels to BRASIL.

 In December, 1643. Don Michael de Krasfo, Don Bassan Manduba de Sonho, and Don Antonio Ferdinandes, three Ambassadors from the Count Sonho, in Angola, arrived in the *Receif*, in the Ship called the *Arms of Dort*; They had but one Servant each, but brought along with them several Negroes with Golden Collars, as a Present to Count Maurice, besides a great number of other Negroes for the Company.

Ambassadors from the Count of Sonho admitted to Audience.

Being admitted to Audience by Count Maurice and the Great Council, they desired in the Name of their Master, not to send any Assistance to the King of Congo, whom they feared would attack them before long, notwithstanding they were at that time both engaged in a War against the *Portugueses*; They received for Answer, That the Council would write to Mr. Newland, their Director there, to interpose his Authority and Mediation, in order to maintain a good Correspondency, and remove all Occasion of Contest betwixt the King of Congo, and their Master, they being both Confederates of the States: The said Earl sent likewise a Letter to Count Maurice, in which he desired leave to buy a Chair, a Cloak, some Ensigns of War, some Apparel, and such like things. The Great Council writ also a Letter, as well to the King of Congo as to the Count of Sonho, exhorting them to Peace, and sent them the following Presents in the Name of the Company.

To the KING:

A long Black Velvet Cloak, with Silver Galloons.

A Scarf edged with Silver Lace.

A Velvet Coat.

And a Castor-Hatt with a Silver Hatband.

To the Count:

A Red Velvet Elbow-Chair, with Gold Fringes.

A large Velvet Cloak, with Gold and Silver Galloons.

A Scarf, with a Gold and Silver Lace.

A Velvet Coat.

And a Castor-Hatt with a Gold and Silver Hatband.

They were entertained with all imaginable Civility during their stay here: They were very Skillful in playing with the Back-Sword; in the management of which they made most terrible Postures

and Faces. They understood Latin very well, and made several learned Harangues in the same.

The 13th of October 1644. a certain Jew, called *Gasper Francisco de Kunba*,^{fresh picture. Revol.} with two others of the Chief of the same Fraternity, gave notice to the Great Council, that they had been credibly informed by some Jew, who conversed and kept frequent Correspondence in the Country, That the *Portugueses* were Plotting against the *Dutch Brasil*, telling the Council the Reasons upon which they founded this Suspicion. The Council, after having returned Thanks to these Elders for their Care, resolved to leave no Stone unturned to discover the Designs of the *Portugueses*; and having received certain Intelligence, that they expected some Arms and Ammunition to be brought them by Sea, they ordered the 12th of October 1644. the Yacht called *Niemhouse*, with a Galliot, and a Challoop, to Cruise along the Coast of *Dutch Brasil*, to observe what Vessels did approach the Shore.

The 11th of May 1644. Count Maurice left the *Receif* in order to his return to Holland, after he had been 8 years Governor of the *Dutch Brasil*. All the Citizens and chief Inhabitants, both of the *Receif* and Maurice's Town, appeared in Arms, making a Lane from the Old Town to the Water-gate, from whom, as he pass'd by, he took his leave with all imaginable Demonstrations of Kindness: At the Gate he mounted on Horseback, and being accompanied by the Great Council, the Counsellors of Justice, and all the Military Officers, as far as *Olinda*, he there once more took his leave of them in particular, the Sieur *Bullestraet* remaining only with him, being Deputed by the Regency to Conduct him on Board the Ships design'd for his Transportation. They did not set Sail from the *Red-Land* till the 22d of May, with a Fleet of 13 Ships, on board of which were a good number of Soldiers, leaving only 18 Companies for the Defence of the *Dutch Brasil*. Mr. *Bullestraet* return'd the 26th to the *Receif*.

On the 22d of April, not long before the Departure of Count Maurice, the Commission from the Governors of the *West-India Company*, according to a Resolution taken at their Meeting the first of July 1642. concerning the Government of *Dutch Brasil*, and dated the 22d of May 1643. was read in the Great Council, by which the Members thereof

643. thereof were to have the Administration of the Government till further Orders. Accordingly Count Maurice having appointed a Day to Invest them with the Administration of the Government, he ordered (with the Consent of the said Council) an Assembly to be called on the 5th of May of the Counsellors of Justice, of the Magistrates, the Ecclesiastical Council and Ministers of Maurice's Town; of the Commanders in Chief both by Sea and Land, the chief Officers of the Company, the Officers of the Militia, and the Chief Men among the Jews.

All these being at the appointed time met in the great Hall of the *Stadthuys*, he told them, That since their High and Mightinesses the States, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Council of XIX. had been pleased to Grant him leave, after a stay of 8 years among them, in the Quality of Governor of the *Dutch Brasil*, to return into Holland, he had called them together, to return them Thanks, for the many Services, each in his Station, had done to the Company; as likewise for the Obedience, Fidelity, and Respect, they had always shewn to his Person; telling them, That from this Minute he resign'd the Government into the Hands of the Great Council, Requiring and Desiring them, in the Name of the States, the Prince of Orange, and the Council of XIX. to shew them the same Obedience, Fidelity and Respect, they had done before; whereupon Count Maurice having Congratulated the Council, and the rest there present done the same, he took his leave of them in the Hall, and immediately after in the Council-Chamber, of the Members of the Great Council, giving them most hearty Thanks for their faithful Counsel and Assistance upon all Occasions, and for the Respect and Defection they had always shewn to his Person; telling them, That since this would be the last time of his appearing in their Assembly, he had drawn up a Memorial, which might serve them as a Guide, for the better Administration of the Government; and that, if they thought it convenient, he should be ready to Discourse with them, and enlarge further upon that Subject. The Members of the Great Council returned him their unfeigned Thanks, wishing him a happy Voyage, and good Success in all his Undertakings, and recommended themselves and the whole *Dutch Brasil* to his Care hereafter. Before the breaking up

of the Assembly, it was debated in the presence of Count Maurice, which of the Members should have the Precedency there as President, or whether the same should be taken by turns, the same being not determined in their Commission: After several Arguments *pro* and *con*, it was agreed, That things should remain in respect of this Point, in the same Condition, as had been usual before, in the absence of Count Maurice, *viz.* for every one to keep his Rank without any Priority till further Orders from the Council of XIX. to wit; first Mr. Dirk Hamel, then Mr. Billefrateer, Mr. Kodde Vander Bugh, &c.

The next thing the Great Council took in hand, was to inquire more narrowly into the Delinquencies of the Portuguese against the Government; to effect which, it was resolved in January 1644. to send Gilbert de Wit, Councillor of the Court of Justice, and Captain Dirk Hoogstrate, then Commander in Chief in the Cape of St. Anslin, to Antonio Telles de Sylva, then Governor of the *Bahia*, with the following Instructions, dated the 15th of the same month; to Compliment the Governor (after the delivery of their Credentials) in the Name of the Great Council, with a sincere Promise and Assurance of Friendship, and good neighbourly Correspondency. After this, they were to represent to him, that many of the Subjects of the *Dutch Brasil*, after having contracted considerable Debts there, both with the Company, and other Inhabitants, did retire into the *Bahia*; wherefore they desired, that for the promoting of Justice, they would either detain those Bankrupts in Prison, or at least give timely notice of their coming thither, to the *Dutch Government*, whereby their Subjects might be enabled to prosecute them at Law: But their real Errand was to be instructed underhand in the following Points.

I. **W**hat Forces the Portuguesees had at that time in the *Bahia*, and the other Southern Provinces.

II. What number of Ships.

III. What number of Ships were expected there out of Portugal.

IV. How the Negro's Trade should be managed, and from what Places they were brought thither.

V. Whether there was any Co.



that way; their aim being only, to protect their Ships bound to the Portuguese Coast, against the insults of the Castilian and Denmark Privateers, and the Turkish Rovers. It was as they said upon this account, that, during our stay there, two stout Portuguese Ships fit for War, Manned with 600 Men, and provided with good store of Ammunition, arrived in the Bahia; under the Command of Salvador Correda-fa, with Orders, to go directly from thence to Rio de Janeiro, and to fetch all Ships ready laden from thence to the Bahia, from whence they were to Convey these as well as such other Vessels as they found ready there, to the Coast of Portugal; for which reason also all the Vessels, which otherwise used to go according to their own convenience, were ordered to stay for the said Convey. That News was brought by the said two Ships, that the King of Portugal had forbid the building of Caravels and other such like small Vessels, instead of which they were to build Ships of better defence, against the Insults of an Enemy at Sea. From whence the Envoys said, they supposed would arise this inconvenience to the Portuguese, that the Freight and Convey Money paid for the Commodities transported from Portugal to the Portuguese Brasil, and for the Sugar transported from thence to Portugal, must encrease, and consequently would not be able to sell the last at the same price the Dutch did, considering especially that they must be considerable losers both in their Interest and time, where they were forced to tarry for their Convoys, whereas they used formerly to make the best of their way home.

III. They had observed, that, tho' the Inhabitants of the Bahia expected the coming of those Ships, at their first arrival, yet several Vessels arrived there both from the Portuguese Coast and the Islands, before the rest.

IV. They concluded the Negro-Trade to be very inconsiderable there, they having scarce ever heard it as much as mentioned; but because the price of a good Negro did not at that time amount to above 300 Guilders, they supposed them pretty well stocked with them; those which were of Late Bought there being brought thither from Cape Verde and Arder. They further reported, That when on Wednesday being the 8th of February, they entered the Bahia, they met two Ships of good Bulk, carrying about 20 Guns each, and well Manned, going out, which (upon enquiry) were told them to be bound for Portugal, but could not learn to what Harbour

there, which together with some other Reasons, made them suspect, that they were intended another way, in which we found our selves not deceived; when on the 22d of February, just as they were ready for their Departure, they understood from the Mulat Juliana, and of two Monks, that these two Ships were sent with Men to Angola, for the Security of the Inhabitants of Malagao, who being but small in number, were sorely afraid to be set upon by the Negro's of the Country, and having desired the Governors Assistance, who ordered those Ships, and the Men, to go in the Night time, and to endeavour to reach Malagao unperceived by any, and without committing any Hostilities against the Dutch; Whether and how far this might be true, time would shew; but they had all the reason in the World to believe, that it was upon their Score of concealing this Expedition, as well as some other Matters from them, that immediately after their arrival, (though they were not informed of it till near the time of their departure) That no Dutch or Germans should appear, as much as in the sight of the Envoys, much less Discourse with them; which was observed with that strictness, that they really imagined there had been no Dutch there, but found afterwards that they had been all (how many they knew not) carried on Board the Portuguese Vessels, to prevent their keeping any Correspondency with us and our Ships Crew; to which end also, six Centinels were placed in two Boats lying near our Tacht, during the time of our stay here; under pretence of protecting our Vessel, but in effect to prevent any Body from coming on Board us, pursuant to the Orders of the Governor.

V. That the Inhabitants of the Bahia, and the other Portuguese Captainships, had not the least Commerce at this time with those of Bonas Aires. That immediately after the Revolution in Portugal, those of the Bahia had attempted to go thither, but were treated as Enemies by them; so that it was their Opinion, the place would either soon, or was already totally ruin'd for want of Commerce; all their Livelihood consisting in the traffick from the Coast of Brasil thither; which falling away no Silver could be transported thither from Peru; it being not probable that the Spaniards would run the hazard of passing along an Enemy's Coast, when they had a safer way to transport their Treasures from the West-Indies.

VI. That they could not get the least certain Information concerning the Designs carried on betwixt some of the Inhabitants of

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of the Bahia, and those of the Dutch-
143. *Brasil, against the last; besides which they*
gave them a general relation of what they
had been able to learn, concerning the Con-
dition of the City of St. Salvador, its In-
habitants, Governour, and some other mat-
ters relating to the Country therabouts.

other
volt of
Por-
tugueses.

The rumours which in 1640 were
noised about concerning the treacherous
designs of the Portuguese Inhabitants
against us, being for that time vanished
into Smoak, the same was revived, and
their designs began to be discovered in
Febr. 1645. viz. That confiding in the
promised Succours from Bahia, they in-
tended to rise in Arms against us; look-
ing upon this juncture as the most fa-
vourable for their purpose, since
Count Maurice with the greatest part of
our Fleet, and a good number of Soldiers
were returned to Holland, from whence
no fresh Supplies were come of late into
Brasil. The Great Council not being
ignorant of this, were indefatigable in
their care, to leave no Stone unturned
to find out the Ring-leaders of this Re-
bellion, so as to charge them effectually
with this Crime, and find out sufficient
cause for their Commitment. They
sent out several of their Officers into
the Country, as Spies, to sound the In-
clinations of the People, and whether
they could meet with any who incited
the rest to an Insurrection. The like
he did on the other side of the River of
St. Francis, and in Kamaron's Camp,
whither they had sent certain Persons, to
Investigate their Designs, and to learn
what preparations they made for War,
and whether they were intended against
Pernambuco, but were not able to find
out any thing, upon which they could
make any sure account. Being never-
theless sensible that those forewarnings
were not altogether groundless, and
knowing the Portuguese to be of so
haughty a temper, (besides the differ-
ence in Religion) that they would scarce
let any opportunity slip of withdrawing
themselves from the obedience of their
Conquerors; they writ the 13th of Febr.
1645. the following Letter, concerning
the Designs of the Portuguese, to the
Council of XIX.

*A Letter from the Great Council to
the West-India Company.*

Most Noble and Right Honourable,

1 to
the West-
India Com-
pany

During the Government of his Ex-
cellency Count Maurice, there were

already several of the Inhabitants of this
State entered into secret Cabals, to rise in
Mutiny against us, in hopes of assistance
from the Bahia; their business was to in-
sinuate into those that were well affected
to them, after their good success in Maranhon,
that our Forces being considerably weakened
by the strong Detachments sent to the Gar-
risons of Angola, St. Thomas and others,
a fair opportunity was offered them, to with-
draw themselves from our obedience, and to
enjoy their former Liberty under their own
King. They were not a little encouraged in
their Design, imagining the same might be
carried on without any great difficulty, when
they found that of late we had received no
Supplies either of Meat or other Provisions,
or of Soldiers from Holland, whereby the
Store-houses of the Company here being ex-
hausted, the Garrisons of the Forts were
forced to be supplied from time to time with
Farinha and fresh Meats out of the Country,
they judged, if they could once be Masters
in the Field, they must of necessity fall into
their Hands; as it happened in 1640 to the
Spanish Garrisons in Portugal, who for the
same reason were not in a condition to hold
out against the Portuguese; being besides
that sensible, that, unless we would so much
weaken our Garrisons, we had no sufficient
number of Troops left to appear formidable
in the Field. These and other such like
insinuations have been frequently spread
among the Portuguese by those, who finding
themselves most uneasy under our Govern-
ment, hoped for a change of their Affairs,
by changing their Masters; which however
wrought no considerable effect, as long as
his Excellency continued in the Government,
partly because we being forewarned of their
Designs, kept a watchful Eye over all their
actions, partly, because our Sea and Land
Forces being much more considerable at
that time, than they are now, they had but
little prospect of succeeding in their Enter-
prise, which therefore they judged most con-
venient to defer, till after his Excellency's
departure; which, as it was sufficiently
known before-hand, so they were sensible that
thereby our Forces both by Sea and Land
must be considerably weakened, and conse-
quently would furnish them with a fairer
opportunity, of putting their so long rejected
Design in Execution; the more, because
that many of the Portuguese who relying
hitherto upon the Authority of Count Mau-
rice, as the only means to keep the Soldiers
in awe, being now put in fear of the Exe-
cutions and Exorbitances likely to be com-
mitted by the covetous Officers and rapacious
Soldiers, would be forced to join with
them against us. After the departure of his
Excellency

184. Excellency for Holland, those Cabals have instead of Divine things encreased every Day; they have been very diligent in getting information concerning the Strength of all our Garrisons, with an intention, to carry on their Designs before we could be reinforced with Supplies of Men and Provisions from Holland; to effect which, they have by Messengers sent to the Bahia, solicited for Succours of Men and Arms, of which as it seems they have no small hopes. There is great reason to believe, that the Journey of Andrew Vidal from the Bahia hither, in August last, undertaken under pretence of taking his leave before his return to Portugal, in order to serve the King there, was founded upon no other motive, than to inform himself most narrowly concerning the true State of affairs here, in order to give a verbal account thereof in the Bahia and afterwards in Portugal; as likewise to sound the Inclinations of the Inhabitants, and to animate such as he found well disposed for his Interest, with hopes of speedy Succours from the Bahia; we, having since received secret intelligence, that he has been present at several of these Cabals. But tho' they were greatly encouraged with these hopes of good success, by reason of the diminution of our Forces, and scarcity of Provisions, they were not very forward in venturing upon this Enterprize, being sensible, that their Design having taken vent, we made all necessary preparations against them; besides that many of the Portuguese Inhabitants, being beyond their expectation, well satisfied with the Government of the Great Council, did rather chuse to live quietly and securely, than to engage in so dangerous an Enterprize. So that things remained without any considerable alteration at present; and as matters stand now we are not able to find out sufficient cause to satisfy our selves whether they proceed in the same Design. Their chief Design as we are credibly informed was laid against the Receif, which they intended to surprize, upon a certain Day appointed for the Sale of Negro's, when the Inhabitants of the Country flocking thither in great numbers, they did not doubt, but with the assistance of our own Negro's (who are for the most part Papists) to make themselves masters of the place, not questioning, but if this succeeded, the rest would soon be forced to yield. But in this they were prevented, by the strong Guards we took care to post in the Receif, on those Fair Days. The chief Ringleaders, as they are specified to us, are John Fernandes Vieira, and his Father-in-Law Francisco Bezigel, with several others, whom we

185. would have committed to Prison, if we could have had more certain information against them; but, tho' we left no Stone unturned to find out the truth, yet could we not meet with sufficient motives to induce us, either to imprison them, or to proceed again to the general disarming of the Inhabitants, we having received certain Intelligence, that so soon as we should attempt it, we must expect no less, than a general Insurrection, which, considering our own Magazines and Store-Houses were so ill provided, and no sufficient Force could be drawn out of the Garrison to secure the open Country, would have drawn after it very ill consequences for our Nation, especially those living at some distance from our Forts, who thereby (as we had reason to fear) might have been exposed to the danger of being massacred by the Portuguese. It is evident from the Information given to your Lordships in Holland, and transmitted to us, that the Subjects of the King of Portugal themselves are encouraged and animated against us; wherefore it will be absolutely necessary to be very cautious, and to hasten the supplies, we so often have requested at your hands. Upon the first information we received, that towards the South of the Receif the Portuguese intended to land some Men or Arms, we sent the 13th of Octob. a Yacht, the Enckhuysen with another Galliot and Chaloepp to Cruise thereabouts, but they returned after some time without being able to discover any such thing. The next Intelligence we had, was, that a Fleet was Equipping in the Bahia, to transport some Forces, for the assistance of our Rebellious Subjects; to find out the bottom of this Design, we thought we could pitch upon no better expedient than to send thither Mr. Gilbert de Witt, and Dirk Hoogstraten with certain Instructions; of which we have enclosed the Copy; who set Sail the 25th of the last Month. Being further informed that a certain Portuguese Captain with an Ensign and three Soldiers have been lately dispatched from the Bahia to our Captainships, to endeavour to stir up our Subjects to Rebellion, with assurance of Succours from thence; we have employed all necessary means to find them out and get them into our hands. We shall not be wanting in anything, which, according as occasion presents, may contribute to the preservation of this State.

Receif 13. February 1645.

The 4th, the Great Council were informed by Letter from Isaac Rasiere, and Captain Blewbeck, written at Parayba, That

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

at a Rumour was spread thereabouts, that *Kamaron*, Chief Commander of the *asilians* in the *Bahia*, was on his march from *Sertao* to *Savá*, to join with the *asilians* inhabiting thereabouts, to attack with their United Forces the Inhabitants of the Captainship of *Rio Grande*. hereupon the Council sent Orders to *uns Vogel*, Governor of *Seregiippo del y*, to get Intelligence, and send them speedy word, whether *Kamaron* with his mp were still in *Rio Reael*; and if t, whither he had taken his march; whether he intended to take it. they also sent word to the Inhabitants of *Parayba*, that they should be very diligent in inquiring after the Cause of this Rumour, and send them Intelligence accordingly. The 15th of May they received an Answer from *Hans Vogel*, dated the 25th of April at *Seregiippo del Rey*, wherein he told them, That pursuant to their Orders he had sent a Serjeant with nine Soldiers to *Kamaron's* Head-Quarters, about 10 Leagues from *Seregiippo del y*, under pretence of looking for some deserters; who after their return reported, That his Forces, consisting of 60 Portuguese and 1200 *Brasilians*, were all in the same place, busied for the most part in Cultivating some Plantations, *Kamaron* himself being then in the *ibid*, to assist at the Solemnity of their *Easter*; from whence they conjectured, that the Rumour concerning his march was only a Fiction. But two days after the same Rumour was renewed by two Passengers coming from *Rio St. Francisco*, and being landed by one *John Hoen*, a Master of a Vessel, near *Kandelaria*; but upon a more strict Enquiry made by the Council, the said Master of the Vessel declared, that on the eighth of the same month, when he left *Rio St. Francisco*, there was no News of *Kamaron's* march.

The 30th of May 1645. a Letter, without a Name was delivered to the Great Council, by one *Abraham Markado*, a Jew, subscribed only *Plus Ultra*. This Letter being Translated out of the Portuguese the same Night, the Contents thereof were, That three unknown Persons, gave them notice, that a good Body of Troops were come from *Rio Reael* into *Parayba*, with an Intention to join with a Discontented Party there, and to surprize the Dutch Forts; with Advice to Seize upon the Person of *John Fernandes Vieira*, their Chief Ringleader.

The Letter is as follows.

A Letter of Intelligence to the Council.

WE stand amazed you are so secure, when it is reported, That the *Matta* of *Parayba* is full of Soldiers, come hither lately from *Rio Reael*; who consisting in a good number of Negro's, Mulatt, and Portuguese, with *Kamaron* at the Head of them, began their march in the month of March, expelling now to be joined by other Troops, which hitherto were stop'd by the overflowing of the Rivers. Their aim is to encourage the Inhabitants to take up Arms, which done, they expect considerable Succours from the *Bahia*, both by Sea and Land, wherewith they pretend to block you up in the Receif; intending to fix their Camp either at *Olinda*, or in the *Vergea*, and Quarter the Soldiers in the *Fregelies* thereabouts. They boast that their Forces are already considerably encased by those who are Indebted to the Company, and other *Vagabonds*; and threatened to dissolve all such of your Subjects as refuse to join with them. A certain Person of Note and Reputation belonging to the same Camp, has given us this Information, in order to Commune cate it to your Lordships to be upon your Guard, which we do accordingly by these Presents. The same Person told us, That *John Fernandes Vieira* was the Chief Ringleader of this Insurrection, who maintains the rebellious Crew in the *Matta*, as they meet together, till a certain day appointed for their Rendezvous, when they are with their joyned Forces to attack all the Dutch Forts and Out-Guards at once. We were also told, That the said *Vieira* does not sleep in his House, and is always upon his Guard; to try which, you have no more to do than to send some to take him with his Servants and Factors; which if you could do, they would be all amazed, and make an open Confession; which may be done without the least hazard; for if you miscarry in the Attempt, it will nevertheless not redound to your Disadvantage. We conjure your Lordships to take care of this poor Nation, for fear they should be forced to join with the Rebels against you. We judge it therefore absolutely necessary to undertake the Business without delay, with all imaginable Secresie; for if they find themselves discovered, they will begin the Game immediately; so, that strong Guards ought to be put in the Out-works, and in the Harbours of *Kandelaria*, and the Receif. We Advise your Lordships, to oblige the Inhabitants forthwith to Surrender their Arms, to order all the Masters of the Sugar-Mills, with their Planters, to appear in the Receif, especially those of the *Fregelies* of *Vergea*, *Carallu*,

643

and Travels to BRASIL.

Garassu, St. Lorenzo, St. Amaro, Moribeca, de Cabo, Pojuka, and Serinhaim, with Assurance that they shall not be molested for any Debts there; and when they are come, to detain them till they see what is further to be done, under pretence of securing them against the Attempts of the Rebels in the Country; by which means you will both secure the Government, and oblige many private Persons. The same Method ought to be used with those of Parayba, where they may be detained in the Fort, as well as those of Porto Calvo in that Place. Thus if you can get the Chiefest into your Hands, the Design will dwindle away to nothing. We beseech you not to send away any more Soldiers, before you have made a full Discovery of the Rebellion, and provide your Forts with good Garrisons; whether we would also have all the Dutch Inhabitants to retire for fear of being Massacred. We Three, being faithful Subjects of your Lordships, have now satisfied our Conferences in proposing your Remedy, which consists in the taking of Vieira, which must be undertaken with great Secrecy and Foresight, he being as it is said, continually upon his Guard. Your Lordships will be sensible without our Advice, how much it concerns them, not to divulge to any, from whom they have received this Information; And we assure you, that we will not fail to give further Intelligence of what we are able to learn, by way of Letters; and one time or other, we shall make no difficulty to let you know, who these Three Faithful Subjects are. If we had been present, we could have declared no more than we have done in this Letter. Your Lordships must take effectual Care against their Attempts without Delay; the approaching Fast being the time appointed for the putting it in Execution. We have sent you immediate notice after it came to our knowledge. We Advise you likewise to Set upon Francisco Beringel, Vieira's Father-in-Law, and Antonio Kavalkanti; and in short, all the Chiefest of the Vergeas, and other Places.

Signed,

*A. Verdade.
Plus Ultra.*

Hereupon the Great Council called *Paul de Linge*, President of the Council of Justice, Vice-Admiral *Cornelius Lichtbarr*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Garstman*, into their Assembly, to Consult unanimously, what were best to be done at this Juncture for the Preservation of the *Dutch Brasil*: when by this, as well as Letters and Intelligences,

they were forewarned of the approaching Danger; and notwithstanding they were much in doubt, whether they ought to make any certain Account upon a Letter written without a Name; yet considering all the Circumstances of this as well as several other Informations, it was judged absolutely necessary to provide for the Safety of the *Dutch Brasil*, against any Attempts of an Enemy.

I. By providing all the Forts with Meal for Two Months.

II. By giving immediate Notice to all Commanders of Forts, to be constantly upon their Guard.

III. To write to *John Leftry*, Chief Commander of the *Brasilians*, to keep his People in readiness with their Arms in the Villages, to be ready to march upon the first Orders from the Council, we being not in a Condition to take the Field without them.

IV. To send abroad their Spies, in all Corners, even into the Woods, to get Intelligence whereabouts the Enemies Troops are; and to give timely notice of what they are able to learn, to the Council.

V. It was agreed, to Summon *John Fernandes Vieira*, the Chief Ringleader of the intended Rebellion, and his Securities, *Francisco Beringel*, *Vieira's* Father-in-Law, and *Bernardn Karvalho*, unto the *Ruicif*, under pretence of making a second Agreement with him, which he earnestly desired; by which means they should secure his Person, know the whole bottom of the *Portuguese* Design, and consequently be the better able to prevent it. A certain Broker called *Koin*, who solicited this Agreement for *Vieira*, was prevailed upon to undertake this Task, which he might do without the least Suspicion; but the *Whitsomide* Holidays put some stop to it for the present. With the same Care the Great Council employed all possible Means to get the other Persons of the *Vergea*, suspected to have a Hand in this Rebellious Design, into their Hands, under some pretence or other, they being not likely to be taken by force, because they did not lodge in their Mills and Houses in the Night time, and by Day were so strictly upon their guard, that they could not possibly be surprized.

643. The 31st of May, Vice-Admiral Lichthart, and Henry Haas a Lieutenant, offered to undertake the delivering of *John Fernandes Vieira* to the Council, which they intended to Effect, under pretence of giving him a Visit, and going a Fishing with him in the Lake *Lewis Bras Biserra*.

Further Advice concerning the Injur-
rection.

The 9th of July, the Great Council received Advice by a Letter from Mr. Koin, Governour of *Rio St. Francisco*, dated the 1st of June, That *Kamaron*, with a small Body was passed the River *St. Francis*; therefore he desired some Assistance of Men, with suitable Ammunition.

The same was confirmed by another Letter, dated the 27th of June, with Advice, That as yet no Enemy had appeared within sight of the Fort.

Frequent Intelligence being likewise sent to the Council, That in the *Matta* of *St. Lawrence*, and some other distant Places, considerable numbers of Soldiers from the *Bahia*, of Mulats and Negro's, were gathering in a Body, they sent several small Bodies thither, under Command of such as were well acquainted with that Country, who all unanimously reported, That they could meet with no Soldiers, Mulats, or any other Vagabonds thereabouts.

The 12th of June, the Director *Moucheron* sent further Advice, that he had been credibly informed by Letters dated the 8th of the same month, from *Rio St. Francisco*, That *Kamaron* and *Henrico Dias*, with six Companies of *Brasilians*, Mulats, and Negro's, were pass'd the said River; and that just as he was concluding this Letter, two Inhabitants of the *Algoas* had given him to understand, that some of them had been at their Houses for some Meal; the Copies of which Letters he sent to the Council, who did now not in the least question, but that their Aim was upon the *Dutch Brasil*; especially since they were forewarned by several Letters from *St. Antonio*, That the Inhabitants thereabouts seem'd to prepare for a Revolt.

The Reso-
lution of
the Coun-
cil there-
upon.

The Council finding their Project of taking *Vieira* by Craft, not to succeed, because he and the Securities of his Father-in-Law, *Francisco Beringel*, and *Bernardino Karvalho*, could not be Cajoled into the *Receif*, under pretence of Renewing their former Contract; and looking upon him as the Chief Ring-leader of this Revolt, they ordered *Joaachim Denniger*, a Lieutenant, with a good number of Soldiers, to the Mill and

House of the said *John Fernandes Vieira*, to bring his Person from thence to the *Receif*. Accordingly *Denniger* advanced with his Soldiers towards the Evening near the Mills, which he surrounded, and about Midnight unexpectedly entred both the House and Mills, making a most strict search throughout all the Rooms and Corners, but to no purpose. In the Morning he withdrew at some distance, but return'd the next Night, when after having made another search, but in vain, he was informed by one of his *Turkish* Slaves, and some Negro's, That neither *Vieira*, nor his Father-in-Law *Beringel* had slept in their Houses these last Three Weeks; that sometimes they came thither on Horseback, but after a very short stay, went their ways again. *Denniger* likewise search'd the Houses of *Antonio Kavalkants* and *Antonio Biserra*, but to as little purpose as those of the former, being informed by their Negro's, that they had absconded for some Weeks before.

In the mean while, the Council sent divers Parties abroad, under the Command of *Hans Katner*, *Slodimski*, and *Conrad Hilt*, all which, after their return, agreed in this, That there were no Enemies there as yet, especially not in the *Matta*, where they met with no Body but those that were employed in Manuring the Grounds.

The Great Council finding themselves altogether disappointed in their hopes of taking *Vieira*, resolv'd to secure immediately the Persons of *Francisco Beringel*, *Vieira's* Father in-Law; *Bernardino Karvalho*, and his Brother *Sebastian Karvalho*, *Lewis Bar*, *Amaro Lopes*, and *John Pessoa*, being Persons suspected to have a hand in the Conspiracy, inhabiting the *Vergea*. In the more distant Provinces were ordered to be seized

In *St. Amaro*, *Antonio de Bulhous*.

In *St. Antonio*; *Amador d'Aronja*; *Pedro Marinho Falcao*; *Antonio del Rasso*.

In *Pojuka*; *Kornero de Moraes*; Father *Frey Lewis*; and *Francisco Dias del Gado*.

In *Serinhaim*; *John Albuquerque*, Son-in-Law of *Pero Lopes de Vera*.

In *Porto Calvo*; *Rodrigues de Barros Pimentel*.

In *Iguaraka*; *John Pimenta*.

In *Isamarika*; Father *Lawrence d'Alkunba*.

And in *Rio Grande*; *John Lestian Navarro*.

But it being most of all to be feared that the Inhabitants of *Parayba*, who were much Indebted, would Revolt before

His Confession agreeing in all points with what *Fernando Vale* had deposed before, and being all that time sorely afflicted with the Gravel, he was dispensed with from any further Examination.

The Council being by this Deposition of *Karvalho* fully convinced of the Treachery of *Vieira* and his adherents, it was resolved to attempt once more the taking of the said *Vieira*, if perhaps he might as yet lurk somewhere or other near the *Receif*, and of his Factor *Mor Manuel de Sousa* engaged in the same Design; as likewise of *Antonio Bezerra* and *Amaro Lopes*, both Inhabitants of the *Vergea*. But in vain, those who were sent upon that Errand, bringing back no other satisfaction, than that they were not to be met with thereabouts, and that besides that, *Antonio* and *Manuel Kavalkanti*, *Anton o Bezerra*, *John Pessoa* and *Cesario de Kajo* were the same Day retired out of the *Vergea* to the *Matra*. The same Day Captain *Wilksont* was ordered to seize the publick Notary, *Caipor Pereira*, dwelling in *St. Lawrence*, who was supposed to have drawn the before mentioned Association; and it was resolved to send a Pardon to *Anton o Kavalkanti*, and *John Pass Kae-ral*, who having a great Family at home, might thereby be prevailed upon to quit the Party of the Rebels, whereby we should both weaken that of the Enemy, and get a further insight into their Designs, *Anton o de Bulbons* being Examined at the same time, ingenuously confessed that he had not the least knowledge of the Conspiracy; *Sebastian Carvalho* being notwithstanding his former Confession, detained Prisoner upon Suspicion till the 4th of *August*, was at his request dismissed by the *Great Council*, after having given sufficient proof that he was one of the three who writ the Letter concerning the intended Conspiracy, to the Council.

Karvalho
discharged
The Receif
strengthened with
Pallisado's.

The 14th of *June*, Orders were given to all the Inhabitants of the *Receif*, and those living upon the back of the River, to surround their dwelling places with Pallisado's, under Forfeiture of 200 Guilders. And to render the Companies the more compleat, and expose our Men to as little danger as might be of being surprised by the Enemy; all the Safe-Guards were commanded to be withdrawn, by *M. Haus*, near the *Receif*, and in *Serinhamb* by Captain *Falla*, who was likewise ordered to remove the Garrison of *Huna*, to another place, of

more strength. The better to supply the scarcity of Provisions in the Forts, which for want thereof might be in danger of falling into the Enemy's hands, Orders were dispatch'd to the Chief Commanders, to seize upon what quantity of *Farinha* (or Meal) they stood in need of for the use of their respective Garrisons, among the Inhabitants of the Country, which they were to be paid for by the Commissaries of the Company. It was also thought necessary that for the greater security of *Maurice's Town*, the Ditches of the Fort *Ernestus* should be made larger, as likewise the *Quinque-regular Fort*, which was put in execution by *Haus*, as Vice Admiral *Liebnhart* took care to have two Spy-Ships posted, one betwixt the *Quinque-angular Fort* and the Fort *Bruin*, the other beyond *Baretta*, to prevent any surprize on that side, at low Tide; it was also resolved not to let any Ships or Boats go out of the *Receif*, without a Pass from the Great Council.

The Forti-
fications
of Mau-
rice Town
enlarged.

The Major of the City Militia was ordered to keep the rest of his Officers with the Soldiery in readiness against the 17th to pass the Review, the same Day being also appointed to the Garrison for that purpose; several new Commanders were also chosen for the Militia, instead of those that were ready to return into *Holland*. The same Day *Paul Lunge* set out on his Journey into *Parayba*, being furnished with 1500 Soldiers for necessary occasions; and *Bernardus Carvalho*, who had absconded for some time, had, at his request, leave granted him, to come to the *Receif*, to answer for himself.

The 15th *John Pessoa* Master of the Sugar-Mill *Pantelo*, one of those that were ordered to be secured, desired also leave in a Letter to the Council, to appear before them, his flight being occasioned not by his guilt, but only fear, which was granted him, as well as the request of Father *Lawrence Alkumba*, upon the same account.

On the 16th early in the Morning we received secret Intelligence, that *Andrew Vidal* at the Head of 1000 *Portugueses*, and *Kameron* with d' *Indes Rondelas*, and *Henry Dias* with a Body of armed Negro's had posted themselves above *St. Anthony*, near the Sugar-Mill *Topekura*. The same Day *John Karnero de Maris*, and *Francisco Dias del Gado* both Masters of Sugar-Mills in the district of *Pojuka*, ordered to be apprehended, were brought Prisoners to the *Receif*, and *Amador da Ronje*, and *Pero Marinha Faltiao* Inha-

were to give notice of the approach of any unknown Persons that way. The 13th Seb'ian Karwallio and Antonio de Baidon, were brought in Prisoners to the Receis, the rest who were brought in, having escaped Prisoners.

HIS CONFESSION.

in the Verger, to the great Council, the King, leader thereof being John Fernandes Viegas, who, with the rest of his Portuguese accomplices relied upon the success of the expedition from the Bahia: with what


Portuguese Sevent of the 17th Century, viz. John Fernandes Vieira, and no other man, who had signed it as a promise to subscribe the same, there being no other with a Letter, in which he had forgotten to subscribe the same.

indeed he had signed the said Association, but given immediate notice thereof to Fernando Vale and a third Person besides; and that he together with Mr. Vale, had raised the beforementioned Letter, directed

their main design was to surprise one of our forts, on or near the Sea-side, whereby they might secure themselves a place, to receive accounts from the Bahia, from whence they

et al to be transferred upon that account.

et al to be transferred upon that account.

1643.  bitants of St. Anthony, who had hitherto absconded, did ask permission to come to the *Receif*, to answer for themselves, which was easily granted.

Our Camp removed to Moribeka. It was then taken into Deliberation, by the Great Council, whether, according to the last Intelligences received of the Enemies Designs, it were not most Expedient to remove our small Camp from St. Lawrence to Moribeka, which after some Debates, was Agreed upon accordingly, thereby to secure the Passage of the River *Sanea*, and consequently to remain Masters of the Country as far as the Cape of St. *Assim*, from whence, both the Camp and the *Receif* might conveniently be supplied both with *Farinha* and Cattle; whereas on the contrary, if the Enemy should be possessed of it, he might (as had been done in their former Wars) cut off all Supplies coming from the South to the *Receif*.

Pursuant to this Resolution, Orders were sent to Captain *Wilschut*, to march immediately to Moribeka, to expect there the coming of the *Brasilians*, and some further Succours: In the mean while to Post himself in the Church, and to fortify the same against any sudden Attack: And the Aldermen of *Maurice's Town* were ordered to Buy up the necessary Provisions, both of *Farinha* and Cattle, about Moribeka, for their Use. A Proclamation was also issued, Commanding all the Inhabitants of *Serinhamb*, *Pojuka*, St. Antonio, and Moribeka, without any Exception, to repair well-armed, both Horse and Foot, with all possible speed, to St. Antonio; there to List themselves for the Defence of the open Country, under the Command of Colonel *Gaspar Vander Ley*, and Lieutenant Colonel *John Heck*: Those that were not able to maintain themselves at their own Charge, being to receive their Provision from the Company, like other Soldiers: The said Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel offering at the same time, to furnish 1500 *Aljuera's* or Measures of *Farinha*, for the use of our Garrisons, for ready Money.

The same day the Great Council received a Letter from *Antonio Kavalkanti*, (unto whom they had lately sent his Pardon) in which he protested, That neither he, nor the rest of the Inhabitants of the *Vergea*, were concerned in any Cabals against the State, their flight being occasioned only by Fear, of being Imprisoned upon Suspicion, raised against them by their Enemies. The Answer of the Council was to this Effect, That if he knew himself Innocent, he should re-

turn to his Mill, this being the only means, to recover his former Reputation.

The Great Council having great reason to suspect, That *Kamaron* would endeavour to bring the *Brasilians* under their Jurisdiction over to his Party, resolved, in order to secure them in their Interest, to Treat with *Lisby*, their Commander in Chief, to persuade them, to send their Wives and Children into the Isle of *Tamarka*, under pretence of securing them against any Attempts of the Enemy; to which they might in all probability be exposed in the open Villages; but in effect, to keep them as Pledges of their Fidelity.

The same day the Council received secret Intelligence from *Antonio d'Oliveira*, of those That the Succours sent to the Rebels from the *Bahia*, consisted in a considerable number of *Portuguese*, under the Command of the Brother of *Kavalkanti*, of 400 *Brasilians*, under the Command of *Kamaron*; 300 *Indoes Roodilas* from *Sertoa*; and 50 Negro's, under Command of *Henry Dias*.

On the same 16th of June, Mr. *Sloteniski*, Ensign of the Guards, was sent abroad to be at the Campagne, with a 11 Firelocks, and 12 *Brasilians*, who returning the 24th of June, gave the following Account to the Great Council. That he took his way from the *Receif* directly to St. Lawrence, and from thence directly to the Village of St. Michael; where being joined by his *Brasilians*, he marched through St. Francisco to *Kajura*, from thence to *Ceyra*, and so further through the *Matt*, to St. Sebastian, where all the Inhabitants had left their Houses. At St. Sebastian he passed the River *Topikura*, and coming to *John Fernandes Vieira's* Park, met there with good able Horses. The Negro's told him, They had Orders from their Master, to fly from before the *Dutch*, but to furnish the *Portuguese* with what they desired. From thence he marched to St. Antonio, and in his way thither did light upon a House belonging likewise to *John Fernandes Vieira*, where he found about 50 or 60 Sheep, with good Store of Poultry, intended for the use of the Sick, belonging to those Rebels, or those come to their Assistance from the *Bahia*. They forewarned him not to Advance too far, he being likely to meet with some Troops in the Park belonging to the Fathers of St. Bemio; but coming thither found both the *Portuguese* and Negro's fled. From thence he marched to a House belonging to

1643: 

Number
of those
sent from
the Bahia
to the
Rebels.

Ensign
Slotenis
is sent
abroad,
and his
Account.

1643. to Michael Fernandes, who above three Months before had been ordered by John Fernandes Vieira, to provide a sufficient quantity of *Favinha* for the use of the Succours expected from the *Bahia*; which he lately had transported from thence to *Pedro de Alkumba*; where was the Rendezvous of two Companies of the Rebellious Inhabitants, where the said Michael expected a good store of Cattel, bought up by *Vieira* for their Use, according to the Information of a Negro, brought by *Slotenski* to the *Receif*. Near the Park of Don *Pedro d'Alkumba*, he met with the same Mulat who had shot Captain *Waldeck*, and with two *Hollanders* who had committed Murther, and were never Pardoned. John Fernandes *Vieira* had promised to be with them against *Midsummer-Day*. From thence *Slotenski* marched directly to *Una*, and so further to *St. Luiz*, but met with no Body there except one Monk, and so returned to the *Receif*.

On the 17th of June it was resolved by the Great Council, with Consent of the Council of Justice, to Issue a Proclamation for a general Pardon, except some few of the Ringleaders of the Rebellion.

The Proclamation was as follows.

A Proclamation for a General Pardon.

THE Great Council of Brasil makes known to every Body, whom it may Concern, That they being sensible, to their Grief, how many of their Subjects, having been misled by some of the Ringleaders of the Rebellion, have left their Mills, Wives, and Children, for fear, as has been insinuated to them, of being disturbed, plundered, and killed by our stragling Parties: We being willing to provide against it, and to contribute as much as in Us lies, to the Prosperity of Our Subjects, and their Estates, have thought fit to publish their Intention, to be, to Defend and Protect the Inhabitants of the open Country, against all evil Intention'd Persons to the utmost of their Power. And to Reduce those who have left their Habitations, to Obedience, and prevent their utter Destruction, We promise our Pardon to all such as shall within Five Days after sight of this our Proclamation, make their Personal Appearance in the *Receif*, not excepting those who have been actually engaged in the said Rebellion (unless they are among the number of the Chief Ringleaders) provided they leave the Rebellious Party, and return to their former Obedience; and that they shall Enjoy the quiet Possession of their

Mills and Lands as before under our Protection; under Condition however, that they shall be obliged to take a new Oath of Allegiance to the State. Those on the contrary, who shall persist in their Rebellion, or shall assist the Rebels under what pretence soever, are hereby declared Enemies of the State, who have forfeited their Lives and Estates, whose Persons and Estates shall be liable to be prosecuted with Fire and Sword, &c.

This Proclamation being immediately Translated into the Portuguese Tongue, was sent the next morning to *St. Antonio* and the *Tergea* to be published there; Several Copies were also distributed among the Friars, in order to publish them from the Pulpits, and cause them to be affixed to the Church-Doors.

The 18th, good Store of Provision and Ammunition was sent to the Fort *Keulen*, and *Rio Grande*, and the Garrisons of both these Places forewarned to keep upon their Guard. At the same time the Proclamation of Pardon was sent thither to be published; And *Antonio Pauba*, Chief of the *Brasilians* in those Parts, was Summon'd to keep his *Brasilians* in readiness with their Arms, whenever they should be Commanded to give Proofs of their Fidelity to the Company.

The 19th of June, two Inhabitants of *Porto Calvo*, that were landed but the same Morning in a small Boat on the *Receif*, brought News to the Great Council, That *Kamaon* at the Head of the *Brasilians*, and *Henry Dias*, with his armed Negroes, consisting in 7 Companies, had posted themselves in the *Alagoas* near the Sugar-Mill *Velho*; that their number was increased since to 4 or 5000 Men, by the Conjunction of those who were passed the River *St. Francisco* through the *Matta*, and that they had begun to commit open Hostilities, so that now the Council had not the least reason to doubt any further of the Design of the Portuguese. The Commander of *Porto Calvo* sent word much to the same purpose, and that he prepared for a vigorous Defence. The first Effects of this Insurrection broke out in the District of *Pojuka*, and considering that our whole Force there consisted only in 30 Men, under *Jacob Flemming* a Lieutenant, Orders were sent him to Retreat to *St. Antonio*, there to defend themselves with their joint-Forces. The first beginning of Hostilities was made by those of the *Pojuka*, by seizing upon two Boats, all

Open Rebellion begun at Pojuka

all the Passengers of which they took Prisoners, and flew them afterwards, except one Seaman who had the good Fortune to escape. This done, The Inhabitants both of the Village and the open Country, chose for their Head, *Tabatinga Amador d'Arravio*, whereby they cut off our Communication with the *Cape Austin* by Land, and all about to the South, besides that the Fort on the said Cape, could not, but with great difficulty be supplied with Water from the River.

The 20th of June, a *Brasilmann* arrived very early in the morning in the *Receif*; his Errand to the Council was, That he being sent by *John Blaaz*, from *Porto Calvo*, with Letters to the Great Council, was set upon by those of *Pojuka*, near *Kamboa*, who took from him the said Letters, and kill'd his Companion. For the rest he told them, That *Kamaron* was posted in the District of *Porto Calvo*, and that Captain *John Blaaz* was in the Fort. A Council being call'd to consider of the best means to secure the *Dutch Brasil* against any Attempts of the Enemy, the first thing that fell under Debate, was, Whether, according to the general Advice of those of the Inhabitants, who wished well to our Government, it were not most Expedient for our Defence, to form a Camp to make Head against the Enemy in the Field; who, if once Master of the open Country, would force the Inhabitants to join with him, and cut off our Provisions, without which we could not subsist long. The next thing to be taken into Consideration, was, Where to find Forces for this Camp, the Garrisons being so weakly Mann'd, as not to be able to spare any, and the body under Captain *Wilschut* consisting only of 120 Men, besides the 300 *Brasilians*, to be joined with him. Considering therefore that the whole Force in the *Allegoas* consisted only of two Companies under the Command of *Mucheron*, a number not any ways proportionable to the Extent of so large a Tract of Ground; it was judged most convenient to make a Virtue of Necessity, and to draw them from thence to the *Receif*, as indeed they had been ordered before. But their way by Land being cut off by the Rebels of *Pojuka*, a Vessel, which lay ready to go out a Cruising, was ordered to *Porto Francisco*, with Orders to *Mucheron*, to Embark forthwith those Forces aboard her, without having any regard to the Baggage; but the rest, which could not be put aboard the Ves-

sel, should be sent by Land to *Rio Francisco*, to Reinforce Captain *Klein*, for the better Defence of that Place. Captain *Fallo* was likewise ordered to march with the Garrison of *Serinbaum* to *St. Antonio*; it being not likely that the Troops in *Serinbaum* should be able to make Head there, after the coming of *Kamaron* into *Porto Calvo*, it being an Inland Country.

The same day, 40 new-listed Soldiers were sent to *Tamarika*, under Command of Captain *Peter Seulin*, Master of the Sugar-Mill *Harlem*; because this Island was of the greatest Consequence to us; and the Garrisons of the Fort *Orange*, and the Town of *S. Jop*, consisting each of one Company, were very weak, and the armed Inhabitants did not amount to above one Company more.

The same day, Mr. *Ras*, and Mr. *Van de Poerde*, Counsellors of the Court of Justice, were ordered to examine *Gaspar Pereira* the Publick Notary, concerning his Drawing of the Instrument of Association; as likewise *John Kariero*, de *Marris*, *Francisco Dias Delgado* Masters of Sugar-Mills, in the District of *Pojuka*, and *Sebastian Karvalho*, concerning what they knew of the intended Conspiracy.

Karvalho declared a second time, at the House of Lieutenant Colonel *Hans*, That some days ago, (he could not remember exactly which) a certain Portuguese Servant, whom he knew not, did come to him in the Name of *John Fernandes Vieira*, with a Letter, in which the said *Vieira* desired him to Sign the enclosed Writing drawn in Form of an Association, to take up Arms against the Government, as soon as they should receive any Succours from the *Bahia*; which at that time was Subscribed only by *John Fernandes Vieira*, and *Lewis da Costa Sepulveda*; but, as he supposed, was to be carried to most of the Inhabitants. He further declared, That he refused to Sign the said Writing upon the bare Letter of *John Fernandes Vieira*, and the Hand-Writing being unknown to him, he sent both the Letter and Instrument of Association back by the same Lad that brought it, with his Answer by way of Mouth, That he could not subscribe it. Having more maturely weighed the matter, he sent the same Evening to his Friend *Fernando Vale*, to desire him to give him a meeting the next morning upon the Hills of *Garapes*, which being done accordingly, it was agreed among them to give Notice of this Conspiracy to the Great Council in a Letter without a Name. This Letter, with the Subscription, of

1643. *Plus Ultra*, was writ by *Vale*, and about Ten Days after given him to Read in a Bakers House in the *Pomfreet*, and afterwards given to *Abraham Mercado* the Physician, who delivered it to the Great Council.

The same day, the 20th of *June*, the Great Council received a Letter from Mr. *Ley* and *Hoek*, dated at *St. Antonio*, importing, That the whole *Fregeffe* had taken up Arms, and made 16 or 18 *Dutch* Inhabitants Prisoners; That they had fortified the Church against those of *Pojuka*, whom they did not question to force from thence, provided they received any Succours from the *Receif*. The Council having taken the whole matter into serious Deliberation, and considering with themselves, that, as the Case then stood, they had no great reason to fear any Rebellion in the North, in *Parayba*, and *Rio Grande*, as long as our Fleet remained near the *Red-Land*, and judging it highly necessary to bring the Rebels in *Pojuka* to Reason, and by their Punishment to deter the rest from attempting the like; they ordered Lieutenant Colonel *Hans*, with a Detachment of 100 Men, to march the next Morning, to *Moribeka*, there to joyn with Captain *Wilschut*, and the *Brasilians*, and so continue their march to *St. Antonio*; from whence they were with their joint Forces to go directly against the Rebels of *Pojuka*, to reduce them to Obedience; it being otherwise to be feared that they would cut off all Communication betwixt the *Receif* and the Garrisons to the South. This Expedition proved so successful, that the Rebels were put to flight, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hans* made himself Master both of the Town and Convent, forcing them to quit all the Passes thereabouts; and 40 Prisoners were released, whom they had loaded with Irons in the said Monastery. But having received Intelligence of the approach of *Kamaron* with his whole Body, against him, he desired further Succours from the Great Council, to keep the Field; but the Garrison of the *Receif* being too much weakened already, they could send him no other Reinforcement till the expected Succours should arrive from *Holland*.

A Fast. The 21st, It was resolved by the Great Council, to proclaim a General Fast all over *Dutch Brasil*, to be kept the 28th of *June*, to return Thanks to God Almighty for the great Mercy shewn to them on several Occasions, but especially of late in the timely discovery of

the treacherous Designs of their Enemies, who intended to have surprised them when they were least aware of them.

The Design of this Conspiracy was laid thus by the *Portugueses*: They intended in the *Whitsuntide* Holidays to make Solemn Rejoycings, with Feasting, Tournaments, and such like, on occasion of several Weddings appoiointed for that purpose, unto which were to be invited all the Chief Men of *Dutch Brasil*, both Civil and Military; whom, after they were flusk'd with Wine, they intended to Murther, in Imitation of the *Scilicet* *an Vespers*, or the noted *Parisian Wedding*; not questioning, but that, when the Heads of the *Dutch Brasil* were cut off, the rest, when attack'd at once in divers Places, would fall an easie Prey into their Hands. But being prevented in this bloody Design for that time, *Midsummer-Day* was pitch upon, as most proper for the Execution of it, when the Ships were departed out of the Harbour of the *Receif*. For the *Portugueses* were not ignorant, that we having received no fresh Supplies, especially of Gun-Powder, for a considerable time out of *Holland*, our Magazines were but very indifferently supplied both with Ammunition and Provisions; and that consequently we must soon be reduced to great Extremity, if they were Masters of the Field: They knew also, That all our Ships, except two, were ready to fail with the first fair Wind, being already fallen down to the *Red-Land*; Thus being sensible of our Weakness, the *Portugueses* propos'd to themselves no less than the Conquest of the whole *Dutch Brasil* at one stroke. But the whole Design being discovered before *Midsummer-Day*, it vanish'd into Smoak, both sides betaking themselves to Decide the Matter by Arms.

The *Portugueses* pretended not so much the Allegiance due to their King, as *Freedom* of Liberty of Conscience; notwithstanding of which, we have all the Reason in the World to imagine, That this Insurrection was undertaken not only with the Knowledge, but also at the Instigation of the Court of *Portugal*, and of those of the *Bahia*; it being very improbable, That *Kamaron*, *Henry Dias*, and the rest of the Ring-leaders, should without the Approbation of the King of *Portugal*, have attempted to attack us by open Force. Besides this, *Mucheron* declares to have Read in a *Portuguese* Commission these Words: *This Revolt and War* *made*

Scheme of the Portuguese Plot.

Succours sent to Pojuka.

Freedom of Liberty of Conscience.

64 3.
 Taken for the Honour of God, the propagating of the Roman Catholick Faith, for the service of the King and common Liberty: He further adds, that he has heard several *Portugueses* say, That if they miscarried in their Design of chasing us out of *Brasil*, to destroy all with Fire and Sword, thereby to bereave us of all future prospect of receiving any benefit from those Lands; which done, they would retire with their Wives and Children to the *Bahia*, or settle in some more remote place, where they might be secure against any attempts of the *Dutch*. There have indeed been some, who, considering the unsettled Estate of the King of *Portugal*, and the odd fancy of his Reign, have thought it very improbable, he should involve himself in a War with us, or have given his consent to this insinuation, but the Event has sufficiently contradicted that Opinion.

A Letter from the heads of the Rebels to the Council.

The 22d of *June* a Letter was delivered to the *Great Council*, Signed by *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkami*, *John Pessoa*, *Manuel Kavalkami*, *Antonio Bezerra* and *Casmo de Crafo Pafos*; in which they complained, That they being a considerable time ago accused by the *Jews* of a treacherous Design against the Government, had been great sufferers upon that score; That now they being informed by the same *Jews* that they were in danger of losing all their Mills and Lands, to be given to certain *Hollanders*, who were sent for, for that purpose, they desired that the time of five Days appointed in the last Pardon might be prolonged, as being too short for a business of such moment, and that the said Pardon might be granted without exception; which they refusing to grant, they did hereby protest before God and all the *Roman Catholick* Princes, that they thought themselves Innocent and not in the least guilty of all those miseries, which might ensue from this refusal hereafter.

The Council debates the matter.

The 23d in the Morning the Council was assembled, to consider of the said Letter; where after several harangues upon the present State of our Affairs and the Enemy's Design against us, they were divided in their Opinions, some being for granting a general Pardon, without the least exception, as the case stood with us at present, when we were destitute of sufficient Provision, Ammunition and Men; others maintained, that a Letter which contained so many notorious untruths deserved not the least Answer; others were of another

opinion. Whilst they were thus debating the matter, Letters were brought to the Council, written by Lieutenant Colonel *Hans* from *St. Antonio*, that he was ready to attack the Rebels of *Pojuka* the next Day, not without hopes of good success, so that the Council considering of what moment the Event of this Action was to their Affairs, resolved to adjourn the said debate till the next Day, when they hoped to know the issue of the whole Enterprize.

The 28th of *June*, *Mucheron* arrived with his two Companies in the *Recess* from the *Allegoas*; where it was resolved to dispose his own Company in the *Quinqueregular* Fort, of which, as a place of great consequence, he was made Commander in Chief; the other of Captain *Will. Lambert* was put in the Fort *Ernestus*.

By Letters from *Paul Linge*, Governor of *Parayba*, Dated the 25th of *June*, we received Advice, that the Inhabitants thereabouts offered to give him fresh assurance of their Fidelity, by taking a new Oath of Allegiance, and that he did not observe the least motion towards an Insurrection.

Good news out of Parayba.

Jacob Daffine Master of the Sugar-Mill *Supapema*, who had been abroad with a good Party, made his report to the Council, that he had been at several Sugar-Mills, where he had met with about 200 of the Enemies Troops divided into divers small bodies, composed of *Portugueses*, Mulats and Negro's, under the Command of *Amador de Araujo*, *Antonio de Crafo*, one *Taborda* and *Henry Dias*.

The 29th of *June*, by special Commission from the Council, *Balthasar Vander Voerden* examined *Antonio d' Oliveira*, concerning the Design of the *Portugueses* formed against our Government. He declared, That about the beginning of this present *June*, being then at the House of *Sebastian de Karvalho*, together with *Francisco d' Oliveira*, *Bernardin Karvalho*, and the before-named *Sebastian de Karvalho*, a certain *Portuguese* very well known to them all, delivered to him a Letter, directed to all the Persons there present, with another piece of Writing unsealed, which he began to read; but finding the Contents to be, that the underwritten Persons promised to be and declare themselves faithful Subjects of the King of *Portugal*, and that *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Francisco Berlingel*, *Antonio de Sylva*, and several more,

Before-named Examination and Confession of Antonio Oliveira.

1643.

Digos
Lopes
Leyte Ex-
amined.

more, whose Names he would not look upon, had signed the same, he returned the said Writing, and refused to subscribe the same, telling his Son at the same time, *You ought rather to suffer your Hand to be cut off, than Sign this Paper*; and so went his way immediately, not any one of all there present having Subscribed their Names at that time: He protested he knew not the Hand-Writing. After a more serious consideration, he thought it requisite to make a discovery of it, which he did accordingly within two Days after, to *Matthew Reex*, desiring him, to give an account of it to the Great Council; He declared further that the said writing was signed by above 100 of the Inhabitants.

The 30th of June one *Digos Lopes Leyte*, who was not long ago taken Prisoner by the *Brasilians*, was examined by Mr. *Bullest*, etc, *Douton* and some other Military Officers. His Confession was, that at the first beginning of the Design of the *Portugueses* against this State, they had sent a Letter to the Governour of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles de Silva*, to crave assistance from him, which if he refused, they would seek for aid in Spain; and if they did not succeed there, they would rather surrender themselves to the *Turks*, than endure any longer the ill treatment they met with from the *Hollanders*. That nevertheless he had heard many dire imprecations made against *John Fernandes Vieira*; that he deserved no less than the Gallows, he having raised this Rebellion for no other end, than thereby to free himself from the vast Debts he owed to the Company.

The same Day it was agreed to send abroad a Party of Twelve Soldiers and Eight *Brasilians*, to fetch a good quantity of *Farinha* from St. Lawrence, who were put to the rout near that place, so that very few escaped. At the same time the Council received the unwelcome news, that some of the Inhabitants of *Iguarassu* had taken up Arms against them.

In the beginning of July it was resolved to draw the Fortifications of *Maurice's Town* into a narrower compass, and to add a new Line with a Breast-work. This task was performed by the Negro's belonging to the Inhabitants of *Maurice's Town* and the *Receiv*; under the Conduct of Vice Admiral *Lichthart*, who took care to have the same perfected, according to the Model drawn by the Engi-

-neer.

The same Day Advice was brought, That *John Lawrence Frances*, and *John Dias Leyte*, Inhabitants of *Iguarassu*, made it their business to incite the Inhabitants to an Insurrection. Captain *Slayer* sent also word from *Tamarika*, that about 80 Men, and 110 Women and Children, all *Brasilians* of the Villages of St. Michael and *Nassau*, were come into that Island for shelter, and that the *Brasilians* of *Otra* intended to do the like. The Magistrates and chief *Portugueses* of *Goyana*, gave the Council fresh assurances of their Fidelity, provided they might in case of necessity be allowed to retire into the said Island, which was granted, and thanks given them for their Loyalty. The Magistrates of *Iguarassu* advised, that *Vieira* had caused a Declaration to be affixed in the Sugar-Mills of *Gonçalvo Novo de Lira*, which they had ordered to be torn down, and sent a Copy of it to the Council; assuring them, that they would take all possible care to keep the Inhabitants thereabouts under Obedience, tho' they found some of them much inclined to a Revolt.

At the same time *Fernandes Vale* was examined by Mr. *Vander Voorde* and Mr. *Bas*; He declar'd, That having received a Letter from *Sebastian de Karvalho*, to meet him the next Morning upon the Hills *Garapes*, because he had something to communicate to him, concerning no less than their Estates, Lives and Honour, he without mentioning any thing of it to his Wife, or Brother, went thither on Horse-back, accompanied only by a Boy: notwithstanding he hapned at that time to be afflicted with the Gravel; There he met *Sebastian Karvalho*, with one Boy only, who told him, That he having received a Letter, with another writing, containing a Project of an Insurrection to be undertaken against the Government, he thought it absolutely necessary, to give notice thereof to the Great Council; and that he desired him to write a Letter accordingly, to the Council, he being pretty well versed in the Dutch Tongue. That *Vale* ask'd him, whether any body besides himself knew of the matter, unto which he answered, That his Brother *Bernard* did, whose Opinion was likewise to disclose it to the Council; Hereupon they returning each to their respective homes, *Vale* writ a Letter in *Portuguese*, pursuant to the Instructions he had received from *Karvalho*, for whom the said Letter was left to peruse in a Bakers House, on a publick Fair Day for the Sale of Negro's; after which

which he had sent the said Letter inclosed in another, to Dr. Markado, desiring him to see the same carefully dispatched to the Great Council, without mentioning the Contents thereof.

The Council
received
their Ships
from the
Red Land.

The Great Council receiving frequent Intelligence, That the *Portugueses* from the *Bahia* intended to send a Fleet to the Assistance of the Rebels, it was resolved to send Orders to the four Ships, the *Amsterdam*, the *Blackmore*, the *North-Holland*, and *Groningen*, then at Anchor near the *Red Land*, in order to their return to *Holland*, to return forthwith to the *Receif*; the Government standing in great need of their Assistance, to prevent the Conjunction of the Forces from the *Bahia* with the Rebels. They received also Letters from Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, dated at *Pojuka* the 26th of *June*, assuring them, That he had granted Passes to above 200 Persons that were returned to their Duty; That two or three of the Ringleaders, excepted in the last Pardon, sued for the same favour; and that he had caused one *Francho Godinho*, one of the Chief of the Rebels, taken by his People, to be hanged on the Gallows he had erected himself; That *Anador d'Araonje* being gone from thence with 150 Men, to the *Vergea* to join with *Vieira*, he expected their Orders whether he should follow him, he looking upon it as a faint to draw him from thence. He further told them, That with the *Brasilians*, and their Wives and Children, he was above 500 strong, and that unless they were soon supplied with Provisions from the *Receif*, they should consume all the Cattle thereabouts.

The Great Council sent an Answer the same Night to Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, requiring him, to Grant free Pardon to all who should desire it, not excepting the Ringleaders themselves, thereby to weaken *Anador d'Araonje*, and his Party. That with what Forces he could spare in *Pojuka*, (after sufficient Provision made for the Defence of the Garrisons, according to their own Discretion) he should march to the *Receif*, in order to attack *Vieira*, where they need not fear but to be able to subside, upon what the said *Vieira* had laid up for the use of the expected Succours from the *Bahia*, and the Cattle belonging to the Rebels.

But whilst Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* was employed in securing *Pojuka* against their Attempts, those of the *Vergea* strengthened themselves with all possible

diligence; to further which, *John Fernandes Vieira*, and *Antonio Kavalkanti*, who stiled themselves the Heads of this War, did not only affix their Declarations round about *Maurice's Town*, and in *Iguarassu*, inciting the Inhabitants to Rebellion, by promising them considerable Succours from the *Bahia*; but their Parties also, which they sent frequently abroad, forced those of the open Country to take up Arms, killing such as refused. The same was practised by *Anador d'Araonje* in *Pojuka*; so, that what with Provisions, what with Threats and Force, they got together a considerable Body in the *Vergea*, we being not in a capacity to prevent it, because what Forces we had were in *Pojuka*.

But judging it absolutely for our Interest to stop as much as possible these Proceedings, it was resolved to arm some of the lusty young Fellows with Firelocks, which they were furnished withal by the Citizens, (there being none in Magazines) and to join with them a Detachment of the Garrison, besides 100 *Brasilians*, that were lately arrived under *Peter Potts*.

Pursuant to this Resolution, Captain *John Blaar* received Orders to put himself at the head of 300 Men, with whom he was to march with all imaginable Secrecy from the *Receif*; and by lying in Ambush near the *Passes*, to endeavour to intercept some of the Enemies Troops, not questioning, but that out of the Prisoners, they should be able to learn where *Vieira* was posted with his main Body, and of what Strength, both he, and the Succours from the *Bahia* was reputed to be among them. He had strict Orders not to molest any of the Inhabitants, who were not in Arms, but to protect them and their Estates; and to receive those who sought for Mercy, and bring them into the *Receif*. Orders were also sent to Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* to march with what Forces could possibly be spared out of the Garrisons to the South, to the *Vergea*, in order to join with Captain *Blaar*, and endeavour to attack the Heads of the Rebels, which if they could once put to the rout, might be a means to quench the whole fire of Rebellion, and to restore Peace to the *Dutch Brasil*.

The first of *July*, it was debated in Council, Whether all such Persons as were suspected to have a hand in the Conspiracy, ought not to be granted to all that desired it, without Exception. The last was resolved upon as conducing

R most

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

most to the quieting of the Subjects
543. Minds.

The 2d in the Evening, the Council received Advice from Captain *Blair*, That he was posted at *Mongrope*, with an Intention to Attack the Enemy, where-
ever he met them.

The 3d he marched to *Iguarabi*.

The 4th they received Letters from Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, from *St. Antonio*, importing, That after having left a Garrison in *Poyuki* under Lieutenant *Hlemmung*, and 100 *Brasilians* in *St. Antonio*, he was ready to march to the Sugar-Mill *Velho*, and from thence to *Moribeka*; where he would expect their further Orders.

At the same time the Inhabitants of *Goyana* having fortified themselves in a certain House, belonging to *Listry* their Chief Magistrate, they desired the Council to furnish them with 40 Musquets, for the use of such among them as were unprovided with Arms. Their Request was granted, and positive Orders sent at the same time to *Servaes Karpentier*, to take this opportunity to disarm all the *Portugueses*, either by fair or foul means; to effect which, He should keep the *Dutch* together in a Body as much as possibly he could; his Answer was, He would endeavour to Disarm the *Portugueses* by fair means, he wanting power to do it by force. Besides which, he gave notice in his Letter dated the 11th of July, That every thing remained quiet hitherto in *Goyana*, but that the *Brasilians*, (contrary to his express Orders) claiming a Prerogative to be Commanded by none but their own Officers, pursuant to a Decree of the Council of *XIX*. had in their Passage to *Tamarika*, plundered several of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants.

Most of the *Rebellious Portugueses* had left their Wives and Children in their Houses and Mills, which as it tended to their no small conveniency, so some of the faithful *Portuguese* Inhabitants did propose on the 3d of July to the Great Council, Whether it would not be for our Interest to oblige those Wives and Children to quit their Houses and Mills, and to send them after their Husbands. Several Reasons were alledged for it.

I. Because the Rebels being encumbered with their Families, must of necessity make greater Consumption of *Arinha*, and other Provisions; which would oblige them the sooner to alter their Measures, and to change their Places.

II. That thereby they would be much disheartened, for fear of a vigorous Attack.

III. That they would not be able to march or to change their Camp so conveniently as before, or to lurk in unhabitable Places.

IV. That by the removal of these Women, who served them as Spies by the help of their Negro's, we should take away all opportunity from them, to be informed of our Designs.

All which Reasons being well weighed, the following Proclamation was published.

A Proclamation for the Removal of the Rebels Wives, and Children.

THE Great Council of *Brasil*, by the Authority of the States General of the United Provinces, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the West-India Company, make known unto every Body, That whereas many of those, who have sided with the Three Head Rebels, John Fernandes Vicira, Antonio Kavalkanti, and Amador d'Araouje, against this State, have left behind them their Wives, Children, and Families, which hitherto continue in their former dwelling Places; We do by these Presents strictly Command all the Wives and Children, whether Male or Female, whose Husbands and Fathers are engaged with the Rebels, to leave their respective Houses within six Days after the publication of this Proclamation; and to repair to their respective Husbands and Fathers, or else to incur the Penalties due to Rebels; it being Our Resolution not to take the same into Our Protection; may, to take away Our Safe-Guards from all such of Our Subjects as shall be found to Harbour or Conceal these before said Wives, Children, and their Effects; unless the Husbands and Fathers of these Wives and Children shall within the limited time of six days, return to their Dwelling Places, and Sue for Pardon to the Council.

Thus Decreed in the Assembly of the Great Council of *Brasil*.

About this time, near 1000 *Brasilians*, among whom were 369 Men, the rest Women and Children, being retired to the Isle *Tamarika*, to shelter themselves against the *Rebellious Portugueses*, Mr. *Dormon* Counsellor of the Finances, was sent thither in the beginning of July, as
Suprem

Supream Director of the Territory of *Iguaratu*, to secure that Island, which was of so great consequence to the State, in our Interest.

The 5th of July, a Proclamation was issued against the Three Chief Rebels, *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, declaring their Lives and Estates to be Forfeited, offering a Reward for the Apprehending of them, as follows.

A Proclamation for Apprehending the Three Head Rebels.

THE Great Council of Brasil, by Authority of the States General of the United Provinces, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the West-India Company, send Greeting: Be it known by all, That whereas we are fully satisfied, That *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, setting aside their Allegiance, have a considerable time ago entered into a Conspiracy against the State, sending their Letters throughout several Fregesies of our Jurisdiction, to Excite our Subjects to a Revolt; That they have gathered and still are gathering Forces to maintain their treacherous Designs against this State, forcing our faithful Subjects to join with them, threatening with Death such as refused to enter into this Rebellion; nay, having caused several, as well Hollanders, as Brasilians, to be Murdered upon that score: That they have affixed and published Declarations in several Places, tending to the Disquieting and Disturbing the Minds of the Subjects of this State, with the Name and Title of Governours of this War, (whereas they ought to have stiled themselves faithless Traitors) covering their villainous Designs under the Name of the Divine Majesty, besides many other Misdemeanors, whereby they have rendered themselves guilty of High Treason. It is for these Reasons, that we thought it our Duty to Declare, the above-named *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, and by these Presents do Declare them Enemies of this State, Disturbers of the publick Peace, and our good Subjects, Rebels and Traitors against their Lawful Magistrates; and to have Forfeited all their Privileges, Rights, Lives and Estates; and as such, We grant not only free leave to every one to Apprehend or to Kill the said *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*; but also promise a Reward of 1000 Charles's Guilders, to such or such Persons as shall do so signal a piece of Ser-

vice to the Company, as to Apprehend either of those Persons, so as they may be brought to Justice; And the like Reward to any Person who shall Kill either of the said Traitors, besides his Pardon for any Offence he may have committed before; and if he be a Slave, his Liberty, together with the Reward. We also strictly Command by these Presents, all the Inhabitants of this State, of what Quality, Degree, or Nation soever, That they shall not presume to Assist the said Rebels with Arms, Provisions, Money, Men, and Ammunition, or Harbour, Conceal, or Advise them in any Respect, or keep the least Correspondence with them; under pain of being declared Traitors, and to be punished as such with the utmost rigour, &c.

Whilst the Great Council were thus endeavouring to quench the Flame of Rebellion, they received frequent Intelligence, That besides the Succours already come to the Rebels from the *Bahia* by Land, by way of *Rio St. Francisco*, they expected a considerable Fleet from thence; it was resolved to send once more some Deputies, to the Governour *Antonio Telles da Silva*, to represent to him, That *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* being under his Jurisdiction, their entering in an Hostile manner into the *Dutch Brasil*, could not be interpreted otherwise than a Breach of the Truce concluded betwixt the King of Portugal and their High and Mightinesses the States General.

The Persons pitch'd upon for this purpose were *Balthazar Vander Voerde*, Counsellor of the Court of Justice, and *Dirk Van Hoogstrate*, then Commander in Chief to the Cape of *St. Austin*, who, being look'd upon at that time as a very Loyal Person, was sent for the 4th of July, leaving *Barent Van Tichlenborgh* to Command in his absence. *Francis Krynen Springapple* was appointed their Secretary, and *Gerrard Dirk Laet*, *Alexander Sylve*, and *Jacob Swaerts*, to attend them as Gentlemen.

Their Instructions were: To lay open to the Governour the true Reason and Occasion of this Insurrection, and the Ringleaders thereof, who would never have dared to attempt it without the Hopes of Succours, which was sent them by Land through *Rio St. Francisco*: They were to search into his Intentions as near as possibly they could, and to desire him to recal *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their Troops out of the *Dutch Brasil*, and to punish them according to their Deserts. If they found the Governour

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Deputies sent to the Governour of the Bahia.

Their Instructions.

not

not inclined to give them due Satisfaction, by recalling those Troops either by publick Proclamation, or sending some Person of Authority to bring them back, or by giving them some other real Demonstrations of his sincere Intention before their Departure, they were to protest to, and to Declare themselves innocent of all the Damages, Murthers, and Rapines, committed as well against the *Hollanders*, as *Portugueses* and *Brasilians*, already committed or to be committed by those Forces. They were to Declare to the Governour, That they would look upon it as an open Breach of Peace, and Act of Hostility, of which they must give an Account to their Masters, who, without question would know how to make themselves amends for the Damages sustained; and to Protest once more, That the *Dutch* declared themselves Innocent of all the Miseries which must ensue from their taking up Arms for their own Defence, after their so reasonable Request had been rejected.

Accordingly they set Sail the 9th of *July* 1645. from the *Receifs*, in the Ship called the *Roebuck*, and coming to an Anchor the 17th in the *Bahia*, were in the Name of the Governour *Antonio Telles da Silva*, Complimented aboard their Ships, by several *Portuguese* Gentlemen, from whom they asked leave to come ashore, having several Matters of moment to propose to him, in the Name of the Great Council of *Brasil*.

Are admitted to Audience.

The next day being the 18th of *July*, about Noon, Lieutenant Colonel *Andrew Vidal*, and Captain *Pedro Kavalkanti*, with some other Officers, came in a Brigantine to fetch them to the Palace; where, after the first Compliments, they delivered their Credentials, telling the Governour, That out of those he would understand, that they were sent to Treat with him of certain Points; which they were ready to propose, either now, or whenever he should be disposed to receive them. The Governour, after the usual return of Compliments, and perusal of the Credentials, told them, That he was ready to hear them whenever they pleased; whereupon they proposed,

Their Propositions.

That some *Portuguese* Subjects of their High and Mightinesses the States General of the *United Provinces*, have entred into a Cabal, in order to take up Arms, and Attack *Pernambuko*; to effect which, they have by certain Letters, solicited their Fellow Subjects, to enter into a Rebellion, and provided themselves with

Arms in hopes of Succours from abroad.

That in the beginning of *May*, *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their *Brasilians* and Negro's, and some *Portugueses*, being on their march in an Hostile manner to *Pernambuko*, *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araujo*, with other *Portugueses* their Accomplices had no sooner notice of their coming, but they absconded from their Houses, gathered what Forces they could, some by force, some otherwise, publish'd their Declarations, stiling themselves, Governors of this War for the publick Liberty; all which they undertook upon hopes of being backt by Foreign Troops. That through God's Mercy, their Masters did not want Power to protect their faithful Subjects, and to punish the Rebels according to their Deserts: But as they could not comprehend, what it was that could induce these Foreign Troops to enter their Territories in time of Peace, in order to Aid their Rebellious Subjects against them; so they were at a stand, how to deal with them. That the Great Council, as well as all the rest of the Inhabitants, being too well acquainted with his Excellencies Extraction, exquisite Knowledge in State Affairs, and the good Neighbourly Correspondency he had always cultivated with our Government, than to harbour the least thought, that he should give the least Encouragement to any of his Subjects, to Aid Rebellious Subjects against their Sovereigns: That they were sensible he would use all possible means to prevent it. It was for this Reason, that they were sent by the Great Council, to give his Excellency notice of the Hostilities committed by *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias*, desiring that he would be pleased not only to Command them not to assist the Rebels with their Troops, but also to retire out of *Pernambuko* and the other *Captainships* under the *Dutch* Jurisdiction; that so the Rebels being disappointed of their Assistance, might be sooner reduced to their former Obedience, and our Subjects enjoy the benefit of the Truces stipulated betwixt his present Majesty of *Portugal*, Don *John IV.* and their High and Mightinesses the States General. All which, the Great Council of *Brasil*, highly recommended to his Excellencies Consideration, in a Letter which was then delivered by the Deputies to the Governour, which is as follows:

643. A Letter from the Great Council to the Governour of the BAHIA.

[T is sufficiently known to your Excellency with what strictness the Truce betwixt Majesty of Portugal, and the High and Mighty the States General of the United Provinces, has been observed in all its circumstances by the Inhabitants of the Dutch Brasil; even according to the constitution of those of the Bahia, and other places, who have of late passed through our Captainships; neither have we ever received the least complaints upon that account, either from the King your Master, or from your Excellency, all which gave us sufficient reason to believe, that you would not in the least consent, that your Subjects should attempt any thing contrary to the said Truce. And, tho' some of the Portuguese Inhabitants, Subjects of the States, laying aside their Allegiance, have taken up Arms, and are risen in Rebellion against this State, as soon as Kamarou and Henry Dias at the head of their Brasilians and Negro's, besides some Portuguese, did, without Licence, or the least encouragement from us, enter our Territories, contrary to the Law of Nations, and joining with the Rebels, exercised open Hostilities against our Subjects, not like Soldiers, but Robbers and Thieves; yet can we not be persuaded, that those Troops should have made this attempt by Order or Consent of his Majesty of Portugal, or your Excellency, against us your Confederates.

Thanks be to God we don't want means to bring our revolted Subjects to reason, and to disjoin those Foreign Troops; but to shew to all the World, how ready we are to fulfill the reiterated Command of our Masters, to maintain inviolately the Truce betwixt his Majesty and them; and to remove all sinister Interpretations, which might be made in Foreign Courts upon this head, as also to give sufficient opportunity to his Majesty of Portugal and your Excellency to convince the World, that you have neither consented to, neither abetted this Conspiracy; We in the Name of their High and Mightinesses the States General, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Governours of the West-India Company, have sent Mr. Balthazar Van Voerden, Councillor of the Court of Justice, and Dirk Van Hoogstrate, Commander in chief on the Cape of St. Austin, as our Deputies to you, with full power to propose these Points to you; and, to desire you forthwith to recall the said Kamarou, Henry Dias and other Leaders, with their

Troops, within a limited time out of our Territories, either by publick Proclamation or such other means, as your Excellency shall think most forcible or expedient; and if they refuse to obey, to declare them open Enemies of his Majesty; it being impossible for us to conceive, how due satisfaction can be given without it, to their High and Mightinesses, to the Prince of Orange, and the West-India Company, which nevertheless we ought and do expect from your Excellency.

Subscribed, Your Excellencies.

Well meaning Friends,

On the side stood, Henry Hamel,
A. Van Bullestraten,
From the Rect, P. J. Bas,
July 7. 1640. J. Van Walbeek, and
Henry deMucheron.

The Governour gave immediate Answer to the Deputies Propositions, That he was so far from sending any Succours to the Rebels, that he had not had the least knowledge of it. That the Brasilians and Negro's were disbanded by his Majesty's Order, and that these as well as the Portuguese among them that were come to the assistance of the Rebels, could be in no great numbers (consisting) as he supposed in some Vagabonds, or others, who having committed misdemeanours in the Bahia, had taken this opportunity to shelter themselves and flee from punishment; as it frequently happened that such like Persons did come to the Bahia from Pernambuco, which nevertheless had given him not the least suspicion of the Councilsincerity. He told them that he was extremely glad to understand the good Confidence, their Masters reposed in him, of maintaining the Truce concluded betwixt his Majesty of Portugal and their High and Mightinesses the States General, assuring them, that he never should be prevailed upon, to act contrary to it; for fear of hazarding his Life. And, that if he had any such intention, he did not want means to attempt it, by the assistance of the Brasilians. But that he had never had any thoughts that way, notwithstanding he had been provoked to it by the Dutch, who since the Truce had taken a Portuguese Ship, and carried it to the Rect; which by the bravery of the Portuguese was delivered from the Hollanders, and they and the Ship brought

1643. to the *Babia*; the *Dutch* Mariners being dismissed without any punishment. He told them further, That he was not insensible what an opinion their Masters entertained of his Sincerity; and that he had reason to believe, that they had at this time, as they had done before, sent their Deputies chiefly to feel his Pulse, to enquire into his Strength, and to dive into his Designs. That however he would communicate the Letter to his Council, and give them a speedy Answer, in order to their return home, pursuant to the request of their Masters. Then the Governour arising from his Seat, the Deputy's took their leave and returned aboard.

Their second Audience.

The 19th in the Morning they were sent for a shoar by a Lieutenant, and brought to the House of Lieutenant Colonel *Pedro Krea de Gama*, where they dined in Company of *Andrew Vidal* and *Paulo de Kunha*. Towards the Evening they were again conducted to the Palace, where the Secretary desired them to tarry a Minute, because his Excellency was busie with closing his Letters; After some stay they were introduced to the Governour, who told them: That he had understood the Contents of the Letter, which he found altogether agreeable to the Propositions made to him the Day before, by way of Mouth, by them; which consisted chiefly in two Points.

The Governours second Answer.

First, The good Opinion their Masters had of his sincere intention, in maintaining a good correspondence with them; in order to maintain the Truce betwixt his Majesty and the States General; and the confidence they had, of his not being concerned in the Rebellion, either by encouraging or assisting the same. Wherefore he desired, they would continue in the same Sentiments, because he never had made the least infraction of the said Truce, neither ever thought of any thing like it, nor suffered any of his Subjects, to act contrary to it; notwithstanding said he, the *Hollanders* have broke the same in several respects, viz. in their Expeditions against *Angola*, *St. Thomas*, and *Marinhe*; by the plundering of *Pedro, Cesar Mines*, who had been basely used during his Imprisonment, not like a Man of Quality, being forced to shelter himself among the Woods, after his escape. They had also taken a *Portuguese* Ship in his own Harbour. Neither did the Inhabitants of *Pernambuko*

want reasons of complaint as well as the other *Captainships*; For he understood out of several Letters, that hence, how the *Jews* were always busie in forging Accusations against them, which were taken for truth, and when the *Portugueses* had thereupon absconded themselves out of fear, the *Tapeyos* or Mountaineers were armed against them; among the rest they had caused a poor Hermit to be Hanged. The Great Council had always given him sufficient proofs of their Suspicion, in the last Ambully, being intended to no other purpose, (as Captain *Hoogstrate* could testify) than to dive into his Designs and Strength. Thus it was reported and believed, that *Andrew Vidal* and *Paulo Kunha*, with several other Officers were sent by him into *Pernambuko*, tho' they saw them here before their Eyes.

Upon the Second Point, concerning the Troops, said to be sent to *Pernambuko*, he gave for Answer, That they must be some *Brazilians* and Negro's, lately disbanded; who were of little account, as we were sensible our selves: That if a few *Portugueses* were among them, they must be supposed to be Criminals who were fled from Justice; That he was not unwilling to call them back by Proclamation, but feared that he should be but slenderly obeyed by a sort of People, who could not be kept in obedience within his own Jurisdiction. That to satisfy our request, and to remove all reasons of complaint, he intended to send his Deputies shortly to *Pernambuko*; all which he had more clearly expressd in his Letter to the Great Council, wherewith he would, according to the request of our Masters, dispatch us with all imaginable speed.

The Deputies replied, That their Masters had never entertained any suspicion of his Excellency, neither had they given any Orders to dive into his Designs; but always had a favourable Opinion of his firm adherence to the Truce; as might be evidenced by Mr. *Andrew Vidal*, who during his stay with them, had liberty to go where he pleased, without any attendance but his own. That what he objected concerning the Accusations of the *Jews* was of no moment, the same being never hearkned to, the intended insurrection being discovered by Persons of unquestionable Credit. That *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalhanti*, and others their adherents, had always been protected against

1643. against any false Accusations, and had from his all the Councillors of the Court of Justice, and those of other Colonies, as well as the Chiefest among the Dutch; so that they had no reason to abscond out of fear for the *Tapoyers*, who never were intended to be employed against them. That they did not know of any Hermit that was Hanged by them, but remembered that in an Engagement with *Amador d' Araouje*, such a one was Shot by the *Brasilians* as he was Ringing the Bell to give the Alarm.

They further told him, That tho' they had no orders to treat with his Excellency upon any other Points, than those that concern the Rebellion, they could easily make it out before all the World that *Angola*, and the other places, were conquered according to the Rules of War, without the least infraction of the Truce, it having been expressly stipulated, that the War should continue in those Parts, till the same was published there. The *Brasilians*, Negro's and *Portugueses* were come in considerable numbers into our Territories, not like disbanded Soldiers, but well armed, and their coming was not unexpected, but well known to the Rebels; But the Council was not so much concerned for their number, as to be satisfied, under whose Authority they had taken up Arms against them, that they might deal with them accordingly. But however it was, they desired his Excellency to believe, that their Masters would be extremely glad to understand his good Inclinations, that thereby the effusion of humane Blood might be saved; intreating him, to send his Deputies forthwith with the necessary Instructions.

The Governour promised to send his Deputies soon after their return to *Pernambuco*, telling them, that, as he thought himself secure of the good Neighbourly correspondency of their Masters, so he was resolved to continue in the same on his side. What he had proposed for the rest, had been only by way of Discourse, not with an intention to enter into a dispute concerning the legality or illegality of it; tho' it appear'd very odd to him, that they should assist his Master at home, and at the same time wage War with him in other Parts, under pretence, that the Peace was not published there; and what had passed with *Pedro Cesar de Mines* was a thing not justifiable in his understanding.

After the usual Compliments he arose from his Seat, telling them, That he would send the Letter directed to the Council, to them aboard the next Day; and so our Deputies returned aboard their Ship. The 20th in the Morning the Secretary of the Governour came aboard our Vessel, with the Governours Letter to the Council, which he delivered to the Deputies, requesting in his Masters Name, to send him a Translation of the Letter from the Council to the Governour out of the *Dutch* into *Portuguese*, Subscribed with their own Hands; which they did, and having delivered the same to the Secretary, he took his leave and returned a-Shoar.

Our People set Sail the same Day about Noon from the *Bahia to Pernambuco*, where they arrived the 28th in the Afternoon before the *Recess*, and gave an account the same Day of their Negotiation to the Great Council, unto whom they also delivered the Letter Written by *Antonio Telles de Silva*, and directed to them. The Contents of which were as follows.

The Governours Letter to the Council.

1642. *They are their leave*
The Governours Letter to the Council.
MR. Balthasar Vander Voerden The Governour's
 Counsellor of Justice, and Captain in Chief on the Cape of St. Austen, your Lordships Deputies have delivered your Letter to me, in which you are pleased to give me notice of the revolt of some of your Subjects against you. I received this News as I ought to do, and should not have been able to receive it without the greatest surprise and discomposure of Mind, if I had not been assured in my Conscience, that your Lordships did not in the least imagine, that this Insurrection could derive its source from our Government; And, tho' I could upon this occasion enter upon a long recital, of the proceedings of my Government, tending from its beginning till now, to a sufficient Justification, in the Eyes of all the World, and of the greatest Kings and Princes of Christendom, that the said good correspondency has been maintained as strictly on our side, as the same is promised in your Lordships Letter: But rather than give the least occasion of disgust or difference, by enlarging my self upon those Heads, in which your Subjects have expressly and manifestly violated the Truce concluded and ratified betwixt the King my Master, and the States General of the United Provinces, I will Sacrifice the same to the Interest of our common Neighbourhood, than to enter upon

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

1643.

upon a particular Account of those misadventures, in the Expedition of Angola, at a time, when the States General did assist the Crown of Portugal with their Naval Force, when our Ambassadors residing in the Receipt, were told, That these Troops were not intended to be employed against any of his Majesty's Harbours, but in the West-Indies; though at the same time they were Embarked for the Conquest of Angola. The same may be said of the taking of the Isle of St. Thomas, and the City Luy de Mapanha, and the Seizing of a Portuguese Ship upon our Coast, laden with Sugar from Spiritu Sancto. The Commissary Greening was dispatch'd hither, under a pretext of Buying of Farinha, but in effect to sound our Inclinations, as he himself confesses, when he says in a certain Letter of his, I was sent thither with this Commission, but rather to feel his Pulse and try his Friendship, than that we were in want. The unjust Dealings of the Directors of Angola in the Capitulation with the Governour Pedro Cesar de Mines; the Razing of our Fort Araval in Bengo; the base Treatment put upon the said Governour, being a Person of Quality, and a General of his Majesty's, are Matters altogether Inconsistent with the Rules of War, nay, with Humanity it self; and contrary to the practise not only of the more Civilized Nations of Europe, but also the Barbarians themselves. Of the same stamp was the Answer given your Council to our Ambassador, who urging a Cessation of Arms in the Kingdom of Angola, was answered, That the same had no Dependency on our Jurisdiction; quite contrary to the sincere Intentions always observed by me in all our Transactions with you; For no sooner did your Lordships make Complaints to me against one Captain Augustino Condago, and one Domingo de Rocha, who having carried away a Barge with Sugar, had brought her into the Harbour of our City; I sent back the said Vessel immediately, and put the Captain in Prison till he was sent over to his Majesty. And that time being informed, That two Soldiers living under my Jurisdiction, whose Names were, John de Campos, and Domingo Velho Sigismundo, had committed some Insolencies in your Captainship of Pernambuco, I caused them to be hanged immediately, looking upon it as a Duty not to be dispensed with by me, for the maintaining of our mutual good Correspondency: All these before-mentioned Infractions having never been able to make me forgetful of the reiterated Orders of his Majesty, viz. To Improve the Effects of the Peace and Alliances made betwixt him and the States General, to our both sides Sa-

1643.

tisfaction: I must at the same time confess, That looking upon my self as a Soldier, (abstracted from the Consideration of the Interest of the State, and the Duty of a Subject) I thought I ought not to take tamely so many Affronts, and to let slip so many fair Opportunities of doing my self Justice; much beyond what can be supposed to arise from the Conjunction of a few unarmed Portuguese, a discontented Negro, and some Rebels, whose Protection cannot, as I said before, come in any Competition, with the several Opportunities and Provocations pass'd by on our side before, for the common Interest; and that consequently our Government cannot as much as be conceived to be the hidden Cause of this Rebellion, as your Lordships themselves are pleas'd to confess; neither would I have enter'd upon a Recital of those Particulars, if I had not thought my self oblig'd both in Duty and Affection, to give this Satisfaction to you. To give you the true Account of the Absence of Henry Dias, you must know, That one Night he left his Guard in Rio Real, and pass'd over to your side; Don Antonio Philippo Kamaron, Captain of the Brailians, being sent after him, and not returning, I judg'd, that they were gone towards Mocambo, to Attack the Palmairas of Rio St. Francisco; which made me (to avoid all Suspicion of being concerned in any thing that might tend to the Breach of Peace) send two Jesuits, to persuade them to return, but in vain, they refusing to Obey, either for fear of Punishment, or that they were already engaged with the Rebels, (as I now am apt to believe they were) so that I have heard nothing from them since, except what I have understood out of your Lordships Letter. The Portuguese under your Jurisdiction have sent to me the Reasons which moved them to this Insurrection, imploring my Assistance, as Subjects of the King, my Master; they told me, That they stood in fear of being Sacrific'd to the fury of 4000 Tapoyers, sent for that purpose from Rio Graude; to avoid which, and dreading your Lordships Anger, awakened against them by the false Accusations of the Jews, (the most perfidious and irreconcilable Enemies of Christendom) had rather chosen to expose themselves to a miserable flight, leaving behind them their Wives and Children, than to endure the Harshness of a tedious Imprisonment. I could since have imagin'd, that you could be so far mist'd by the Fictions of a People so much despised by all other Nations, as to be perswaded by them, that certain Persons were sent from hence into your Territories, who have been seen here by your Deputies. And though I am apt to persuade

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my self, that some of the Portugueses would, as the case now stands, be glad to Embrace our Protection, it being much more Natural to be Oppressed by ones own King or Prince, than by Foreigners: Yet when I seriously reflect upon your Lordships Proposals, made by your Deputies, viz. To Oblige Captain Kamaron and Henry Dias, to return to the Bahia, and to use all other proper means to bring the Revolted Portugueses to Reason; when I say, I seriously reflect upon the publick Calamities on one side, and how destitute I am of justable means at present, to satisfy your Desires, I cannot but be infinitely concerned therat; being sensible that these Captains will not be brought over by Persuasions; and wanting means to Reduce them to Obedience, who have now settled themselves at so great a distance among the Woods and forests. But, as I am ready to conform my self in all Respects to your Lordships Desire, to convince you of the Sincerity of the Portuguese Nation, which is such, that no opportunity, tho' never so great of promoting their own Interest, does ever stand in Competition with what they think they owe to their Confederates: I am willing to take upon me the Office of a Mediator, in order to endeavour to Appease these Troubles by my Authority; for which end I intend to send to you with all possible speed, certain Persons of known Ability, with sufficient Instructions and Power, to the Rebellious to return to their Duty; which, if they Decline, such Measures may be taken as will force them to it; which, as I hope, may serve as the most effectual means to restore Tranquillity to your Dominions, and to Cultivate the good Opinion and Correspondency betwixt us; which I wish God Almighty will be pleased to continue betwixt these two Nations, by a perpetual tie of Amity.

Bahia, July 19.

Signed,

1645.

Antonio Telles da Silva.

Mr. Hoogstrate at the same time gave a secret verbal Account to the Great Council, That soon after their arrival there, Andrew Vidal, Captain Paulo Kunha, and John de Sousa, came to them, the last of whom sat himself down near him, (Mr. Hoogstrate) enquiring secretly after his Uncle Philip Pays Baetto, whether he was among the Mutineers; whom he gave for Answer, That he was still in his Mill. After which, the Table-cloth being laid, Sousa was invited to stay at Dinner with them; which he refused, because as he said, he was upon the Guard: Before Dinner was ended

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Sousa came back, and after the Table-cloth was taken away, invited Mr. Hoogstrate and Kunha, to Smoke a Pipe with him in a back Room; whither they went but were followed by the Secretary, Mr. Springapple. As they passed through a Gallery, Paulo da Kunha took Springapple a little on one side; and in the mean while, Sousa told Hoogstrate with a loud Voice, that he was surpris'd to hear, That his Uncle Philip Pays had not sided with the rest: Unto which Hoogstrate answered, That he thought he did very wisely, to keep himself quiet, because it was likely to turn to no good Account. That is your Opinion, reply'd Sousa, But have a little Patience; and, Because I know you Hoogstrate to have always been a Friend to the Portugueses, I can assure you it will turn to a considerable Account. And it is upon this Score, I advise you, like a Friend, to provide for your own Safety, and your Family. You may rest assured, That if you will Engage to do a piece of good Service to the King my Master, and to the Governour, you shall want neither Money, Sugar-Mills, Places, nor Performents. Mr. Hoogstrate appearing somewhat discomposed at this Discourse, told him, That though he was not unwilling to do the King and Governour what Service he could, he did not know what sort of Service he meant: Unto which, Sousa replied, I am sure you are able to do good Service to the King; But then, says Hoogstrate, You must tell me how: That I will, answered Sousa; Are you not Governour on the Cape of St. Austin? Unto which Mr. Hoogstrate said, Yes, I am; Then replied Sousa, All what is desired of you, is, To Surrender the said Fort, with all its Works, into the King's Hands, that we may Land our Men thereabouts: If you will promise to do it, you shall have a very ample Reward, and be made Commander in Chief of our Forces. Mr. Hoogstrate gave for Answer, That these were Things of such a Nature, as were not consistent with his Oath and Honour. Their Discourse being interrupted at that time, by the coming of another Person into the Gallery, John Sousa and Paulo Kunha, went out another way. Mr. Hoogstrate told his Secretary Mr. Springapple with a discomposed look, What is the meaning of these Dogs, do they take me for a Traytor? He was going on to say more, when Sousa and Kunha returning into the Gallery, took him aside, and told him, That he might be sure every thing should be performed, what had been promised him; that if he wanted any Money he should have it immediately; and for the rest, they would introduce him alone to

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the Governour, to receive the Confirmation of it from his own Mouth. Mr. Hoogstrate replied, *What you Desire is not in my Power to perform, if I would never so fain; because I am promised to have a Commission of Major immediately after my return, and then I shall certainly be employed in another Place.* During this Parley, Mr. Vander Voerde entred the Gallery in Company with Mr. Andrew Vidal, who entertained him all the while the others were talking together, till Hoogstrate taking his opportunity as they were walking together, whispered Mr. Vander Voerde in the Ear; *I wish I was well rid of them, to talk a little with you in private; for I know not what their design is; I am afraid they will either kill, or detain me here.* Mr. Vander Voerde would willingly have made a Reply, but could not, by reason Sousa and Kunha, and Pedro Korre de Gama, (the last of which understood Dutch) were so near them; so that he thought it the safest way to Dissemble, and to pretend as if they had been talking about some indifferent Matter. Mr. Hoogstrate then told Sousa, That he had a great mind to pay a Visit to Donna Katharine de Melo, Mother-in-Law of Philip Pays Sousa, he answered him, That he would ask the Governour; who having given his Consent, Hoogstrate went thitherward with Sousa, and at his going out of the Gallery, whispered Vander Voerde again in the Ear, *They have catch'd a Mackrel, for I intend to Ait the Hypocrite to the Lase.* As they were walking along the Street to Madam de Melo's House, Sousa and Kunha repeated their former Discourse, endeavouring to Encourage Mr. Hoogstrate, by Hopes and Promises of great Reward, both from the King and Governour; with whom they said he should Confer in private, concerning the Point in Hand; and that in the following manner.

After their return from Madam de Melo's, to the House of Pedro Korre de Gama, where Vander Voerde expected their coming, Kunha was to go privately to the Governour, to agree with him, that when Mr. Vander Voerde, Hoogstrate, Sousa, and Kunha, should come to speak with him, he should by his Secretary, desire them to stay a little while. In the mean while, Sousa was to ask Mr. Hoogstrate to take a Glass of Wine with him, and under that pretence bring him to the Chamber of the Confessor of the Governour, where they were to have this private Eenterview. Accordingly Paulo de Kunha went to the Governour, whilst

Hoogstrate and Sousa were returning to Pedro Korre de Gama's House; when Sousa entertained him with nothing else, but the probability of succeeding in their Enterprize against the Dutch Brasil, telling him, That the Governour staid only for the coming of Salvador Korre de Sa and Benevides, who were expected with four Galleons from Rio Janeiro, besides some other Ships; and that 2400 Men were designed for this Expedition, besides those already in Arms in Pernambuco, who were to be sent from the Bahia, and to be landed on the Cape of St. Austin; *This is, said Sousa, the Governour's Request to you.*

Scarce were they returned to the House of Pedro Korre de Gama, when Andrew Vidal came and told them, That the Governour was ready to receive them; so they went to the Palace, where they were no sooner come within the Anti-Chamber, but the Governour's Secretary came to desire them to tarry a little, the Governour being busie with closing some Letters.* So, whilst some Portugueses were entertaining Mr. Vander Voerde near the Window, says Sousa to Mr. Hoogstrate, *Come, Shall you and I take a Glass of Wine in the mean while?* which Mr. Springapple the Secretary of the Embassy understanding, told him, That he would go along with them; But Paulo de Kunha, and some other Portugueses taking him aside, kept him in Discourse, whilst Mr. Hoogstrate was conducted by Sousa into the Confessors Chamber.

Within a few Minutes after, the Governour Antonio Telles da Silva, entering the Room, saluted Mr. Hoogstrate very courteously; and setting himself in a Chair near him, ordered the Chamber to be lock'd, no body being present besides themselves, but Sousa. The Governour then told Mr. Hoogstrate, That he had always taken a particular notice of his Character, of his being a Friend to the Portugueses, that he hoped he would continue in the same Opinion, and would not refuse the Offer made him by Don John de Sousa, in the King's and his Name; their Intention being not to enter into a War with the Dutch, but only to Repossess themselves of what of Right belonged to the present King of Portugal, Don John IV. and that if Count Maimice of Nassau had staid any longer in this Country, he himself would have been Instrumental in bringing this matter about. Mr. Hoogstrate answered the Governour, That he should be glad to understand, what it was he could serve him

him in; *You have*, says he, *understood that from Mr. Sousa; and I desire you, to turn absolute Portuguese.* Mr. Hoogstrate told him it was beyond his Power, because immediately after his return, he should be provided with a Majors Commission, and consequently not be employed in the same place: Unto which the Governour replied: *You need not question any place of Honour or Profit among us; But it will perhaps not be convenient to discourse together upon this point at present, for fear Mr. Vander Voerde, should suspect us: But I intend to send two Ambassadors, (of which Mr. Paulo de Cunha is to be one) to your Government, who shall be empowered to treat with you further upon this account.* And, says he, giving his Hand to Mr. Hoogstrate, rest assured in the Name of the King my Master, that, whatever Mr. Paulo de Cunha shall promise you, will be punctually observed and performed.

Then the Governour took his leave, telling him that he would not detain him any longer, for fear of creating a Suspicion in his Collegue, and so retired into his own Apartment. But Mr. Hoogstrate and John de Sousa were no sooner return'd from thence, but the Governour sent for the said Mr. Hoogstrate and his Collegue Mr. Vander Voerde to confer with them, concerning their Proposals, made in the Name of the Council of the Dutch Brasil: As they were walking thither, Mr. John de Sousa told again to Mr. Hoogstrate, with a low Voice, And, why are you obliged to accept of the Majors Commission; it is an easie matter for you to tell them, that you would rather continue Governour of the place where you now are; and be satisfied that when you come among us, that you will not want any employment, fit for a good Soldier as you are. Mr. Hoogstrate being not a little moved with this Discourse, was more desirous to get aboard their Vessel, as soon as possible he might, to get an opportunity of Communicating the whole matter to Mr. Vander Voerde; which he did accordingly, as soon as they were entred the Cabin, the Door of which he ordered to be Lock'd immediately.

In the mean while, viz. The 5th of July, it was debated in the Council of the Dutch Brasil, whether for the security of the Country, they should not want the assistance of the *Tapoyers*, under their King John Dury, dwelling in Rio Grande; who for that purpose

had gathered a good Body near *Kunbau*, especially since the *Portugueses* committed all manner of Barbarities against the Dutch, and had summon'd the *Barbarians* call'd *Rondelas*, from the *Bahia*. But considering the devastations which must needs ensue upon the March of those Barbarous People in the flat Country, it was thought convenient, not to come to any certain Resolution upon this Point, till they had advis'd with Lieutenant Colonel *Hans*, to whom a Letter was dispatched, immediately upon that account.

On the 7th of July, the said Mr. *Hans* sent word to the Council, that he intended to March the same Day from *Moribeka*, and after being joined with Captain John Blair, to attack the Enemy at St. Lawrence; But by another Letter of the 16th, written by Captain *Hans*, they were informed that the Rebels continued very strong at St. Lawrence, expecting a certain reinforcement from the *Matta*, where they had forced the People to take up Arms for them; desiring a Succour of Fifty Men, to drive them from thence. Hereupon the Council dispatched Messengers both to Blair and Hans, ordering them to join their Troops, and to rout the Rebels near St. Lawrence, on which in a great measure depended the preservation of the Dutch Brasil.

The 7th of the same Month the Council received also a Letter from Lieutenant *Fleming*, dated at *Pojuka*, in which he advertised them, that he had received certain Intelligence, that *Kamaron* was marching against him, and that two Companies were already come to the Sugar-Mill of *Pikloria*. Hereupon Orders were sent him, that if he found himself not in a Condition to keep the Monastery for want of Provisions, he should at the approach of *Kamaron's* Troops retire to St. Antonio, the better to make head against the Enemy. The same Day Ensign *Hartstein* marched with a Detachment of 90 Soldiers and 30 *Brasilians*, of the Garrisons of the *Receif* and *Kamarika*, to *Ajama* and *Jegonibi*, in quest of the Rebels, but meeting with none returned about Noon, and the same Evening directed his March towards *Hans*.

The 8th of July the Council having received Advice from *Hans* that they intended the same Day to March from the Sugar Mill of St. John Ferdinand *Vieira* to attack the Rebels at St. Lawrence, if they would abide his coming,

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

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The Council
sends
Succours
to Haus.

it was resolved to send as many Forces as possibly they could spare to his Relief, considering that the preservation of the whole *Dutch Brasil* depended on the Success of this Expedition; and accordingly two Companies of Foot, of *Mulderon* and *Blau* were ordered to March thither, not questioning but that before their arrival *Haus* would be join'd by Captain *John Blaar*; and in effect the next following Day they received Advice from Mr. *Haus*, that he was ready to join with the said *Blau*.

Haus ordered to send Re-
lief to St.
Antonio.

The 10th of July, the Council gave an Account by Letters to *Haus*, what Intelligence they had received concerning the posture of Affairs in *St. Antonio* and *Pojuka*, with Orders to send as many Firelocks and *Brasilians* as he could possibly spare to their Relief, to keep the passage from *St. Antonio* to *Pojuka* and *Serenhais* open; without which all communication betwixt them and the *Receif* would be cut off by the Enemy. Two Letters of *John Fernando Vieira* and *Antonio Kavalanti* were the same Day read in Council, in which they complained of the Severity of the two last Proclamations, but were not thought fit to be answered; especially since *Amador d' Araouje* had about the same time retired from the Pass of *Pinderama*.

Two Days before, viz. that the Council had received Letters from Mr. *Hock*, dated the 25th of June, at *Rio Grande*, intimating that, hitherto there had not happened any commotions in those parts, that however he had disarmed the *Portugueses*, and that the *Tapoyers* appear'd to be well inclined to the Government. Orders were sent him, to cultivate a good understanding with the *Tapoyers*, for which purpose they sent some Presents to *John Durv*, their King, and that the Council approved his disarming of the *Portugueses*. On the same Day Father *Immanuel*, *Lewis Bras*, *Immanuel Ferdinand de Sa*, *Kupar de Mendoza*, *Furtado* and *Jeronymo de Focha*, all *Portuguese* Inhabitants of the *Dutch Brasil* delivered their Petition to the Council, requesting, that the time of six Days appointed by the last Proclamation, for the Wives and Children of the revolted *Portugueses*, to leave the Country, being expired, they might be allowed to stay in their Habitations at least, till the ways, which at that time were rendred unpassable, by the overflowing of the Rivers, were somewhat mended. But considering that the *Portuguese* Rebels forced the Inhabitants

by threats and other unusual methods to take up Arms against the Government, their request was not granted.

The 13th of July the Council were advertised by Letters from *Haus*, dated the 12th, that he had passed the River *Kaprawibi*, and marching thro' the *Matta* to the Sugar-Mills of *Arnao d' Ollandu*, had met with 400 Rebels, who, at the approach of his Troops were fled to *Moribeku*, with the loss of some of their Men; from whence they might without any opposition march to the *Matta* of *Brasil*, and that he was ready to march directly to *St. Lawrence*, where he would expect the further Orders of the Council. They immediately dispatched their Orders to him, to pursue and rout the flying Rebels with all possible speed, before they could make head again, which done, he should fix his head Quarters, in such a place where he was sure he might be supplied with Provisions out of the adjacent Country; their Magazines being so exhausted, as not to be in a condition to supply his Troops. *Haus* had already in some measure taken effectual care of this point, having in the mean while sent a Reinforcement of 100 Foot, and a Company of *Brasilians*, under the Command of Captain *Tallo*, to Mr. *Ley* Governor of *Moribeku* and *St. Antonio*. The Council also ordered the Governour of the Cape of *St. Austen* to strengthen the Fort with Pallisado's; and at the same time received Advice from Mr. *Ley* from *St. Antonio*, that the Rebels under *Amador d' Araouje*, and *Pedro Marinha Falkao*, had posted themselves within sight of them in the new Sugar-Mill, but as soon as he received the expected Succours, he did not question to chase them from thence, *Amador d' Araouje* having in vain attempted to force those of *Pojuka* to take up Arms against the Government.

He received also Intelligence from Mr. *Carpentier* out of *Goyana*, that things remained in quiet there as yet: But whilst *Haus* was busie in making head against the Rebels in the *Vergea*, *Pedro Marinha Falkao* having declared himself Head of the Rebels of *Pojuka*, had gathered a Body sufficient to block up the Garrison of *St. Antonio*, who had no other supplies of Provision, but what they received from the circumjacent Country; so that the Council being sensible of the Danger, sent immediately Orders to *Haus*, to hasten to the Relief of that place; who, accordingly

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The Petition of the Portuguese Rebels refused.

The Rebels flee before Haus.

Revolts at Pojuka.

Accordingly directed his march the same Night to the Sugar-Mill of *Lewis Bras*, leaving Captain *Wilschut* with a Company of Soldiers, and all the Sick, behind, at *St. Lawrence*.

The Council received also Advice by Letters from *Paul de Lunge*, dated the 12th of July at *Parayba*, That things were as yet quiet thereabouts, but that with much ado he had hitherto kept the *Brasilians*, inhabiting the Villages, from plundering the *Portuguese* Inhabitants; who were extremely dissatisfied, because some of the *Brasilians* and *Tapeyers*, that had done them considerable mischief, were discharged out of Custody. They ordered him to take all possible Care to keep both the *Brasilians* and *Dutch* Inhabitants, who were both for plundering the *Portuguese*, from doing any mischief to them; for which reason the Council sent the following Proclamation to be published there.

A PROCLAMATION.

WE the Members of the Great Council, having received frequent Complaints, That many of the faithful Inhabitants of the Country, who lately have taken a new Oath of Allegiance to the Government, are plundered and robb'd by the Soldiers and Volunteers; and being resolved to maintain them in the Possession of their Estates and Goods, have for that reason granted them Safeguards, and taken them into Our peculiar Protection; Do hereby forbid all our Officers and Soldiers, as well as the other Inhabitants under our Jurisdiction, to attempt to plunder any of the Inhabitants, provided with such Safeguards, or to En-damage them any otherwise, either in their Goods or Persons, upon pain of Corporeal Punishment.

The 15th of July in the Evening the Council was advertised by Mr. *Ley*, That the Rebels had kill'd some Soldiers of the Garrison of *St. Antonio*, that were sent abroad to fetch some Cattle from the Sugar-Mill *Gurapou*, and had so closely blockt up the Place, that no Provision could be brought thither; and as they were not provided with Necessaries, for above a few days longer, they were in the utmost danger of being lost. Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* being expected the same Evening with his Troops at *St. Lawrence*, Orders were dispatcht thither for him to go either in Person, or at least to send as many able Soldiers as he could bring together, under the Command of

Captain *John Blaar*, to the Relief of *St. Antonio*, the Council being of Opinion, That the Safety of the Cape of *St. Austin*, and of all the Southern Provinces, depended on the Preservation of this Place; for which reason, they also ordered Captain *Fallo*, who was expected about the same time with a Company of Soldiers, and as many *Brasilians*, at *Moribeka*, to march directly to *St. Antonio*, and to stay there till further Orders; of all which they sent Advice to Mr. *Ley*, and Mr. *Heck*. *Haus*, having, pursuant to these Orders, directed his march to *St. Antonio*, (notwithstanding the weariness of his Soldiers tired by a tedious march) *Pedro Marinho Falkao* had no sooner notice of his approach, but he raised the Blockade of *St. Antonio*, and with his Body of Rebels gathered out of the Three Districts of *St. Antonio*, *Pojuka*, and *Moribeka*, to the number of 600, joined with the Rebels in the *Vergea* of *Moribeka*.

The 17th of July the Council were advertised by *Haus* in a Letter dated at *Moribeka*, that having received a Message from Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Heck* out of *St. Antonio*, with Advice, That in *Puerto de Gallinas*, two Boats with Ammunition were landed by *Pedro de Kunha*, he had sent thither Captain *John Blaar*, and Ensign *Hartstein*, with a good Body of his ablest Soldiers and *Brasilians*, he himself not being in a Condition to follow with the rest, disabled by their late marches; for which reason he had put them into Quarters of Refreshment in *Moribeka*, where he would expect their further Orders, as not judging his Presence necessary at the *Receif*, now the Enemies were fled before him.

Orders sent
J. Haus by
the Council.
Orders were thereupon Dispatcht to him by the Council the 19th of July, to keep his head quarters in *Moribeka*, the better to keep a watchful Eye over the Rebels that were retired into the Woods; and to be the nearer at hand to succour either *St. Antonio* or *Pojuka*, for which *Moribeka* lay very convenient; but if the Enemy should become too strong for him, he should retreat towards the *Receif*. Advice also was sent him, That *Amador d'Araouje*, *Pedro Marinho Falkao*, *John Pais*, and *Kabral*, were with the Rebels they had gathered in *St. Antonio* and *Pojuka*, marched the day before in the Morning from *d'Ingenio Moreno Garde*, to join their Troops with those of *John Fernand Vieira*.

The Council likewise received several Letters from *John Heck*, *Rudolph Baro*, and

and James Rabbi, dated the 5th, 6th, and 7th of July, concerning the present State of Affairs in *Rio Grande*, and that they being threatned with an Invasion by *Kamaron* on the Southside, and by the *Brasilians* of *Siara* and *Maranhao* from the North, they had disarmed all the *Portugueses* and laid up their Arms in the Fort of *Keulen*. They had also by the Advice of King *John Dwy*, taken into Custody a certain *Portuguese* call'd *Antonio Vctello*, with his Son, being accused by the said King *Dwy* of having had a hand in the Murder committed upon the *Dutch* in *Siara*, and in the Conspiracy of the Rebels. They further complained of the ill Practices of the *Portugueses*, who fought by all means possible to oppress the *Dutch* thereabouts; adding withal, That King *Dwy* was ready with his *Tapoyers* to fall upon the *Portugueses*, as soon as he received Orders for that purpose, which had made many of the *Portugueses* fly out of *Parayba*.

About the same time near 1000 *Brasilians*, viz. 369 Men, the rest Women and Children, being fled for shelter into the Isle of *Itamarika*, where they were maintained out of the Magazines, it was resolv'd the 21st of July by the Council,* to send thither Mr. *Listry*, to take effectual Care, to Ease the Company of that Burthen, they might be engaged to provide themselves out of their respective *Alders*. Things were as yet quiet about that time in *Itamarika*, *Goyana*, and *Parayba*, by the good Conduct of Mr. *Paul Vander Linde*, Governour of the last. For as soon as the Fire of Rebellion began to break out in the *Vergea*, *Pojuka*, and in *Olinda*, the Council being advertised that they ought to keep a watchful Eye over those of *Parayba*, where several were suspected of being Conscious of the Design, they sent the 13th of July, *Paul de Linde*, one of the Assessors in the Court of Justice, thither, with an ample Commission, to endeavour to keep the Inhabitants in Obedience, and to act for that purpose, as he should find it most conducing to the publick Security. He was no sooner arrived there, but he made it his chiefest Care to provide the Forts with sufficient Garrisons, Ammunition and Provisions,* which he took from the Ships then lying in the Road, behind the *Red-Land*: He further took Care to secure all the suspected Persons, and summoned the rest to take a new Oath of Allegiance to the Government, which they did accordingly.

The Council used the same Precaution in the District of *Pojuka*, in the *Vergea*, *Garassiu*, and *Goyana*, where they obliged such of the Inhabitants as had not left their dwelling Places, to take a new Oath of Obedience. But the late Succours sent thither from the *Bahia* frustrated all these Endeavours.

On the 24th of July, Mr. *Ley* came with Credentials from St. *Antonio* to the Council, unto whom he made the following Propositions.

Propositions made by Mr. *Ley* to the Council.

I. That whereas several young and able Men, living near St. *Antonio*, had not lifted themselves pursuant to the Proclamation issued for that purpose, they desired Orders might be sent for all those living in the Jurisdiction of *Maurice's* Town and St. *Antonio* in the open Country, to be obliged to take up Arms for the Defence of the Country.

II. To Oblige all such young Men as were not able to serve as Volunteers, at their own Charge, to Lift themselves for Soldiers, and to instruct them in Martial Discipline.

III. That perhaps it might not be unadvisable to draw the Garrison out of *Porto Calvo*, to appear the more formidable in the Field.

IV. To divide our Land Forces into two Bodies, the better to maintain themselves in the open Country; whereas now upon the least motion of the Enemy, our whole Force was obliged to follow them; and that the Garrison of St. *Antonio* should be Reinforced with such a number, as to be able to send abroad a good Party, for the conveniency of fetching the necessary Provisions out of the Country.

After mature Deliberation, the Council was of Opinion as to the

I. That the young Inhabitants of St. *Antonio*, *Pojuka*, and *Meribeka*, ought not to be forced to serve in the Fort St. *Antonio*. That is

II. That they would Empower Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Heck*, to take as many of the young Men as voluntarily offered themselves into the Service for four Months, at Nine Gilders per Month, and one Months Advance Money.

III. They

43. III. They were absolutely against the leaving of the Fort *Porto Calvo*, but that it ought to be defended to the utmost.

IV. What concern'd the dividing of their Land Forces in two Bodies, they would Advise with Colonel *Haus*, but they approv'd of the propos'd Reinforcement of the Garrison of *St. Antonio*, for Reasons by them alledged.

Lieutenant *Hans Fogel* by his Letters dated the 18th, and 27th of July, at *Se-regipio del Rey* advis'd the Council, That he had sent a Detachment towards *Kamaron*, who could not get fight either of any *Portugueses* or *Brasilians*, but that they had taken a single *Portuguese*, who was charged with Letters to be carried to *Rio St. Francisco*: He told them, That *Kamaron* with some Troops was marched through *Rio St. Francisco* into the Captainship of *Se-regipio del Rey*; and that three or four small Vessels, or *Caravans*, with some Troops under the Command of *Andrew Vidal*, were sail'd from the *Bahia*, to *Maranhao* and *Sicra*. He likewise sent the Letters found upon the said *Portuguese* to the Council, by which it appear'd, That the first Foundation of this Revolt had been laid among those of the *Bahia*, or at least that they had been made privy to it, and that they had provided these Succours. For among others, there was a Letter from the Bishop of that Place, to a certain Friar of the *Receif*, in which he told him, That he hoped to be with him before long; whereupon the *Fiscal* was ordered to Examine the matter, in order to find out the bottom of this Correspondency betwixt these two Clergymen.

In the mean while the *Tapoyers* of *Rio Grande* (according to Mr. *Linge's* Letter of the 19th of July) had Murdered 35 *Portugueses* in the Sugar-Mills of *Kunba*, who being of the number of those that had Surrendered their Arms, pursuant to the Proclamation, this caus'd no small Terror among the rest of the *Portugueses* thereabouts, and especially in *Parayba*, where they left their Habitations, so that it being to be feared they would associate with the Rebels, under pretence of Self-Defence, Mr. *Linge* desired a Reinforcement of Soldiers to keep the *Tapoyers* in awe. The Council therefore commanded Mr. *Asfellen* and Captain *William Lambert* with his Company of Foot, besides 20 Fusileers, and a Detachment of 50 Men out of the Garri-

sons of *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*, to take Care of the *Tapoyers*, and to Conduct them to the *Receif*; *Jacob Rabb*: their Commander was ordered to march along with them, and *Rudolph Baro* appointed to provide them Quarters upon the Road.

Haus having by this time sufficiently refresh'd his Troops, writ a Letter dated the first of August to the Council, in which he desired their Orders to go in quest of the Rebels, and to attack them before they could be reinforced with their expected Succours; which being granted him, he attackt them in *d'Ingenuo* of *Balthazar Mororo*, with such Success, that he beat them from Place to Place; till on the 3d of August they retired to their Entrenchment upon a high steep Hill, accessible only in one Place. Notwithstanding which, he relying upon the Bravery of his Soldiers, and hoping thereby to put an end to the War, attackt them vigorously in this advantageous Post; but the Rebels being Superiour to him both in number, and in the strength of their Camp, his Forces were repuls'd with the loss of 100 men, (some say of 500) among whom was Captain *Lor*. After this Defeat, *Haus* being sensible that the Enemy expecting daily a fresh Reinforcement from the *Bahia*, retired to the *Receif*, where he knew his Troops were absolutely necessary for the Defence of the Place.

On the first of August, *Consalvo Kabral de Kaldor*, was by the Court of Justice Condemned to Death, having at the Instigation of *John Fernando Vieira*, undertaken to Head the Rebels in the Captainship of *Goyana*. The same Fate attended one *Thomas Pais* an Inhabitant of *Tienpio*, who had endeavoured to raise some Troops for the said *John Fernand Vieira*. The same day the Great Council received Advice out of *Serinham*, (the Letters being sent privately in the Night time in a small Boat down the River to the Sea-side) That the Rebels began to be very numerous thereabouts, that they were Masters of the River, had staved all the Boats, and plundered *d'Ingenuo Formosa*, where they carried away the Negro's, and kill'd the Beasts belonging to the *Dutch*, but spared those of the *Portugueses*. The Council being sensible that nothing but force would be able to reduce these Rebels to their Duty, and that they were from time to time Reinforced from the *Bahia*, whereas the *Dutch* Troops diminish'd daily, they resolv'd the first of August, to send Mr. *Balthazar*

1643

Haus en-guards the Rebels.

Is worth and retir to the Receif.

Two Portugueses condemned to Death.

Rebellion in Serin-haim.

Certain Letters seized and communicated to the Council.

1643. *Balthasar Vander Voerden* Councillor of Justice to Holland, to represent to the Council of XIX. there the true state of Affairs of the Dutch Brasil, and to solicit prompt Succours. Accordingly the said Mr. Vander Voerden having taken his leave of the Council, set Sail the next Day, with the rest of the Ships that lay ready to Sail for Holland, being instructed with sufficient Power and Credentials from the Council; as follows.

Mr. Vander Voerden sent with a Credential into HOLLAND.

Most Noble, Honourable, and most Prudent Lords.

Notwithstanding the Rebels make not the least use of the Royal Authority, but cover their Revolt with the cloak of Godly Liberty, we were always of Opinion, that this Rebellion of our Portuguese Inhabitants has not only been undertaken with the consent of the King of Portugal, or at least of his Governour of the Bahia, but also encouraged and fomented by his Authority and Conduct. For how can it be supposed that Kamaron, Henry Dias, and the other Ringleaders, should have dared to attempt to attack us by force of Arms without his approbation? It was likewise our constant Opinion, (considering the present unsettled state of Portugal, and the Alliance betwixt that King and the States of Holland against Spain) that he would be sure never to acknowledge the transactions of the heads of the Rebellion, and the Succours sent them, to have been done by his Authority, lest the breach of faith and all its ill consequences might be one time or other laid at his door, till he thought himself sure in the entire Conquest of the Dutch Brasil. Our guess has since proved more than too true, for Antonio Telles de la Sylva, Governour of the Bahia (as is evident from his Answer to our Letters here enclosed) denies to have had the least knowledge, much less any hand in the contrivance or conduct of this Conspiracy; laying the blame of this Insurrection upon their Ringleaders, who refused to obey his Orders; and offering to send certain Commissioners, to appease the fury of the Rebels; and in case they should refuse to comply, to force them by the Kings Authority to lay down their Arms. But how little agreeable this offer of putting an end to this Rebellion, is to his real Intention, is apparent out of the reports made by Mr. Vander Voerden and Captain Dieterick Hoogstrate, underwritten by their own hands; in which you

will find these express Words of the Governour: That the Brasilians and Negro's were disbanded by his Majesty of Portugal's particular Order. The Abstracts of the several enclosed Letters sent from the Bahia and taken from the Messenger by our Forces in Seregippo, will put it beyond all doubt, that several Inhabitants of the Bahia, and among them the Bishop himself, had already in May last some knowledge of the Intentions of John Fernando Vieira, and his Accomplishes; Add to this the Depositions of Captain Dieterick Hoogstrate Subscribed by himself, concerning the Propositions made to him in private, whilst he was managing the Company's business there, in the quality of one of our Deputies; which as it directly contradicts the Governours Answer to us, so it unravels the whole secret of his real Intentions. And for as much as all these things are sufficient forewarnings to us, that the Rebels will be constantly supplied from the Bahia, whereas we on the contrary must expect to be weakened more and more in every respect, we judged it absolutely necessary and requisite for the Service of our State, to send to you the Members of the Council of XIX. Mr. Balthasar Vander Voerden, Councillor in our Court of Justice, to give you a verbal Account of the deplorable State of our Affairs here, in a more ample manner, than the same may be express'd in Writing, not questioning, but your Lordships will thereby be encouraged to send us a speedy and sufficient Succour, to Re-establish our Affairs here, and to deliver your faithful Subjects from the imminent Danger, that threatens no less than the ruin and loss of their Lives and Estates; and desiring you to give a favourable reception to the said Mr. Balthasar Vander Voerden.

Receif, the 2d of Aug. 1645.

Immediately after the departure of the two before-mentioned Envoys, Mr. ^{tugueses} Vander Voerden and Captain Hoogstrate, ^{prepare for} the ^{the} Inve-
out of the Bahia, being the 20th of July, ^{sion of the} the Governour Antonio Telles de Silva, ^{Dutch} ordered all the Sea and Land Men that could be got together in haste, to be Embark'd in twelve Ships ready fitted out for that purpose; with necessary Ammunition, Arms and Provision, for the intended Invasion. Hieronymo Serrao de Payva had the Supream Command over the Fleet, as tho' Colonel Martin, Soares, Moreno, and Andrew Vidal de Nigresiros had over the Land Forces, both Officers in the Service of the King of Portugal. The Orders given to the Admiral by the Governour, dated the 20th

dated the 20th July, contained in substance, That the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil having notified to him the Insurrection of the Portuguese Inhabitants of Pernambuco, he had judged it expedient, to Equip this Fleet, in order to put a speedy stop to those disorders; because he was willing to comply with the said Councils request, in respect of the sincere Friendship and Correspondency betwixt the Crown of Portugal and them, which he had strict Orders from his Majesty to observe; whereas it is evident, that the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil in their Letter to Salvador Correa de Saa Benavides, of the 13th of August expressly declare, never to have desired any assistance from the Governour of the Bahia, against the Rebellious Portuguese Inhabitants.

The further Instructions given to the said Admiral Payva were, That he should directly Steer his Course from the Bahia to Pernambuco, keeping about 20 or 30 Leagues distance at Sea, from the Shoar; that coming to the 10th Degree he should approach the Shoar, and if he found the Wind to blow hard from the South, before he came to the before mentioned height, he should be very careful not to pass beyond the Lands point in the Night time. After having taken a view of the Country, he should with the advice of his best Pilots, endeavour to Land his Men, in the most secure place he could meet with thereabouts, either at Una, Lagamar or Tamandare; being three Leagues to the South of the Isle of Alexo. But if they could not make any of these Harbours, they should enter at Porto Doffer, Nanibous or Lagamar of Maranhoe, lying two Leagues to the North of Alexo. But if notwithstanding all their endeavours, they also should miss their aim in those places, to make themselves Masters of Porto de Gallinhas, and to land their Men betwixt that place and Bahia Grande. After they had landed their Men, with the necessary Ammunition and Provisions, he should set Sail to the Bay of Pernambuco, in order to deliver with his own Hands the Governours Letter to the Lords of the Great Council.

Accordingly the said Fleet set Sail towards the latter end of July, from the Bahia, and in few Days after arrived in the Bay of Tamandare, betwixt the Rivers Una and Formosa, about four or five Leagues beyond Alevo and Serimbaim. They were no sooner come to

an anchor there, but the Colonel Martin Soares Moreno, and Andre Vidal de Nigreiros landed the 28th of July, 1800 or 2000 Land-Men, among whom were many reformed Officers well appointed, and great store of Arms, Ammunition, and other necessaries.

The 1st of August, towards Evening, three Ships with five small Vessels appeared in sight of the Reccif, Steering their course to the North, whereupon the Council dispatch'd their immediate Orders to the two Ships, the Zoutlandia and the Zealandia, to make all the Sail they could after them, to observe what course they Steered, and to prevent their Landing of Men. About the same time an Advice-Boat arrived from Admiral Lichtbart, with Letters to the Council, intimating, that he had seen the said Ships, and that he supposed their intent to be, to land some Men on the South of the Cape of St. Austin, for which reason he desired them to send him some Ships, and grant him leave to take as many of the Garrison of St. Antonio as he should judge necessary to attack the Enemy; of all which immediate notice was given to the Northern parts, to be upon their guard against any sudden surprise.

But the next following Day those Ships being got out of sight, several Masters of small Vessels, that had been near them at Sea, reported, that they were heavy freighted Ships, which by the strong North-Winds were forced near the Shoar, so that it was concluded that they had Steered their course towards Portugal.

Immediately after Admiral Payva set the Fleet from the Bay of Tamandare, and meeting with the Fleet under the Command of Admiral Salvad, or Correa de Saa de Benavides, which was latterly failed out of the Port of Rio Janeiro, he returned with him into the said Harbour, and on St. Lawrence's Day with their joint Forces failed from thence towards the Bay of Pernambuco.

The first News the Council received of it was on the 11th of August, by a Master of a small Vessel, call'd John Hoen, bound for Seregippo del Rey, and by Commissary John Barentz; with Advice that they had seen a Fleet of 28 or 30 Ships, off of Una, or Rio Formosa, and that three of them, had pursued them, and discharged some of their Guns upon them. Much about the same time they received Letters from Major Hoogstrate, from the Cape of St. Austin, and

the Fort *Vander Dussen*, intimating, That
 643. *Andrew Vidal*, *Henry Dias* and *Paul de*
Kunha were landed at *Uma*, and march-
 ing to *Serinbaim*, had made themselves
 Masters of the place, where they had
 given Quarter to the *Dutch*, but cut to
 pieces all the *Brazilians*. The Council
 hereupon took immediate care to send
 some Ammunition and Provisions to the
 said Cape, having already for the better
 Security of that place ordered Mr. *Ley*
 and Mr. *Hock*, two Days before, to leave
 the Fort of *St. Antonio*, and to retire
 with the Garrison to the Cape of *St.*
Austin, before they were enclofed by
 the Enemy. That two Ships, the *De-*
venter and the *Elias*, which were in the
 Harbour unloading their Goods, and
 Provisions brought along with them
 for the Service of the Company, were
 ordered to be Equipp'd immediately, in
 order to join with the other five Ships
 that lay at Anchor in the Road, viz.
 the *Utrecht*, the *Zeelandia*, *Ser Veer*, the
Zeelandia, and the *Golden Doe*. The
 same Night, Advice of all what pass'd
 was sent to Colonel *Haus*, with Orders
 to be upon his guard, and to retire
 with his Troops to the Sugar-Mill be-
 longing to Mr. *Hork*, or any other con-
 venient place, from whence he might
 be able to maintain a communication
 with the *Receif*. Letters were also dis-
 patch'd to Mr. *Dortmont* in *Itamarika*, to
 Mr. *Carpentier* in *Goyana*, and Mr. *de*
Linge in *Parayba*, to advertise them of
 the Enemies arrival.

To supply the want of Sea Men, many
 Labourers were Impriest aboard the Ships,
 as were likewise 35 Land Soldiers of
Moucheron's Company, who had spoil'd
 their Feet, by their last long March;
 and out of the Ship *Elias* were 1000
 Pounds of Gunpowder, and out of the
Doughter 600, sent a shoar for the use of
 the Garrison.

Not long after dinner time the En-
 mies Fleet, consisting of 28 or 30 Ships,
 appear'd in sight of the *Receif*, where
 they cast Anchor to the North of four of
 our Ships and a Yacht, which lay in that
 Road; so that the next following Night
 was spent in ballasting the two Ships,
 the *Elias* and *Deventer*, and in fitting
 them for the Sea. The next Morning
 with break of Day the Portuguese Ad-
 miral, who carried the white Flag, sent
Martinho de Rebeira and *Balthasar de*
Castilho, as his Deputy's aboard the
Dutch Admiral *Cornelius Lichtbart*, who
 brought four Letters, viz. two from
 the Governour of the *Bahia*, *Antonio*

Telles de Sylva, the first Dated the 21st,
 and the second the 22^d of July; the
 third from the Portuguese Admiral, *Sal-*
vador Correa de Saa Benavides, and the
 fourth from *Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia*,
 Dated the 12th of August; besides ano-
 ther Letter from the before-mentioned
 Governour, directed to John *Fernando*
Vieira, *Anthony Kavalkanti*, and the other
 Heads of the Portuguese Rebels.

Admiral *Lichtbart* carried the said
 Deputy's shoar, in order to deliver
 the Letters to the Council; which
 being translated, were read at the meet-
 ing of the Council, the 14th of August,
 as well those of the Governour, from
 the 21st, 22^d, and 24th of July; as
 from *Salvador Correa de Saa Benavides*,
 Commodore of the Portuguese Fleets,
 and *Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia*, who had
 landed *Andrew Vidal* with his Men near
Rio Formosa.

The First Letter was as follows.

The First Letter.

Pursuant to your Lordships Letter, and
 the Propositions made in your behalf
 by your Deputies, Mr. *Balthasar Vander*
Voerden Councellor of Justice, and *Die-*
terick Hoogstrate Governour of the Cape
 of *St. Austin*, in which you requested, the
 recalling of the Troops under *Henry Dias*;
 I being desirous to fulfill my Promise, sent
 to you in my Answer, by the most effectual
 means that I could possibly think of; have sent
 the two Colonels, *Martin Soares Moreno*, and
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros (both Per-
 sons of unquestionable Conduct and Pru-
 dence) to the Captainship of *Pernambuko*,
 with full Power and Instructions, to reduce
 the revolted Portugueses to their due
 Obedience, for which reason also I have
 sent a Letter to the said Rebels, to exhort
 them to the remembrance of their Duty, and
 to lay down their Arms. Which that is
 might prove the more effectual, I have sent
 thither sufficient Force, which may be Ser-
 viceable to your Lordships, to reduce those
 that remain obstinate, to Reason, and to
 chase the rebellious Troops out of your Do-
 minions. I hope that with God's assistance
 this may prove an effectual means to quench
 the Fire of Rebellion, to restore the Peace
 of *Brazil*, and to encrease the good under-
 standing and Friendship which has been
 established betwixt both these Nations. We
 recommend you to God's Protection, Re-
 maining

Bahia, 21.
 July, 1645.

Your Lordships
 Affectionate Servant,
Antonio Telles de Sylva.
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 Letters
 sent to the
 Council.

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 some Ships.

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 cil advised
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The Second Letter of the said Governour to the Council, runs thus :

The Second Letter.

I Have Dispatcht my Orders to Colonel Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia, Captain-Major of our Fleet, (which I have sent to your Assistance) to deliver these Presents to you, immediately after the landing of the Forces aboard the said Fleet, and to Offer in my Name, all the Assistance he is able to give you, pursuant to my Command, and your Lordships Request. I am very ready to Embrace this opportunity, to give you these Marks of my Zeal for your Welfare, especially in Contributing what in me lies to the Reducing of your Revolted Subjects to their Obedience. Neither do I in the least question, But that by this Expedient, the Flames of an intestine War will be quencht, beyond all hopes of being ever Rekindled hereafter ; and that I shall have the Satisfaction of having been Instrumental to Answer the Expectation of your Lordships, pursuant to the Propositions made to me upon that Account in your behalf. So recommending you to God's Protection, I rest,

Your Lordships,

Bahia, July 22.
1645.

Affectionate Servant,

Antonio Telles de Sylva.

Besides these, he sent another Letter by Don Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides, Admiral of the Portuguese Fleet, directed to the Council of Dutch Brasil, as follows :

The Third Letter.

W Hilst I was endeavouring to satisfy the Request made to me by your Ambassadors, and busied in Embarking the Forces design'd for your Service, under the Command of the two Colonels Martin Soares Moreno and Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros, together with Colonel Jeronymo de Payva, Captain-Major of the said Forces, Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides Admiral of this State, and a Member of the Council of Transmarine Affairs, established by Authority of the King my Master, happened to arrive by God's peculiar Direction, with his Fleet from Rio de Janeiro, in the Bahia, in order to conduct them to Portugal. But being desirous to redouble my Efforts, as well in the Conduct of his Person as in the Strength of his Fleet, to render the

whole the more serviceable to your Lordships, I thought convenient to send the said Admiral with the Fleet under his Command, in Conjunction with the rest to the Revolted Captainship, not questioning, but that by his prudent Conduct and Authority, he will be very Instrumental in restoring the Peace in your Dominions, according to our utmost Wishes ; and I live in hopes, that this may serve as real Demonstrations of the good Understanding and Friendship, I am willing to Cultivate betwixt these two States, both as a just Friend and good Neighbour. I recommend you to God's Protection.

Your Affectionate Servant,

Bahia, July 25.

1645.

Antonio Telles de Sylva.

The chief Contents of these Letters tended to perswade the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil, That the Governour of the Bahia had pursuant to the Request made by the Deputies of the said Council, to him, sent certain Land Forces under the Command of the two Colonels, Martin Soares Moreno, and Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros, aboard the Fleet, Com-
manded by Jeronymo Sarrao de Payva, in
Conjunction with the whole Fleet of Rio de Janeiro, under the Conduct of Ad-
miral Korrea, to assist them both by Sea
and Land, as is Evident from the Words
of the preceding Letters: He also re-
quested by his Deputies, viz. Captain
Martinbo de Rebeira, and Auditor General
Balthazar de Kasilbo, That the Great
Council would be pleased to acquaint the
King his Master with it, in a particular
Letter from them to his Majesty.

What deserves our particular Observation in his Letter to John Fernand Vieira, and the rest of the Rebels, is, that he calls them, *The King's Subjects*, unto whom he has sent this Succour for their Defence; yet with this Restriction, in order to reduce them by all gentle means to their former Obedience to the Dutch Government. It being Evident, That the Propositions made by our Deputies to the Governour Telles, tended to no other purpose, than to Engage him to recall Kamaron and Dias, and such others as were come to join with the Rebellious Portuguese, out of the Dutch Brasil, and in case of refusal, to declare them Rebels and Enemies of the King of Portugal; But he, directly contrary to the Intention and Request of the said Council, had instead of recalling them, sent these Forces to their Succours; and instead of leaving them to the Disposal of the

1643.

The Council of these Letters.

1643.

the Council, had caused them to be landed in a remote Place, where the said *Kamaron* and *Dias* were with their Forces at that time. Neither was the Council ignorant of their Intention, in sending a Fleet into the Road of the *Recess* at this juncture; tending to no other end than to back the Revolted Rebels in their Design, and to Encourage the rest to take up Arms against them.

Debates of the Council upon them.

The Council was fully satisfied as to this Point, when they received Advice from the Cape of *St. Austin*, That the Garrison of *Serinbaim* had been forced to Surrender to *Andrew Vidal* after his landing thereabouts. Their chief Debate then turn'd upon this Point, By what means this Fleet might be removed from the Road of the *Recess* and our Coasts; considering that the whole Naval Force of the *Dutch*, then ready to Sail, consisted only in Five Ships, viz. the *Utrecht*, *Zelandia*, *Ter Veere*, *Zoutlandia*, and the *Golden Doe*, not very well Mann'd, and but indifferently provided with Ammunition, especially with Gunpowder, and few Soldiers could be drawn out of the Neighbouring Garrisons; whereas the *Portuguese* Fleet consisted at least in 8 or 10 stout Ships; the Admiral being a two-deck Ship, resembling at a distance one of their large Gallies; so that the Attacking of them appear'd to be a hazardous Enterprise. After mature Deliberation, it was unanimously resolved in the said Council, to return Thanks to the Admiral *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, for the offered Succours against the Rebels; and to tell him the Reasons that obliged us to Desire him to retire with his Fleet out of our Road, as will more at large appear out of the following Letter: It was thought convenient to Dispatch the said Letter immediately, and whilst we staid for his Answer, to use all possible diligence in Equipping the two before-mentioned Ships, the *Deventer* and *Elias*; that if the *Portuguese* refused to comply with the Councils Request, we might be in a Condition to Attack them, and to drive their Fleet from our Coast, without which we saw but little probability to make our Party good against the Rebels, as long as they were back'd by constant Supplies from the *Bahia*. It was also taken into Consideration, Whether it were not Expedient to Detain one of the *Portuguese* Deputies, till such time that *Jeronimo Sarrao de Payva*, should, according to the Request of the Council, come ashore in the *Recess*; but this Proposition

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was rejected, for fear of furnishing the *Portuguese* with a new pretence of staying in our Road: Mr. *Gilbert de Wit* and *Henry Moucheron*, both Members of the Council of Justice, being ordered to carry the said Letter, they went aboard the *Portuguese* Admiral the same Evening, unto whom they delivered the following Letter to *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*.

A Letter from the Council to the Portuguese Admiral.

WE understand both out of your Lordships Letter, and those of the Governor *Antonio Telles de Sylva*, delivered to us by Captain *Martin de Rebeira*, and the Auditor-General *Balthasar de Castilho*, as also by the verbal Assurances given to us by them in your behalf, that your coming with the Fleet into our Road is with no other Design, than to assist us with your Authority and Council in bringing the Rebels to Reason; for all which we return our hearty Thanks to your Lordship. But at the same time we cannot forbear to represent to you, That the coming with so considerable a Fleet in this juncture, gives us no small Cause of Jealousie, not only, because we never Requested any such Assistance; but also, by reason, That instead of Recalling *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their Troops, the two Colonels *Andrew Vidal* and *Martin Soares Moreno*, have under pretence of Reducing the Rebels to Obedience, landed their Men and Ammunition without our Knowledge, in a far distant Place, and consequently for the Defence of the Revolted *Portuguese*; whereas, (pursuant to his Excellency the Governors promise to us) this Reduction might have been much better obtained by a severe Proclamation, to oblige them to return to the *Bahia*; or at least, the before-mentioned Colonels ought to have made their first Addresses to us. These Proceedings, have contrary to your Lordships Intention, drawn this ill Consequence after them, that many of the Inhabitants, imagining no otherwise than this Fleet was intended for the Assistance of the Revolted *Portuguese*, have also begun to take up Arms, in order to joyn with them; which obliges us to return our Thanks to your Lordship for the offered Succour, desiring you will be pleased with all possible Speed to retire with the Fleet out of the Road; which, as it will undeceive the Inhabitants concerning the sinister Interpretations of your Lordships Intentions; so it will serve as an effectual means to keep them in quiet, which at this Juncture will work upon us a singular Obligation. What relates to your Lordships Request, to take in fresh Water and Fuel here,

being

being ill provided with both by reason of your sudden departure from the Bahia, we should be very ready to comply with it, were it not for the before alleged Reasons, and the badness of the Season, which would make it very tedious; which obliges us to beg your Excuse for this time upon that Account. His Excellency Antonio Telles de Silva having told us in his Letter, that he had ordered Jeronimo Sarrao de Paiva, immediately after the Landing of the Infantry, under Martin Soares Moreno and Andrew Vidal, to give us in Person a full Account, with what Power he was instructed by his Excellency, we desire your Lordship to send the said Jeronimo Sarrao de Paiva without delay to us, to Confer with him concerning the Instruction he has received from his Excellency in relation to the sending, and landing of these Officers and Land Forces. For the rest, we refer our selves to our Deputies, Counsellors in our Court of Justice here, unto whom, we desire your Lordship to give full Credit, proportionable to their own Merits, and the trust we have reposed in them. God Protect your Lordship.

Signed by,

Henry Hamel,
A. Van Bullestrate,
P. J. Bas,
J. Van Walbeck,
G. de Wit,
J. Albrecht,
Henry de Moucheron,
J. Van Raefvelt, and
J. C. Lichthart.

Receif,
Aug. 13.
1645.

This Letter was pitcht upon by the before-mentioned Great Council, as the best Expedient at this Juncture, till, by the Conjunction of the *Deventer* and *Elias*, we might be put in a probability of Dislodging them by Force, if they refused to retire, at the Council's Request.

The Portuguese Fleet leave the Road.

The 14th by break of Day we saw the whole Portuguese Fleet under Sail, and for the most part out of fight; and considering that the two Boats, which carried both ours, and the two Portuguese Deputies, would scarce be able to overtake them, and that our Deputies in their return were to give an Account to our Admiral on Board his Ship, whether, pursuant to the Council's Letter, the Portuguese Admiral had consented to send Jeronimo Sarrao de Paiva to the Receif, in order to open his Instructions to the Great Council; which they had now all the reason to believe he would not, they

dispatcht immediate Orders to our Admiral Lichthart, to make all the Sail he could with the Ships under his Command after the Portuguese, to observe their Motions, and to endeavour to come up with the Flag-Ship, on Board of which was the said Jeronimo Sarrao, to desire him to return with his Ships to the Road of the Receif, in order to Confer with the Council in Person, concerning his Instructions. But after mature Deliberation, the whole Proceedings of the Portuguese, and the Letters of the Governour of the Bahia, concerning the pretended Reduction of the Rebels, being look'd upon as meer Amusements, Orders were sent to our Admiral Lichthart, to oblige all the Portuguese Ships he could meet with to Strike, and to Treat them for the future like Enemies.

The 28th of August, the Council was advertised by Letters dated the 20th, at the Fort of St. Margaret in Rio Grande, from the Governour de Linge, That 12 of the Enemies Ships, after having landed some Forces near Tamandare, were come into the Bay of Traikona; and that according to the Deposition of a certain Portuguese Prisoner, from on Board the said Fleet, they intended to Land likewise some Men thereabouts, provided they might be join'd by the Rebels from the *Matta*; but if they fail'd to come, they would return to the Bahia. Whereupon Orders were sent to Mr. de Linge, to bring what Forces he was able together, either of Soldiers, *Tapoyers*, or *Brasilians*, to prevent their Landing, and their Conjunction with the Rebels in that Captainship.

The next thing under Debate, was, Whether it were not convenient to send some Ships under the Command of Admiral Lichthart that way, to attack the Portuguese; after various Consultations, it was agreed, To stay till all the Ships might be got ready for that Service, to supply the want of Seamen by good able Labourers from the Receif, and so to render our selves as formidable at Sea as possible could be.

In the mean while, the said Admiral Lichthart set Sail the first of September with four Ships and a Yacht only; he himself being in the *Urrecht*, but was forced by stress of weather, (in which the *Zealandia* lost a Mast) and for fear of the Rocks, to come to an Anchor not far from the Portuguese, who endeavoured to gain the Wind of him. Mr. de Wit and Moucheron return'd also with their Boat, having not been able

643.

A Letter to the Council from Rio Grande.

The Dutch Admiral sets Sail from the Receif.

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by reason of the violent Winds, to overtake the *Portuguese*; but had put their Deputies on Board a small Vessel, to Sail after their Fleet.

The same Day, the Council received Letters from Mr. *Hooftstrate*, *Ley*, and *Heck*, from the Cape of St. *Austin*, That the Enemies had posted themselves in the Sugar-Mills *Salgado*, *Sorhague*, and other Places thereabouts; and because the *Portuguese* Fleet, which had been seen off of the Bay of *Traikona*, appear'd again in sight of the *Receif* the same Evening, it was thought Expedient to order Admiral *Lichthart* immediately to go on Board the *Utrecht*, and with that and the Ship *Ter Veere*, and two smaller Vessels, to keep a watchful Eye over the *Portuguese*: Care was also taken to get the Ship the *Overyflit* ready against next day, not questioning, that when join'd by this, and the *Zoutlandia*, and *Golden Doe*, which were sent abroad for Intelligence, they should be able to cope with the *Portuguese*, or at least to force them out of the Road. The next Morning early, the *Portuguese* Fleet might be plainly discovered from the *Receif*, but our Admiral was not able to stir, by reason of the contrary Winds; nevertheless, the *Zoutlandia*, and the *Ter Veere*, which came from the South, a Cruising, made all the Sail they could to Escape the *Portuguese*, which they did, being much the nimbler Sailors, and join'd our Fleet.

The 4th of September, Major *Bayert* and Mr. *Volbergen*, complained to the Council, That Mr. *Vierbergen*, Count *Maurice's* Steward, had made it his Business to give it out, that they being empowered, to cut down certain Trees, and some part of the Stabling and Gardens, for the better fortifying of the Fort *Errestru*, had transgress'd their Commission, in cutting down many of the great Trees, with an Intention, as he said, to Ruin the whole Plantation; whereas they declared, That they had been very careful in preserving as much as possibly could be all the largest *Cocoe*-Trees that stood not in their way; That by these Rumours, the Rage of the populace had been raised to that pitch, that they had much ado to appease them, they being for the cutting down not only of all the Trees, but also for the pulling down of the whole Palace of Count *Maurice*; All which they desired to be Registered in the publick Records, to serve them for a legal Defence in due Time and Place.

1643.

In the mean time, our Admiral *Lichthart* being gone out in pursuit of the *Portuguese* Fleet, met with them in the Bay of *Tamandare*, consisting of seven Ships, three smaller Vessels, and four Barks, the rest being sent loaden with Sugar, to *Portugal*. He was not as yet join'd by all the Ships from the *Receif*; but being resolved not to let slip this opportunity of Attacking the Enemy, sent the 7th of September Advice to the Great Council, That being come in sight of the Enemies Fleet, near the Bay of *Tamandare*, consisting in all of Eleven Vessels, he was resolved to Attack them there, desiring them to send as many Ships as possible they could immediately. Hereupon it was resolved to join the two Ships the *Deventer* and *Elias*, with the *Unicorn* and *Leyden*, then lying ready in the Road, and bound for *Holland*, and such Tenders as were at hand, and to send them forthwith to the Admiral *Lichthart*. Pursuant to these Resolutions, the whole next following night was spent in Manning the said Ships, but were the next morning detained for some time by the contrary Winds.

The same day Orders were given to all the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the Isle called *Antonio Vaez*, to provide themselves with Baskets fill'd with Earth; and Pallisadoes were planted from the Point of the *Receif* next to the River, to the utmost Point near the Sea-side; and five great Guns were planted upon a certain Wreck, from whence they could Command the Seashore as far as to the Fort of five Bastions.

The 8th of September, the Dutch Admiral having ordered the red Flag to be put up, boarded the *Portuguese* Admiral carrying 60 Guns and 300 Men: He behaved himself very valiantly, having posted himself at the Entrance of his Cabin with a flaming Sword in his hand, wherewith he kill'd three or four, but having received several Wounds, was at last forced to yield. The rest of the Ships following the Example of their Admiral, had likewise Boarded the *Portuguese* Ships; but these seeing the Flag taken down from the Admiral, (a dismal signal of her Misfortune) they lost all hopes, and threw themselves headlong into the Sea, to escape the fury of the Fire and Sword; whither being pursued by the Dutch in their Boats, many perished before they could reach the Shore. Above 700 *Portuguese* were kill'd in this Action, besides a great number of Prisoners, among whom was the Admiral.

The Dutch
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and Travels to BRASIL.

643. Admiral himself: Three Ships were taken and sent to the *Receif*, the rest were set on Fire; being not in a Condition to be carried off, because they had cut their Cables, and were run ashore, where the *Portuguese* had planted some Cannon upon Batteries, which so annoyed our People, that fearing they might run aground within the reach of the Enemies Cannon, they set Fire to them, and with much ado got their Ships clear from among the Shelves. After this Engagement, I return'd to the *Receif* to take care of my Affairs there; and the Admiral sent an Express in a Fisher-Boat, with the following Letter to the Council of the *Dutch Brasu*.

A Letter from the Dutch Admiral to the Council.

NO sooner were the Ships *Leyden*, the *Yacht*, and the *Doe* arrived last Night, near the Point of *Tamandare*, but pursuant to the result of a Council of War it was resolv'd to enter the next Morning within the Bar, which was performed in the following order. First the Ship, *Utrecht* Admiral, Second the *Ter Veere*, Third the *Zealandia*, Fourth the *Overysse*, and Fifth the *Zoutlandia*, followed by the *Doe* and *Leyden*, and the *Yacht*, the *Unicorn*, the Tenders being ordered to be at hand, as occasion should require. Being come within the Bar, we found the Enemy seven Sail-Strong; besides three small Vessels and four Barks; and that they had planted several pieces of Cannon upon two Batteries on the Sea-shoar. We received a very warm Salute both from their Ships and Batteries, and several Pelleys of small Shot; notwithstanding which the Ship the *Utrecht* courageously laid the *Portuguese* Admiral on board, after a short but sharp dispute took the Ship and the Admirals Flag; To be short, the rest of our Ships behaved themselves so well, that soon after they forced the *Portuguese* to cut their Ships; God be praised for this Victory. *Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva* the *Portuguese* Admiral is our Prisoner; and at present in my Ship, being sorely wounded; whom I intend to deliver up to your Lordships, so soon as I shall come to the *Receif*; in the mean while I intend to send back the *Leyden* and the *Unicorn* to narrow Morning, according to your Lordships directions. And, forasmuch as there is I likely to be no more action hereabouts, the Enemy having strengthened themselves near the Sea-shoar, I will with the first opportunity return to the *Receif*, where I hope to give in Person a more ample account

of the whole Action; I recommend your Lordships to God's Protection. In haste,
From the Ship, the *Utrecht*, within the Bay of *Tamandare*, Sept. 9. 1645.

Your Lordships Servant,

Cornelius Lichthart.

The *Portuguese* Admiral *Sarrao de Paiva* in his Letter, Dated the 18th of *Septemb.* gave the following Account of his Engagement, to the two Colonels, *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal Negreiros*.

The Portuguese Admiral's Letter to Andrew Vidal.

I being the general Interpreter here in the *Receif*, which is likewise come to my Ears, that it is reported by you there, how the Dutch Admiral *John Cornelius Lichthart*, did before the beginning of the last Engagement, enter the Bay with a white Flag, thus persuading our People, killed many of them in cool blood. I thought myself obliged to acquaint you, that indeed two Days before the said Engagement a *Yacht* and a Bark with white flags appear'd at the Entrance of the Bay, at which one of our small Vessels and a Bark shot three Cannon shot. But that Day when the Admiral entered the said Bay, he had put up both the Dutch and red flags. Neither is it true what had been said of their killing our Men in cool blood, there being not one Man slain aboard my Ship, but during the heat of the Engagement, five or six that had hid themselves below deck having received quarter, and a Soldier sorely wounded ordered immediately to be look'd after with all care imaginable. Neither was there a stroke given after the yielding of the Ship, but every body treated and provided for according to his quality and present necessity. The reason why so few had quarter given them, was, because most leapt over-board, the Sea-Men first, and then the Soldiers; I being not able with Sword in Hand to keep them from chusing rather to perish in the Sea than to stand it out aboard the Ship. Two or three Persons of Note seeing me sorely wounded, freely gave me quarter, without knowing either my Person, or being asked it by me; a convincing Argument, that they would not have refused the same to all the rest, that would have begg'd quarter. I must confess my self so much obliged to the humanity and generosity of the Admiral, that it is not to be express'd in Writing. Besides that it is unquestionable, That we first Shot at them, both

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1643. both from our Ships and Batteries, near the Sea-shore. I have given you a true Account of the whole matter, of which as I have been an Eye-witness my self, so I don't question you will give an entire Credit to what I have Written to you upon this Account. God protect you for many Years.

Receif,
Sept. 18.
1645.

Jeronymo Sarrao da Paiva.

Andrew Vidal sent a Letter in Answer to this by one of our Drummers (sent to the Enemy upon some Errant) Dated the 20th of September as follows:

His Answer to the Admiral's Letter.

WE are sufficiently satisfied by your Lordships Letter, that, instead of being everlastingly according to your Merits, you receive the same ill Treatment with the rest of our Countrymen; tho' considering, that your Case is different from the rest, you ought to have been treated in another manner, your Lordship, being come thither without the least Intention of waging War against them, (which they ought to have made due Reflection upon) but only as you were going to Convey some Ships homeward, did at their own Request, land our Forces in that Captainship; Considering the ill Usage and Tyrannies our Subjects have received at their Hands, we are afraid, we cannot promise your Lordship a much better Entertainment; of all which Murders committed in cool Blood, we have taken so Circumstantial an Account, that we are sure, we shall be able to justify our Cause, and our selves, both to the States of the United Netherlands, and the rest of our Allies; for we have Flish up many of our Portugueses with Bullets and Stones tied to their Legs and Necks; some had the good fortune to be saved, as they were swimming ashore, but many were burnt alive in the Wrecks of the Ships; the intention of these Gentlemen, being without question, by making so general a Slaughter among their Fellow-Christians, to cut off from us all hopes of returning home; of all which they will be obliged to give one day a severe Account, both to God Almighty, and those who shall require Satisfaction for it at their Hands, it being our constant Opinion, that they never will be able to justify their Cruelties, and the Mischief done to our People, either before God, or the King our Master: We hope your Lordship will rest satisfied in this present Condition, and put your trust in God and our King, who are still alive to

Demand a severe Satisfaction from them. God protect your Lordship.

From our Quarters at St. John in the Vergea, Sept. 29. 1645.

Signed,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

A certain Lieutenant belonging to the Enemy, called *Francisco Guomei*, came along with the same Drummer, with a Letter from the said *Andrew Vidal*, directed to the Great Council, the Contents of which were as follows:

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros's Letter to the Great Council.

I Received your Lordships Letter at Igua-racu, where n you seem to be extremely Disgusted, at the killing of some Bralilians, with their Wives, by our Soldiers; under pretence that the absolute Command over them belongs only to you, which I cannot but be much surprised at, when I consider, that your Lordships in your Proclamation, wherein you Command not to give Quarter to any Portuguese Inhabitants, (tho' natural Subjects of the King my Master) you alledge among other Reasons, Because they had received their Birth and Education in this Captainship, (which however was first conquered by the Portuguese Kings, at the Expence of many of their Subjects) whereas now you would impose this Hardship upon the same Inhabitants, to give Quarter to those Bralilians, who not long ago have been maintained and instructed in the Catholick Faith, as being their Vassals, and consequently not yours, but the King my Master's Subjects. Your Lordships ought to remember, That you are not in Possession of this Country by Right of Succession, or any other legal Pretension, but basely by force of Arms. We Desire your Lordships to take effectual Measures concerning the Methods to be observed in the carrying on of this War, which we hope will be managed so by your Prudence, as that Quarter may be allowed to the Inhabitants of our Nation; if not, I shall be obliged to act, as I find it most consistent with my Honour, to take Satisfaction for these Injuries. We desire also to put a stop to the Murdering of the Women, Children, and Antient People in Cool Blood, as has been done lately at Tihicupapo, Rio Grande, and Parayba. God protect your Lordships.

From our Quarters at St. John, Sept. 29. 1645.

Signed,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The

and Travels to BRASIL.

The Great Council returned with the Consent of the Members of the Court of Justice, and Colonel *Garsman*, an immediate Answer to the said Letter, where-vith they sent the said Lieutenant, in Company of the Drummer, back, the same Evening.

But we must look back to their Proceedings: After *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros* and *Martin Soares Moreno* had landed heir Men to the number of 1800 or 2000, the 28th of July 1645. with good Store of Arms and Ammunition, near *Camandare*, betwixt *Ola* and *Formosa*, they were soon after join'd, not only by our Companies, which had taken their way by Land from the *Bahia*, but also by the 1100s under the Command of *Kanaton* and *Henry Dias*, who had hitherto *Porto Calvo* blockt up by their Forces. From thence they directed their march to the City of *Serinham*, and laid Siege to the Fort in which there was only a Garrison of 80 Dutch Soldiers and 20 *Bastians*, Commanded by *Samuel Lambert* and *Cosmo de Moscheron*. Two days after their arrival near *Serinham*, the Enemy posted themselves in the 2^d *Ingenio* of *Daniel Hohn*; about which time *Henry Dias* was seen in *Serinham*, notwithstanding the Portuguese Commanders *Andrew Vidal* and *Moreno* disown'd to have any Correspondence with them at that time: The said Commanders had also sent the Captain Major *Paulo da Cunha* before to summon the said Fort, which he did accordingly by his Letter dated the 2d of *Agost*, at the Sugar-Mill of *James Peters*, and directed to *Samuel Lambert*.

The Summons sent to the Fort of Serinham.

Am come to this Sugar-Mill by special Orders from Martin Soares Moreno and Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, our Governours, they being very busie at present in tending their Men; they have sent me before, to prevent all Mischiefe that otherwise might happen betwixt you and us; and, if in the mean while you will join your Forces with ours, or retire with them to some other Place, you may safely do it, I being ready to furnish you with Passes for that purpose, the before-mentioned Governours being come with an Intention to put a stop to the present Insurrection. God Protect you.

From the Sugar-Mill in
St. Antonio, Aug. 2. 1645.

Paulo da Cunha.

Two days after the before-mentioned Commanders in Chief sent another Letter to *Samuel Lambert*, very little different from this.

A Second Summons from the Portuguese Commanders.

WE suppose you not to be acquainted with the Intention of our coming, which makes us to be the less surpris'd at your standing upon your Defence. The Great Council of the Dutch Brasil, have sent an Embassy to our Governour General by Sea and Land, *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, to desire his Excellency to make use of his Authority and Forces, to appease the Insurrection in this Captainship; which Request being readily granted, in order to be Serviceable to the Council, and to free the Portuguesees from the Outrages they suffered in their Houses and Families, we were sent to Land our Forces near these Sugar-Mills of *Rio Formosa*; which having been done accordingly, and ready to march further into the Country; we thought fit to acquaint you with our Intentions, which in all probability may have reacht your Ears, the same having been publish'd in several Places by our Proclamations, of which we send you one, desiring it may be affixt on the Church of *Serinham*. We desire you therefore to lay by your Arms, to remove all Suspicion; not questioning, but that we shall meet with a favourable Reception, on your side, as we on the other hand shall make it our main Endeavours to restore Tranquillity among the Revolted Portuguesees by all gentle means that possibly may be us'd; assuring you, at the same time, that in case you refuse to Concur with us in this Design, you will cause no small Displeasure to the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil. God Protect you.

From the Sugar-Mill of
Formosa, Aug. 4. 1645.

*Martin Soares Moreno,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.*

The next following day, *Paulo da Cunha* came in Person before the Place with a Body of Soldiers and Boors, provided with Arms from on Board the Fleet; and after having Invested the Place, cut off the Water of the Fountains and Rivers from the Besieged. In the mean while, *Roland Carpenter* and *Daniel Hohn* had been sent away with Passes by the Commanders of the Portuguese Forces, who Embark'd their heavy Cannon on Board *Carpenter's Vessel*, in order to carry it u-

the River *Formosa*. Within five days of the arrival of *Paula da Cunha*, the whole Force of the Enemy appear'd in sight of *Serinham*, in Battle Array, and closely blockt up the Fort: The *Dutch* Garrison was inconsiderable in proportion of the Enemies Strength, who had so well guarded all the Avenues leading to the Place, that they were soon reduced to want all manner of Necessaries, especially of Water. Besides this, many of the circumjacent Inhabitants and Volunteers, went daily over to the Enemy, who gave them an Account of the Condition of the Fort; and notwithstanding they had sent several Messengers to the *Recess*, they had heard nothing from the Council for two Months last past; so that being without all Hopes of maintaining their Post, they judged it more for the Interest of the Company, to preserve the Garrison, which might be Serviceable in other Places, where there was sufficient want of good Soldiers, than rashly to expose themselves to the fury of the Enemies Sword: Accordingly *Samuel Lambert*, *Cosmo de Moucheron*, and *La Montagney*, who commanded in the Fort, upon the second Summons made by the Enemy, entered the 6th of *August* into a Capitulation with the *Portugueses*, of which *Moucheron* gave an Account in Person the 15th of *August* to the Council, and delivered it the 20th of *August* to them in Writing.

The Fort of Serinham blockt up by, and surrendered to the Portugueses.

WE the *Portuguese* Commanders "make known to every body, that we were sent into this Country at the request of the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil*, to appease the Revolt and Troubles arisen among the *Portuguese* Inhabitants. But at our Landing here, being informed, that notwithstanding this request, and our good intencion, the *Dutch* had Murther'd many *Portugueses* in cool Blood, (it being evident that they had cut to pieces several *Portugueses*, who were enticed into a Church for that purpose) and that they had form'd a Camp to oppose us, which ought to be a caution to us, not to leave any strong holds behind us, whilst we are marching towards the *Recess*, we have thought it necessary to enter into this Capitulation, till such time, that we may have the opportunity of concerting new measures with the Great Council, of which the Articles are as follows:

I. The Commanders *Samuel Lambert*, and *Cosmo de Moucheron* shall have leave to march out of the Fort and Castle, with the Garrison, with Ensigns display'd, all their Arms, Matches burning, &c.

II. They shall be permitted to march along the Road with their Ensigns, and Swords drawn, and shall be safely conducted by One or more Captains, who shall also be obliged to provide them Carriages and Boats, for the Transportation of their Persons and Goods to the *Recess*.

III. The *Portugueses* oblige themselves to restore to *Moucheron* all what has been taken from him, and belonged to him before the Siege.

IV. They also oblige themselves to engage the Inhabitants of the City as well as those of *Kamara*, to pass by all past injuries either by word or deed; and that such of the *Dutch* as are willing to continue there, shall be maintain'd in their Possessions in the same manner as the *Portugueses* are; and shall enjoy the same Privileges, and their own Religion, provided they don't Preach in publick, and pay due reverence to Consecrated places. They shall be at liberty to Traffick with the *Portugueses*, and call in their Debts, as before, neither shall they be obliged to take up Arms against the States of the United Provinces.

V. The *Dutch* Officers shall restore to the *Portugueses* all their *Brasilians* with their Wives and Children, as being Subjects of King *John IV.* whom God preserve; and what relates to their reception and Entertainment, is to be left to the discretion of the Chief Commanders of the *Portugueses*.

Upon these Conditions they shall be obliged to surrender the Fort, with every thing thereunto belonging, this Afternoon, but are permitted to provide themselves with necessaries for their Journey, which they shall have liberty to perform at their own leisure.

Signed,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros,
Alvaro Fregoso d' Albuquerque,
Diogo de Silveira,
Lopes Lameiro,
Ferreiro Betenkor,
Suppolito Abuko de Veirosa, and
Sebastian de Guimaraes.

Immedi-

1643.

Factions
of the Por-
tugueſes.

Immediately after the ſurrender of the Fort, *Moucheron* entred into a long Diſcourſe with the *Portugueſe* Commanders, about their proceedings; which he told them, were far different, from what the Governour pretended in his Letters, to wit, the appealing of the Revolt of the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants, according to the requeſt of the *Great Council*. They answered him with Ter-giverſations, telling him that they would be very careful not to act contrary to the Peace eſtabliſhed betwixt the King, his Maſter and the States General. But it was not long, before they began to Lord it over the Country, by taking, ſuch as were in the leaſt ſuſpected to them into Cuſtody, and taking an account of thoſe of the *Dutch* that had Married *Portugueſe* Women; nay they erected a Court of Juſtice of their own, and forced *Moucheron* to ſell his Slaves for the Fourth part of what they were worth. They had ſo little regard to the late Articles, that they cauſed 30 *Braſilians*, part of that *Garrifon* to be tied to the Palifado's, where they were ſtrangled; The *Portugueſes* alledged in their behalf, that they had ſuffer'd Death for certain Crimes, they had confeſſed themſelves, tho' it is more probable, they were made Sacrifices to the diſcontented *Portugueſe* Inhabitants, that had made heavy Complaints at the *Braſilians*. However about Thirty of them were ſpared, and beſtowed upon the Officers, to carry their Baggage, and their Wives given to the Inhabitants. The *Portugueſes* made *Alvaro Fregoeſo d' Albuquerque* Governor of the City and Fort, and made one *Francis de la Tour*, a French Deſerter, Captain over 40 Deſerters, who had taken ſervice among them.

The Por-
tugueſes
ſlay the
Maſter.

They alſo raiſed three Companies out of the *Portugueſe* Boors, or Inhabitants, Commanded by *Pedro Fregoeſo*, *Ignatius Ferrere* and *Immanuel de Afello*, which were put into *Serinham* for the defence of that place, where they alſo cauſed two *Jews* to be Baptized, call'd *Jacquo Franco* and *Iſaac Navare*. Moſt of the *Dutch* who had any Poſſeſſions or Sugar-Mills thereabouts had Safe-guards allow'd them, ſo that none, except two, who came to the *Receſſ*, left that Captainſhip, of which they had ſufficient reaſon to repent afterwards, being very ill treated by the *Portugueſes*, as ſhall be ſhewn more at large hereafter.

The 15th of *Auguſt*, in the Afternoon, the *Garrifon* of *Serinham* conſiſting only of 32 Men (the reſt having ſtaid be-

hind) arrived in a Bark at the *Receſſ*; and their Commander in Chief appear'd the ſame Day before the Council, where he gave an account of the Reaſons that moved him to ſurrender the Place, notwithstanding which he was ordered to be examined by a Court-Maſhal to answer the ſame; The Enſign who had conducted the *Garrifon* to the *Receſſ*, delivered the ſame Day a Letter to the ſaid Council, from *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal*, Dated the 2th of *Auguſt*, intimating that they were come into the *Dutch Beſit*, by ſpecial Command from the Governour of the *Bahia*, and exaſperating the outrages, they ſaid were committed by the *Hollanders* againſt the *Portugueſes*. This Letter had another encloded from the ſaid Governour, Dated the 30th of *July*, with a Proclamation, to be publiſhed in the Captainſhip of *Pernambuco*, whereby all the Inhabitants were ſummon'd to appear Peremptorily before them, within the ſpace of Eight Days, to receive their directions, for reſtoring tranquility among them. The Letter from *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal* was as follows.

A Letter from the *Portugueſe* Commanders to the Council.

When your Lordſhips found your ſelves entangled by a dangerous Conſpiracy among the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants of this Captainſhip, you made your applications to *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, Governour General of *Brazil*, deſiring him, to make uſe of the moſt effectual means he could to appeaſe this Rebellion. About the ſame time the Inhabitants of this Country by one unanimous Voice implored his aid and protection againſt thoſe many Affronts, Plunderings, Abſolutions and Ravifhments of Women, they groaned under; being reſolved with joint conſent to Arm themſelves with Sticks (the uſe of Arms being taken away from them by their Tyrannical Governours) againſt thoſe oppreſſions, and to defend their honour to the laſt gasp; nor queſtioning but that God Almighty would take vengeance for the Blood of ſo many innocent People. They repreſented to his Excellency, that he was obliged by his Station to aſſiſt them in this extremity, as they were his Countrymen; but, if that ſhould not be prevailing enough; Reaſons of State would induce him, not to force them to Deſpair by denying them his aid; which if he did it ſhould be at the peril of his Head, and that he muſt give a ſevere account of it, before God Almighty, and others;

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if they should be constrained to beg that from a Foreign Power, which they could not obtain from their Countrymen. The Governour having taken all these pressing reasons into mature consideration, and in respect both of your Lordships request, and the heavy complaints of the Portugueses, made it his chief care, to find out the most effectual means (which your Lordships seem'd to leave to his discretion) to appease this Revolt. Being sensible that the Revolt of the Portuguese Inhabitants had taken deep root among them, and was likely to prove more universal against your Government, he judged it most expedient, to send hither certain Persons with such Forces, as he thought might either by their Prudence, and, if that fail'd, by force of Arms, restore the so much desired tranquility. It is upon this account, my Lords, we are come to this place, in order to employ all our force and assistance, according to your request, pursuant to the Peace established betwixt these two Nations, in regard of which we value not the expences we have been put to upon this occasion. But we scarce had set foot ashore, when our Ears and Hearts were struck with the doleful outcries of 40 Innocent Catholick Portugueses, murdered in the Church of Rio Formoso, whither they were enticed for that purpose, by those that were in your Service; without the least respect of Age or Sex, the very Babes being by the Natives barbarously murdered, as they were lying on their Mothers Breasts. Neither have the Sighs and Groans of many noble Maids escaped our Ears, that were ravi'sh'd in the Vargea and St. Lawrence by the Brasilians, not to mention here, what barbarities have been committed in Pojuka, where is the sight of many a Hermit and innocent Babe who were slaughter'd in a Cave. Neither have they abstain'd from Holy and Consecrated places; they have cut to pieces the Images of the Saints, and stripp'd the Queen of Heaven, the Virgin Mary our blessed Lady, of all her Apparel; Things so enormous, and never heard of before, enough to create horror and astonishment in a generous Heart. And notwithstanding your Lordships had desired the Governour General to interpose his Authority, you did form a Camp, which continues in the Field to this Day; and we being obliged by our Orders to come to you upon the Receipt, we judged it not convenient to leave any armed power behind us, which in time might prove the occasion of great inconveniences to us; we shall endeavour to show all due respect and kindness to your Subject, and carry the Garrison of Serinhaim along with us, till matters may be concert'd betwixt your Lordships and us, for the Ser-

vice of God and the State. In the mean while, we most earnestly desire a stop may be put to the outrages committed by your Soldiers hitherto, to avoid all occasion of a Rupture on your side; We protest on the other hand, in the Name of God, and John IV. the King our Master, whom God preserve, as also in the name of the States General, whose Power God encrease, that we desire nothing so much, as the continuation of the late established Peace, which shall be the guide of all our Actions; of which we have brought along with us an Authentick Copy, to serve us as a sufficient justification by all the Princes of Europe. And that your Lordships may be satisfied in the reality of it, we have sent you enclosed a Copy of the Proclamation, published by us, at our landing in this Captainship.

God preserve your Lordship.

Serinhaim, *Mart. & Soares Moreno*,
Aug. 8 1645. *André Vidal de Negreiros*.

The before-mentioned Proclamation runs thus:

Their PROCLAMATION.

WE the Commanders in Chief of the Portuguese Forces, Martin Soares Moreno, and Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, make known to all Persons, and Inhabitants of the Captainship of Pernambuco; That, the Great Council of the Dutch Brasil, having by a Letter sent to the Governour and Captain General of Brasil, given advice of the Revolt arisen among the Portugueses of this Place; desiring to endeavour the appeasing of this Rebellion by his Assistance; For which purpose the said Governour now having sent us with a sufficient Force into this Captainship, we command all the Portugueses, of what condition and quality soever, to appear peremptorily within Eight Days after the publication of these presents, before us, in order to restore tranquility among them, pursuant to the request of the Lords of the Council of the Dutch Brasil. We also hereby intreat the said Lords, in the most friendly manner that can be, pursuant to the Tenour of the strict Alliance there is betwixt both these Nations, to stop the further persecution of the Portugueses, or any other Warlike Executions; and that if any of their Soldiers presume to act contrary to it, they may upon complaint made thereof to them, be severely punished.

I Alexes Antunes have Penn'd this Proclamation, and I Franco Bravo Defembarquador have approved it.

Martin Soares Moreno.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The

1645.

5. The Great Council resolved to give a short Answer to the said Letter, and to Refute the Proclamation by another; and considering, that the Origin and Cause of all those Troubles and Misdemeanours were laid at the door of the Council, they ordered the two Councillours of the Court of Justice *De Witt* and *Moucheron*, in conjunction with *Mr. Walbeck* Assessor in the same Court, to answer the same, and thereby to represent to the Council of XIX in *Holland*, that they were occasioned by the Rebels and their adherents.

In the Month of *August* the Troops lately come from the *Bahia* marched from *Serinhaim* to *Poyuka*, and so to the Cape of *St. Austen*, where being join'd by the Forces under the Command of *Kameron* and *Dia*, and the Inhabitants, they resolved (after our Men had quitted *Poyuka* and the City *St. Antonio de Cabo*) to attack the Fort *Vander Dussen* on the Cape of *St. Austen*, from the Land-side; pursuant to which resolution, they posted their Troops all along both sides the River.

the Portuguese
Belle,
the Cape of
St. Austen.

The Council in the mean while being forewarned of the Enemies design, had ordered the 2d of *August*, *Mr. Adrian Bullestrate* one of their own Members, and Admiral *Luchhart*, to go thither with all speed, and to take effectual care that nothing might be wanting for the Defence of the Place. They were for

Mr. Bullestrate and
Admiral Luchhart
left the Cape of
St. Austen.

that end to take a full view of the Fort *Vander Dussen* and all its Out-Works, and to consider whether the Redoubt upon the Hill call'd *Nazareth*, and the Battery at the entrance of the Harbour might be repaired for the better Defence of the Fort. Accordingly *Mr. Bullestrate* and Admiral *Luchhart* left the *Receif*, the 5th of *August*, and arrived the same Evening in the Fort *Vander Dussen*, where having executed their Commission, *Mr. Bullestrate* returned the 9th of *August* to the *Receif*, where he gave the following Account to the Council.

That he left the *Receif* the 5th of *August*, in the Morning about Nine a Clock, and came the same Evening to the Fort *Vander Dussen* on the Cape of *St. Austen*.

That the 6th of *August*, after Forenoon Sermon was ended he rid with the Admiral, and some other Officers, to the Hill of the Cape of *St. Austen*; where having taken a view of the Harbour, he found the Stone-Redoubt in a Condition to be repaired, without any Charge, the Cannon upon the Bat-

teries nail'd up, but the Works towards the Scaife in pretty good Order.

That he had ordered a Draught to be made, to surround the Redoubt with Pallisadoes, to raise a Battery within it, to build a Guard-House, and to widen the Ditches: He also had ordered a Stone Breast-Work, (for want of Wood) to be made on the backside of the Battery, with a row of Pallisadoes, and a Guard House; and that with the first fair weather, they should set on Fire all the Bushes and Brambles on the said Hill, and clear the Ground round about the Church *Nazareth*.

Upon View of the Fort *Vander Dussen*, he had Commanded the Major *Hoogstrate* with all possible speed, to put it in a good posture of Defence, the Admiral having already taken Care to have it surrounded with Pallisadoes: That on the 7th of *August*, having paid off the Garrison, and those belonging to the Artillery, he passed through very difficult Ways to *St. Antonio*, where he likewise paid off the Soldiery, visited the Retrenchment, and put every thing in the best order he could.

That he had Bargained with certain Persons to repair the said Redoubt on the Hill call'd *Nazareth*, and the Stone Breast-Work, the Building of two Guard-Houses, and surrounding both the Works with Pallisadoes, according to his Draught, for 900 Guilders, the whole to be completed within three Weekstime. Here it was he had the first Notice of the Landing of some Forces from the *Bahia*, near *Ro Formosa*, by the same Fleet which the Week before was seen off of the *Receif*: But not being able to get any sure Intelligence, he had sent a Messenger to Lieutenant *Montangie*, then Commander in *Serinhaim*, to give him a true Account of the matter, and in what Condition he and his Garrison were at that time; encouraging him by fair Promises, all Communication by Land being already cut off betwixt them. Here he also Listed 38 Volunteers that offered their Service.

That the 8th of *August* he left the said Place, and notwithstanding the badness of the Weather, rid cross the Hills of *Hegendo*, to the Sea-shore, where meeting with the Admiral, they went together up the River *Sangado* with the Tide, as far as *Calendaria*, where they staid for some time, and received the News, that in the last Encounter betwixt Colonel *Haus* and the Rebels near that Hill, above 200 of the last, among whom were some

some Officers, were slain, and about 40 or 50 on our side. One *Melchior Alvares* came on purpose to tell them, That about 300 of the Revolted Inhabitants were inclined to accept of a Pardon, which he referred to the Council.

That being ready to take Horse in order to his return to the *Receif*, a certain Soldier of our Troops, that had been left behind, complain'd that he had been stript stark naked by the Servants of the Ferryman of the River *Sangada*, who had wounded and beat him miserably. *Melchior Alvares* was ordered to take care of his Wounds, and Captain *Pistor* to go with 20 of his Men in quest of these Villains; who, coming to the Ferry, beset the House, took the Ferryman and his three Sons, Prisoners, but the *Mular*, who had committed the Fact, escaped their Hands.

That he pursued his Journey on Horseback towards the *Receif*, notwithstanding the violent Rains, and not without great danger pass'd the River the same night near the Fort *Emilia*.

That on the 9th of *August*, he was advertised by some Negro's belonging to *Moses Navarre*, whom he had sent with Letters to *d'Ingenio Surjacque*, that an Ambush had been laid for them near *Candelaria*, but the Enemy durst not attack them, their Negro's being all such as were taken Prisoners, and afterwards made their escape to us.

Major *Hoogstrate* sent Advice by his Letters on the 13th of *August*, to the Council, That the Garrison and Volunteers of *St. Antonio* being safely arrived on the Cape of *St. Austín*, they were now about 280 strong, viz. 217 Soldiers and Gunners, and 63 Volunteers. That immediately after our Garrison had left *St. Antonio*, *Kamaron* and *Hemy Dias* had posted themselves with their Troops in the Sugar-Mill *Algodaus*, near that place, where they expected to be join'd by *Martin Soares* and *Andrew Vidal's* Forces safely arrived from the *Bahia*. That he expected every day to be Besieged, and fear'd nothing so much as want of fresh Water, the Spring being cut off by the Enemy. Hereupon immediate Orders were given by the Council to send thither 30 Barrels of Water, some Ammunition and Provision, and what else should be requisite for a vigorous Defence of the Place, which was sufficiently provided before with Soldiers. The next following Day they received Intelligence from Major *Hoogstrate*, Mr. *Ley*, and Mr. *Hick*, That the Enemies Troops had taken Post

in the Sugar-Mill *Salgado Zuvisiaque* and other circumjacent Places. The Council rely'd much upon the Bravery and Fidelity of the Officers within the Fort, from whom they promised themselves a very vigorous Defence, they being all Persons who had advanced themselves in their Services, and were in expectation of better Preferments, viz. Major *Hoogstrate*, *Caspar Vander Ley* formerly a Captain of Horse, *John Hick*, and *Albert Gerritsen Wedda* an old Captain, belonging to the Company; But their unfaithfulness and covetous Temper overbalanced all these Considerations; for the said Major *Hoogstrate* Commander in Chief, with the Consent of *Caspar Vander Ley*, and *Albert Gerritsen Wedda*, treacherously and villanously Sold and Surrendered the said Fort to the Portuguese the 23th of *August* for the Sum of 18000 Gilders, besides some other Rewards promised them upon that Account. They went over with the whole Garrison to the Enemy, who made *Hoogstrate* Colonel of a Dutch Regiment, raised out of these and other Soldiers of several Nations, that had Deserted our Service. Thus this strong hold was betray'd to the Portuguese, by a Person who owed his whole Fortune to our Company.

Martin Soares Moreno gave the following Account of the Surrender of this Fort to the Governour *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, in his Letter dated from the Hill of *Nazareth*, Aug. 26. 1645.

A Letter to the Governour of the Bahia, concerning the taking of the Cape of Puntael.

*S*unday the 23th of this month, God Almighty, through his Mercy, has put us into the Possession of the Fort of the Cape of Puntael, which was Besieged by *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros*: The next day we were rejoiced with the Money sent to us by your Lordship; and the Wine presented to me in particular, part of which I have bestowed upon Entertaining some of our Friends, who are merry with me at this time.

We have made an excellent Bargain; for besides the Importance of the Place, and its Artillery, we have got the very flower of their Soldiers; besides, that this will be like a signal to the rest to follow their Footsteps.

John Fernand Vieira has raised on Saturday last the Sum of 4000 Ducats for our Use, though not without Force, but it was very welcome to us at this time, when we were upon striking up the Bargain for the better

and Travels to BRASIL.

1645. better fortifying of this Place, the Harbour of which is not inferiour to that of the Receif: But I will not trouble your Lordship any longer with this point.

Not long after the Surrender of the Fort, a Bark appeared in sight sent to its Relief from the Receif. We sent Captain Barreiros with a well-arm'd Bark out against her, who took her with 35 Men, and good Store of Gunpowder and Bullets, all which will prove very serviceable to us.

I kindly desire your Lordship, that in case you send a Messenger with this News to his Majesty, Captain Damian de Lanchois may be employed upon that Errand, it being very probable, that the King, besides a good Present, will Reward him with some honourable Employment.

Last Night we received Advice, That the Fleet under Jeronimo de Paiva was entered the Bay of Tamandare; I am sorely afraid, they will be Attack'd by the Ships sent thither from the Receif, notwithstanding we have desired him several times to come into our Road.

Kapivara is gone from that Place by Land to the Bahia, perhaps he has given him notice that we are Masters of the Cape; if he thinks fit to bring his Fleet to this Place, he is safe, if not, it lies at his door. 'Tis discoursed here, that the Ship the Bishop is missing, perhaps he has a fancy to Convey Salvador Korrea some part of the way.

I cannot forbear to let your Lordship know how much you stand Indebted to Major Dieterick Hoogstrate, and the rest of the Commanders of the Fort. We have promised to the first a Commandery of Christ. I beg of your Lordship to make my Promise good to him in his Majesty's Name, as soon as possible may be, he being a Person, who will be ready to do us all the further Service he can. We have for the present engaged him with some Presents of less moment, of which we shall give an Account to you hereafter. Captain Vander Ley has likewise deserved well of us, and so have all the rest that had Married Portuguese Women: It is reported here, That he is a Person of Note in his Country: We have likewise promised to him a Commandery of Christ, and a yearly Pension for one of his Sons: We hope your Lordship will not refuse to make good our Promise, because his Sons are Born of a Portuguese Woman: The name of the Eldest being John, and the Youngest Caspar Vander Ley. The rest are at present at their Habitations, as soon as they return, we must Engage them with some Promises, of which we will give an Account to your Lordship. They are all of Consequence to us, having Married Portuguese Women. I hope your

Lordship will be well satisfied with this piece of Service; for John Fernand Vieira sometimes brings us more Money in an hour, than the Conquest of the Cape costs us. He is at present in the Vargea among the Barbarians, and we in the Fort on the Cape, till we have got every thing in readiness. Kapivara is about three days ago, gone by Land, possibly he may be with you before the Bark which carries this Letter; I wish it may arrive in safety, and to your Lordship, a long Life for the Defence of this State.

Signed,
Martin Soares Moreno.

Martin Soares Moreno, and Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, had in the mean while sent 7 or 8 Letters from the Cape of St. Austin, dated the 23d, 30th, and 31st of August, and the 2d and 6th of September, in which they advertised the Admiral Paiva, That they were in possession of that Cape, desiring him, by all means to come with his Fleet into that Harbour. The first of the two last Letters was thus written.

Letter from the Portuguese Commanders to Admiral Paiva.

My Lord,

WE are got now into the Possession of the Harbour of Nazareth, and that as the saying is, without casting an Anchor; which is the reason we intreat you likewise to come with your Fleet hither; where you may Capren your Ships, and provide your selves with fresh Provisions, Men, Ammunition, and all other Necessaries, till such time we shall mutually Agree in what is further to be undertaken for the Service of God and his Majesty. The Enemy has hitherto but one Ship of Sirength at Sea, the rest being of no Consequence; neither are they for Engaging with you at this time, but Endeavour to cut off your Communication with the Sea-Coast. My Lord, You have given so many Proofs of your Courage before this time, that this Retreat will not abate any thing from the Fame of your Victories: On the other hand, You have to consider, that you are answerable for so many thousand Lives, of those that are in your Fleet; wherefore we desire you once more to come hither with the Fleet, and such Officers as are under your Command, where you will meet with a very kind and comfortable Reception. But being sensible, that it would be a gross Error in us, to urge a matter so Evident in it self, any further, to so great a Commander as you,

1645. we live in hopes of your coming, where we intend in the House of Nazareth, to receive the blessed Sacrament, which name we have given to the Fort, having among other things found a Mass-Book here, which is of no small service to us.

God preserve your Lordship.

Puntael, the 2d of Sept. 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno, and
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The Contents of the Second Letter to the same Admiral are as follows :

Your Lordship being already acquainted with our being Masters of the Puntael (Cape) we hope you will take the first opportunity of coming to us ; The Enemies having two Squadrons of Ships at Sea, with one Fire-Ship, to join you from this Coast, which has been discovered to us, by a Letter writ at the Receif, and directed to the Governour, and taken by us in a Bark design'd for the relief of that place. Of which we thought fit to give you immediate notice, that you might take your measures according to your wonted Prudence. These Dutch Gentlemen have by their treacherous dealings obliged us to have recourse to open Force ; and we desire your Lordship to repay them in their own Coin, with Fire and Sword, as they do to us. If you design to come hither, it must be done speedily, all delay being dangerous at this time. We have a true Copy of this Letter in our Journal, to serve for our justification hereafter.

God preserve your Lordship.

Dated in the Puntael of the blessed Sacrament, September the 6th, 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno, and
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

An account of the Surrender of the Cape of St. Austin, and of the further Transactions betwixt us and the Portuguese, was sent in a Letter by Caspar da Costa D' Abreu, from the said Cape to his Friend Domingos da Costa, an Inhabitant of the Bahia, which runs thus :

I Wish this Letter may find you in good Health, as I who am your faithful Comrade desire ; I am in a tolerable good condition in the Puntael of Nazareth, which after a Siege of 20 Days was surrendered to us, at an easie rate, because those who commanded within the Fort, had Portuguese Wives, and their Estates thereabouts. The Captain

of Horse, was the most forward of all in Surrendering the Place ; They have obtained what Conditions they demanded, and a gratuity of 4000 Ducats besides. We found in the Fort 300 Dutch, of their best Troops, and twelve Brass Pieces of Cannon, four of which were four and twenty Pounders, and Provisions for three Months, so that, if they had not come with us to a Composition, it would have cost us abundance of Men, whereas now we have gain'd the place, with the loss of one single Man, who was kill'd by a random Cannon shot. We made our selves Masters of a Bark, firing from the Puntael, before its Surrender, in which was a Gentleman with several 100 Men, that were going to the Receif. This Gentleman and another of Serinhaim (being both Magistrates in their respective places) we delivered up to the Inhabitants, who soon kill'd them, notwithstanding one was Married with a Portuguese Woman ; for they having been heard to say, That they hoped to wash their Hands in the Blood of the Portugueses, the Women were so much exasperated against them, that they soon dispatch'd them, according to their desires. The Prisoners are for the most part detained at St. Anthony, in order to be sent to the Bahia ; but many among them have taken Service with us. We suppose the number of the Dead and Dutch Prisoners amount to near 1300 ; We have not seen the Squadron under Salvador Korcea de Saa ; we are afraid some misfortune has befallen him ; some of our Ships were cruising hereabouts, but within these three or four Days, none of them have appear'd on this Coast. The Dutch have a Fleet of 12 Ships at Sea ; it is well, if they don't venture a brush with us. The Receif with all its Forts are invested, Lawrence Carneiro is at Porto Calvo ; The Jews report, that orders are come, to take all the Dutch Forces out of Rio Grande, Paraiba and St. Francis, in order to transport them to the Receif. There is no great harmony betwixt the Jews and Dutch, the first pretending that the others intend to sell the Country. Four of their head Officers, which are our Prisoners, are ordered to be sent to the Bahia, and among them their Master of the Artillery. The same Day that we were become Masters of Puntael, a Bark arrived there from the Receif, with orders to keep it to the last extremity ; we took the Bark with good store of Ammunition and Provision, worth in all about 1500 Ducats.

Sept. the 5th, Caspar da Costa d' Abreu.
1645.

From this and the following Letters, it is apparent, that Major Hooghstraten had laid the foundation of his Treacherous Design of betraying the Cape of St. Austin to the Portuguese, long before; to wit, ever since he with Mr. Balthasar Vander Voorde was sent to the Governour of the Bahia, Antonio Telles da Sylva. Thus a certain Serjeant sold a Redoubt near the City of Olinda to the Enemy for 300 Guilders.

At the beginning of the Siege of the Cape of St. Austin, Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, sent two Letters to Major Hooghstrate, Ley and Hick, by one John Guomes de Mello, Dated the 13th of August; in the first of which the said Vidal complains of the ill treatment and Murthers committed upon the Portuguese by the Dutch; in the second he requests them, to declare pursuant to the promises made by Hooghstrate in the Bahia, for the King of Portugal, and to deliver the Fort into their hands.

Two Letters from Vidal to Hooghstrate.

The First was as follows:

I Am come this Morning to the Village of St. Antonio de Cabo, in hopes of receiving news from you and Captain Ley. I give by these presents notice to you, that we are sent hither by order from the Governour Antonio Telles da Sylva, with no other intention than to appease the Troubles lately arisen in this Country, pursuant to the request of the Council, of which you are a sufficient Witness. No sooner, were we arrived at Tamandare, but we received many Informations directly contrary to what we expected to meet with here; viz. That in Rio Grande 37 Inhabitants had been murdered, many Virgins deflower'd, and the Image of the Virgin Mary grossly misused by the Dutch; things so abominable in themselves, that it is scarce to be imagined so brave a Nation should be guilty of such enormities. Whilst I am writing this Letter, news is brought me, that the Dutch have caused many of the Inhabitants of Goyana to be murdered; tho' I can scarce give Credit to it; for supposing this to be true, we could not avoid giving assistance to these miserable People, tho' they were the most despicable of all Nations; considering they crave our help, and are not only Christians, but also Subjects of the King our Master, whom God preserve. Whilst the Council was in expectation of the Issues of the intended accommodation, they have surpris'd

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and killed many of the Inhabitants, which obliges us, to require you in the name of God, of his Majesty, his Highness and the States General, not to give any occasion for a rupture, but to maintain the late concluded Peace to the utmost of your Power, as we are ready on our side, to concert all possible measures with the Commander in chief of this place; Which may tend to the tranquility of both Parties. The Bearers hereof are Captain John Guomes de Mello, and Lieutenant Francis Guomes; who, we desire, may be dispatched back with all possible speed.

God preserve you for many Years.

August 13.
1645.

Andrew Vidal.

The Second Letter was written thus:

The Second Letter.

YOUR promise made to us in the Bahia, and what has since been told by Captain Ley to John Fernandes Vieira, and Captain John Guomes de Mello, encourages us, to proceed in our former design, not questioning but that both you and Captain Ley will not in the least recede from the engagement you have been pleas'd to oblige us with, and to tie us to your Service. We are come into this Country at the head of 3000 chosen Men, back'd by two Squadrons of Men of War, well Equip'd, one of which has not as yet appear'd on this Coast, the other you have seen your self pass by the other Day. I hope this may serve as a means to set the poor miserable Inhabitants at liberty; and as both they and we wish for nothing more, than to see you embrace our side, that we may not want an opportunity to give you more evident proofs of our respect and affection towards you, so, we desire you not to entertain the least sinister suspicion of us; we being ready (for the performance of which we by these presents give you our words) to accomplish in every point, what has been promised to you, by John Fernandes Vieira, and John Guomes de Mello. And I for my part assure you that I will not fail to perform and agree to, whatever you shall further demand upon this occasion.

The Inhabitants of the place shall be provided with Pass-Ports, and protected by us, in the same manner as the Commander of Serinhaim, Carpenter, and some others were; and we expect the same at your hand. And that you may be sure whom to treat with upon this account, we have sent to you John Guomes de Mello, who is intrusted with the whole matter; which if you refuse to do

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we

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we must take such measures, as we shall judge most expedient for us. In the mean while God preserve you for many Years.

Your affectionate Friend

Se. Antonio de Cabo,

Aug. 13. 1645.

and Servant,

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

Major Hoogstrate, Mr. Hick and Ley sent an Answer to this Letter immediately, containing in substance, that they were not in the least concerned in the outrages committed by the *Tapoyers* against the *Portugueses*, and seemingly refused to treat with *de Mello*.

It runs thus:

His Answer to them.

WE have received your Letter sent by John Guomes de Mello, out of which we understand, that you are come to St. Antonio. We are extremely well satisfied, that the Governour Antonio Telles da Sylva has undertaken to appease the tumults arisen in these parts, and don't question but that your presence will contribute much towards the accomplishment of it. The affronts and outrages you speak of by the *Tapoyers* and Dutch Soldiers put upon the Inhabitants, as they were committed solely against our will, so I can assure you that no body not so much as the least Child has been suffer'd to be misused upon our accounts, so that these Complaints must not be made to us, but ought to be refer'd to the Council. The Treaty you propose with Captain John Guomes de Mello, and Lieutenant Francis Guomes, is beyond our Province and Power, so that we earnestly desire you, not to use any further solicitations to us, upon that account. So we kiss your Hands, recommending you to God's protection.

We rest your Servants and good Friends,

Caspar Vander Ley,

D. Van Hoogstrate,

John Hick.

Major Hoogstrate took care to send these two Letters together with their Answer to the Council, with repeated Assurances of their constant Fidelity; whereupon the Great Council confirm'd Hoogstrate in his Government, and exhorted Ley and Hick to persevere in their brave Resolution, which they would in due time take care to reward with better preferments. This dif-

covery of the Enemies Letters being look'd upon as an undeniable proof of Mr. Hoogstrate's sincere Intentions, had such an influence upon the generality of the People, that there was scarce any body but what thought himself secure of his Fidelity and Dury. Nevertheless as these Temptations could not but raise some jealousy in the Minds of the Council, they thought fit to send Colonel Hams to the *Receif*, to order him to the Cape of St. Austen.

The Council in the mean while being by Vidal's Letters to Hoogstrate sufficiently convinced, that the intended recalling of the *Rebellious Troops* were nothing but amusements, sent immediate orders to their Admiral *Lichtbart*, that for the future he should treat all the *Portuguese Ships* he could meet with as Enemies.

The 15th of Aug. Colonel Hams being come to the *Receif* propos'd to the Council, that he judg'd it absolutely necessary for the Service of the State, that since by the Succours come from the *Bahia* to the assistance of the Rebels under Martin Soares Moreno, and Andrew Vidal, they were grown very strong and numerous; the Troops encamped in the Field should be drawn into the *Receif*, because they being besides the *Brasilians*, not above 300 strong, they might easily be cut off in a place, where they could not be seconded from the *Receif*; where they were wanting for the defence of that place, which being the Capital of the whole *Dutch Brasil*, would in all likelihood be attack'd with the utmost vigour, by the Enemy.

Against this Opinion many Reasons were alledged too.

I. By so doing they must quit all the open Country, from whence they were now supplied with Cattle and Meal, which they stood highly in need of, till such time, that they could receive new Supplies from *Holland*, and that in such a case they must expect the Enemy immediately at their Gates.

II. That thereby the number of the Enemy would be increased, the Inhabitants of the Country being freed from the dread of our Troops, would join with them against us.

III. That by so doing we must leave the *Tapoyers*, that had taken up Arms at our request, and were to be joined by our Troops near *Machiapi* or St. Antonio, must be left to the Enemies Mercy. To this it was Answer'd,

1. That as to the Supplies of Cattle and Meal from the Country, they should be

Hoogstrate discovers the secrets.

Conjurations about drawing all the Forces in to the Receif.

be in a much better Condition to be furnished withall, when their Forces could be sent abroad into all circumjacent Parts of the Country, whereas now they were forced to remain in one certain place. Besides that, we being Masters at Sea, might Embark at any time a certain number of Men, and Land them where we found it most convenient; which would oblige the Enemy, instead of Besieging the *Receif*, to divide his Forces for the Defence of the Country. What related to the increase of the Enemy's Forces, by the Accession of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants of the Country, was to be look'd upon as of no great Consequence against us; it being more for our Interest, to see them appear as declared Enemies, than dissembling Friends; it being generally known, that their Inclinations were bent for their Countrymen, and that notwithstanding all their specious Pretences, they mis'd no Opportunity of giving Intelligence to the Enemy of what pass'd among us; whereas, if they were once declared Enemies of the States, we should have a fair opportunity of seizing upon their Cattel, Provisions, and other Moveables, for the use of the *Receif*; which being thus provided, would discourage the Enemy from attempting to reduce it by Famine.

What was alledged concerning the Danger of the *Tapoyers*, was acknowledged to be of no small moment; but considering they had received no News as yet of their Motion, it was not judged of such vast Consequence, as to be put in Balance with the Welfare of the whole *Dutch Brasil*, which depended in a great measure on the Safety of these Troops.

After mature Deliberation of the whole matter, it was resolv'd, on the 15th of *August*, by the Council, with the Approbation of the Members of the Court of Justice, That considering the Danger the Troops were expos'd to, and that on their Safety depended the Preservation of the *Receif*, they should with all possible speed march thither; and that only 50 Men should be left in the House of *De Wit*, under Captain *Wilschout*, in order to Command some part of the circumjacent Country, and to serve as a Retreat for our Parties that should be sent abroad to fetch in Cattle and *Farinha*, or Meal.

Pursuant to this Resolution, Colonel *Haus* went thither on Horseback the same day, to put it in Execution the same evening, if possible he could, or at fur-

thest the next morning. But it seems Colonel *Haus* was so neglectful, as to delay the march of these Troops not only that afternoon, but also the whole next following day; and instead of retreating towards the *Receif*, tarried in the same Sugar-Mill without having the least Intelligence of the Enemies approach; so that on the 17th of *August*, being surpris'd by the Troops of *Andrew Vidal*, much more numerous than his, before they could betake themselves to their Arms, they were put to the Rout. The Council being advertis'd, That Colonel *Haus* with his Troops were attack'd by the Enemy in the Sugar-Mill of Mr. *De Wit*, they call'd the City Militia to their Arms, Mr. *Bullestrate* and *de Bas* went to the House *Barvsta*; from whence, as being nearer at hand, they might give the necessary Orders, according as they should receive Advice from *Haus*: And 12 Firelocks were posted in this House for the better Security of the Bridge cross the River. *Dieterick Hamel*, and the Councillors of Justice, took care to look after the *Receif*. Immediately after Word being brought to the Council, that Colonel *Haus* had been overthrown, and was retired to the House of *de Wit* belonging to the Sugar-Mill, it was consulted, whether by any means they might be able to relieve him; and, tho' by reason of the weakness of the Garrison, it was no easie matter to do it; nevertheless, it was resolv'd, with 100 Volunteers of the Inhabitants, and 150 Soldiers, to attempt his Relief. But before this could be put in Execution, a certain *Brasilian*, that had been present at the whole Action, and having, by changing his Cloaths with a *Portuguese*, found means to escape to the *Receif*, brought the unwelcome News, That Colonel *Haus*, with the Forces under his Command, had Surrendered the House belonging to the Sugar-Mill, and themselves, upon promise of Quarters, at Discretion.

It was generally believed, that this Misfortune was chiefly occasioned by Colonel *Haus*'s own neglect, who did not, till it was too late, put the Soldiers into a posture of Defence; which was afterwards confirm'd by the Deposition of *William Jacobson*, late Captain Lieutenant of Colonel *Haus*'s own Company, made before the Great Council, the 6th of *July* 1646.

It was not till the Night before our Defeat that Colonel *Haus* received the first Intelligences from a Prisoner a *Negro*,

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Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

gro, That the Enemy, with a strong Body, were broke up from *Moribeka*. The next Morning one of our Safe-guards brought Word to the Colonel, that the Enemy was passing the River; and soon after, the Colonel's Groom, who had been to Water his Master's Horse in the said River, came in a full Gallop, telling him likewise, that the Rebels were passing the River; so that we soon after heard them Fire upon our advanced Guard; who retired immediately to the main Body. Colonel *Haus* did not call the Soldiers to their Arms, or caused the Alarm to be given, until the Enemy came within sight of us, and charged our Out-guard; when we first began to skirmish with them: But they charging us with their more numerous Forces in the Front; whilst *Kameron* with his Troops endeavoured to cut off our Retreat to the *Recess*, which we were not able to prevent, by reason of the smallness of our number, *Haus* ask'd Captain *Wilschut*, *Blaer* and *Lisfry*, *What was best to be done?* *Wilschut* answered, *You never ask'd our Advice before, do what you think best.* Whereupon *Haus* ordered to Retreat to the House of Mr. *de Wit*: Captain *Blier*, who expected no Quarter, being on the other hand for Fighting our way through to the *Recess*. The House was bravely defended for 4 hours, but at last Powder and Ball beginning to fail, because half a Barrel of Gunpowder, (which was all they had left) blew up by Accident, they Surrendred at Discretion to *Andrew Vidal*, under Condition to have their Lives saved, as well for themselves as the *Brasilians* among them; which Agreement being signed by *Vidal*, and 2 or 3 more of the Chief Commanders of the *Portugueses*, was delivered to Colonel *Haus*. Notwithstanding which, the *Brasilians* were cut to pieces by the Inhabitants with Consent of the *Portuguese* Commanders, as soon as we had quitted our Post in the House. The *Braslian* Women seeing their Husbands Murthered before their Faces, dash'd most of their Childrens Brains against the Walls, for fear they should fall alive into the hands of the *Portugueses*. All the *Dutch*, about 250 strong, among whom were Colonel *Haus*, Captain *Blaer* and *Lisfry*, were made Prisoners of War, and were for the first tour or five days kept in the Sugar-Mill of *Hucq*; when *John Fernandes Vieira*, and many of the Inhabitants solicited *Andrew Vidal*, to deliver the said Prisoners up into their Hands, with an Intention to

kill them; but *Vidal* refused to grant their Request, and caused them forthwith to be sent by Land to the *Babia*: They were indifferently well treated in their Journey thither; but such as either by reason of Sicknes, or any other Accident, were left behind, fell into the Inhabitants hands, who cut them to pieces, and would have done the same with all the rest, had it not been for their Convoy. After their arrival in the *Babia*, an Account being taken of their Names, they had certain Quarters assign'd them, and Thirty one Pence Half-penny per Week for their Pay, and a Measure of Meal for every Ten days.

They had liberty to walk up and down within the City where they pleased, except Colonel *Haus*, Captain *Wilschut*, and *Lisfry*, who were confined to their Lodgings, and durst not, without special leave, talk with any Body. Colonel *Haus* was at last sent to *Portugal*, and *Wilschut* and *Lisfry*, in June 1654. put on Board a Ship, with 230 *Dutch* Prisoners; about 60 of our Men took Service among them there, but they refused the Natives of *Holland*.

The Enemies being greatly encouraged by these Successes, and their Strength increasing daily by the great Concourse of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants, who in the Captainships of *Parayba* and *Goyana*, which hitherto had remained in quiet, and engaged themselves to the Government by a new Oath of Allegiance, now also took up Arms against us; so, that it was thought convenient to recall our Garrisons out of those Parts.

But to return to the Cape of *St. Austin*; after the Surrender of which the Garrison was carried to *St. Antonio*, where they were forced to deliver up their Arms. Among the rest of our Prisoners there was *Isaac Zweers*, afterwards Vice-Admiral of *Holland* and *Westfriseland*, *Abraham Van Millingen*, and *John Broeckhusen*, both still living in *Holland*. Major *Hoogstrate* address'd himself to them, endeavouring to bring them over to the *Portuguese* side, by the Allurements of Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign's Places, telling them, That it would now be in his Power to promote them to much higher Employments; but when he saw them refuse his Offer, he swore, They should repent it. At the same time he prefer'd three *Dutch* Men, to wit, *Winfel Smith*, formerly his Lieutenant; *Alexander Bouckolt*, and *Claes Claesen*, a Native of *Amsterdam*, to Captains Places; the last of these three being an intimate Friend

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Friend of *Zweers* and *Broekhusen*, told them, and confirmed it by many Oaths, That he had taken Service among them for no other end, than to get an opportunity of returning to us. They had also liberty given them to walk abroad, but not without a Guard to keep a watchful Eye over all their Actions.

Not long after the *Portuguese* Providor *Mor* sent for *John Broekhusen*, and after the first Complements were pass'd, told him, That if he would serve the King of *Portugal* in the quality of Commissary-General, he should go along with him to the Camp, where he should receive 100 Gilders per month, and be wellcome to his Table besides; and that if he refused his Offer, and staid behind, He would be in danger of being Murdered by the Inhabitants. He reply'd, That being engaged by his Oath to the Company, he could not break it, tho' with the hazard of his Life. And, (said the Providor) will you chuse rather to serve a Company of Mob than a King? *We are just now upon the point of executing a Design, which is infallible; and then you will begin to see that the King's Cause is the justest, and will be crown'd with Success for ever.* Then he gave him a Cup, with Brandy, of which after Mr. *Broekhusen* had taken a good Draught, he took his leave, and return'd to his Comrades, unto whom he gave an Account of what had pass'd betwixt them.

These had in the mean while been inform'd by some *Portuguese*, that this Design was upon the Isle *Itamarika*; and being certain, that the Council did not foresee this Danger, they were contriving all possible means, to give them notice of it; but could not pitch upon any Person fitly qualified for this Undertaking. At last, *Isaac Zweers*, by vast Promises of Reward, prevailed so far upon a *Dutch* Trumpeter, call'd *Martin Stomp*, that he undertook to carry this piece of News in Person to the Council, and at the same time to Request the Releasing of the *Dutch* Prisoners still remaining at *St. Antonio*. Every thing being Agreed upon betwixt them, the Trumpeter took his leave of Mr. *Zweers*, and set out on his Journey to the *Recess* about Midnight, leaving his Wife and Children behind him. Mr. *Zweers* and Mr. *Broekhusen* appear'd very well satisfied, but nevertheless were in their Hearts not a little concerned for the issue of this Enterprize.

They would often call upon the Trumpeter's Wife to Enjoyn her Silence, and

ordered her, that if any enquired after him, to tell them, That he was run away from her in order to take Service in the Camp, in the *Vagca*.

Some days after they met with one *Peter Rutsaur*, formerly Baker to the Garrison of the Cape of *St. Austen*; *Broekhusen* having a mind to feel his Pulse, and finding him not averse to such a task, he at last with fair Words prevail'd upon him to undertake the same Journey the Trumpeter had done before; that, in case he should miscarry, which they much feared he might, the Council might nevertheless be advertised of the *Eucumies* intended Expedition against *Itamarika*. The Baker having desired a Certificate from them, testifying, That he never had taken Service among the *Portuguese*, prepared himself for his Journey, which he intended to begin with the first dark Night.

The same Night they were forewarn'd of a Design against their Lives, by a certain *Italian* call'd *Jacomo da Penagalho*, so that *Zweers* and *Broekhusen* guessing, not without reason, that some of the *Portuguese* had got Scent of their sending away the Trumpeter and Baker, thought it not advisable to stay longer in this place, but to ask leave from Colonel *Pedro Marmba Falkalo*, to go to the *Algodais*, where they could not want Conviency to go along with the rest of the Prisoners, that were intended to be sent to the *Bahia*, which was readily granted.

In the mean while, the Baker having taken the first opportunity to set out on his Journey, was met by two *Portuguese* in the Sugar-Mill *Trapichea*, who having found the before-mentioned Certificate about him, carried him Prisoner to *St. Antonio de Cabo*, where being put to the Torture, it made such a noise among the Inhabitants, that they all rise up in Arms, protesting, They would not be satisfied, till they had fetcht *Zweers* and *Broekhusen* from the *Algodais*, and cut them to pieces; for which purpose they also obtained seven Soldiers from *Pedro Marmba*, and had certainly put it in Execution, if Captain *Ley* had not opposed it; for as good luck would have it, they happened at that time to be in his Sugar-Mill, and the Baker had stood it out bravely, without discovering the matter. The next morning Captain *Ley* gave them a Visit, telling them what had happened, and says he, to *Broekhusen*, *What is your meaning by this?* but he having no great confidence in *Ley*, denied every thing to the utmost.

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But the second of October the whole Design was likely to have been discovered by the Imprudence of the before-mentioned Trumpeter's Wife, who being got drunk, told some of her Acquaintance, That her Husband was gone to the *Receif*. She was carried a Prisoner to the Cape of St. *Austin*, where she was miserably tortured, but being a resolute Woman, would not confess any thing: It was however Major *Hoogstrate's* Advice, That the *Portugueses* ought not to keep the *Dutch* any longer in *Pernambuko*, but that all such as refused to take Service among them, ought to be sent to the *Bahia*. Accordingly all the *Dutch* Prisoners then about the Cape and St. *Anthony*, were sent to the *Algodais*, where every one was ask'd by Colonel *Pedro Marinha*, Whether they would take Service under the King of *Portugal*; and that such as would not, should be sent forthwith by Land to the *Bahia*, a tedious Journey; besides, that they ran the hazard of being Murdered by the way. Many took Service, for fear, but *Zweers* and *Broekhusen* being ask'd again, Whether they were not willing to serve the King; they answered, They would rather Die, than bear Arms against their own Nation.

Zweers
imprisoned.

The 5th of October, All the Prisoners under a Convoy, both of Soldiers and Boors, were carried from the *Algodais* to *Pojuka*. But scarce were they come thither, when *Zweers* was ordered to be sent back to the Cape of St. *Austin*, where he was put to the Rack, to Extort from him a Confession concerning the Trumpeters Journey to the *Receif*, who, as they supposed had discovered their Design upon *Itamarika*; but not being able to bring him to make the least discovery, they sent him, after an Imprisonment of five Weeks, to the *Bahia*.

The Dutch
Prisoners
come to the
Bahia.

In the mean while Mr. *Broekhusen*, with the rest of the *Dutch* Prisoners, had been forced to Travel day and night, till the 28th of November 1645. when they came to a Cattle call'd *Tapuao* on the Sea-shore of the *Bahia*, about half a League from the City of St. *Salvador*, after a dangerous Journey: They were carried in Ten Boats, to the City, on that side, where it is best fortified, the *Portugueses* being not willing to let them have a sight of the Fortifications on the Land side, Mr. *Broekhusen* was by order from the Governor *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, made a Prisoner in a Citizens House, and the Soldiers disposed into Quarters. The next day, they heard the Drums

beat up for Volunteers, every one being Invited to Serve the King of *Portugal*, of what Nation soever, except the *Dutch*.

The next following year, on the 18th of January 1646. *Zweers* and *Broekhusen* intercepted a Letter writ by *Hoogstrate* to *Hondius*, concerning several Transactions to be communicated to the Governors, of which Captain *Ley* having got scent, gave immediately notice thereof to the Governor the first of February, who threatening them with no less than the Gallows, sent them to a loathsome Prison; with strict Orders that no Body should be permitted to speak with them, nor that Pen, Ink, or Paper, should be allowed them; nay, whilst the Clerk was setting down their Names, a Captain came and told them from the Governor, That they were the Traitors who kept Correspondence with the *Dutch* in the *Receif*; and ordered, that a Centinel should be set at the Prison-Door, to keep the Inhabitants from laying violent hands upon them; for as they were carrying to Prison, they made a horrible Noise, crying, *To the Gallows with these Imposters and Traitors*. They remained five whole days in this Prison, without any Victuals or Drink, till being almost Spent with Hunger and Thirst, they got leave to write to the Governor, representing to him their deplorable Condition; who gave immediate Orders that Victuals should be given them for the future: The *Portuguese*-Keeper being afraid, that if they should give them Plenty of Victuals at first, it might turn to the Danger of their Lives, was so cautious, as to send them no more than each a piece of Bread well dipt in Wine at first, and after some hours, such another, but something bigger, till by degrees their Stomachs were restored to their former digestive Faculty.

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The last day of February, the Governor gave publick Audience (which is done three times every year) for the Releasing of those, that are Prisoners on the King's Account. Upon this Occasion a free Access was likewise granted to our People to the Governor: They pass'd through the Anti-Chamber, lined on both sides with his Guards, into the Room of Audience, adorned with Damask Hangings of divers Colours: Here they found the Governor sitting in an Elbow-Chair, on the right-side of which stood the Royal Throne, raised four Steps higher from the Ground than the Governors Seat, which was surrounded upon

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upon the Floor with very fine Tapestry. Just behind him stood his Secretary, and some Halbardiers; on both sides sat several Councillours and Lawyers, their heads covered, and behind them the Officers of the Army, all uncovered. The Governour, as soon as he saw our Prisoners, gave them a sign to come nearer, which they having done accordingly, Mr. Broekhusen upon his Knees, spoke to him thus: *We suppose your Lordship not to be Ignorant, that now for a whole Month we have been detained in a miserable Prison, without being conscious of any Crime committed against you, unless it were, that we have detained the Letter, your Lordship knows of; If in this we have committed a fault, we beg your Lordships Pardon.*

And (replied the Governour) *supposing you had done such a thing in Holland; Upon which Broekhusen answering, That his Lordship would be pleased to remember, that it was no more than a private Letter, and not directed to his Lordship; The Governour after having paused for a little while, gave immediate Order for their Discharge; From that time they had liberty given them of walking abroad, but were fain to carry themselves very swimmingly, for fear of the Inhabitants, who kept a watchful Eye over them.*

The 7th of May, Isaac Zweers and John Broekhusen were carried on board a Yacht call'd the *St. Francis*, in order to be conveyed to the Isle of *Terceira*; and, as they were the first Dutch Prisoners that were sent to that Island, every body look'd upon it no otherwise than a pretence to throw them over-board, after they were come at Sea. Here they met with worse treatment, than before, being forced to stand to the Pump, during the whole Voyage, and yet were ready to be starved, notwithstanding the Sea-Men catch'd more Fish, than they could consume. At last the 28 being arrived in the Road near *Terceira*, they saw within an Hour after a Dutch Ship coming to Anchor near them; they call'd to the Ship till the Master sent some of his People aboard them, unto whom they made their Complaints, and understanding that the Master was a Native of *Niwerendam*, call'd *Martin Peter Homing*, they began to be a little cheerful, tho' the *Portugueses* would not allow them to go aboard the Dutch Ship. But the 29 being left alone with the Steerman and only one Boy in the Vessel, they found means to go in spite of their Keepers, aboard *Martin Peter Homing*,

who promised to see them delivered. The same Afternoon Moor the Governour of this and the adjacent Islands, residing in *Terceira* sent for *Zweers* and *Broekhusen*, and told them that he had received a Letter from the Governour *Anronio Telles da Sylva*, in which he desired him, to detain them Prisoners in the Castle for a Twelve Month; but that he did not think himself obliged to follow his directions, he having no other dependence but on the King, who being not concerned in this War, his Orders were to send all the Prisoners brought thither to *Portugal*; That they might rely upon it, and for their present Sustainance, till a Ship should be ready to go, ordered them Nine Rix Dollars.

The 13th of June they met with a Master of a French Vessel, who offered to carry them without any reward to *Portugal*, which they willingly accepted of: Here they met with many of their fellow Prisoners, who had imagined no otherwise, but that the *Portugueses* had thrown them over-board. They continued here till the 10th of September, when Mr. *Zweers* and *Broekhusen* embark'd themselves at Lisbon aboard a Man of War, call'd the *Prince Henry*, and at last the 4th of December, after a thousand Dangers and Miseries, which they had sustained since their departure from the Dutch *Brasil*, arrived safely in the *Marse*.

But we must return towards the *Receif*; The unexpected defeat of Colonel *Hauw*, put all the Inhabitants of the *Receif* under a great Consternation; But the Council left no Stone unturn'd to put the place with all the adjacent Forts in a condition to make a vigorous defence, in case it should be attack'd by the Enemy; And that every thing might be performed with the best order that could be, *Peter Bas* was constituted Commander in Chief in the *Receif*. Admiral *Lichtbort* was to take care of the Batteries and Artillery thereunto belonging; *Henry Moucheron* was made Commander in *Maurice's Town*, all their thoughts being now bent upon the Defence of these Places, which before they judged out of Danger.

The Stables and out Houses for the use of the Negro's, as likewise the Walks and Gardens belonging to Count *Maurice's* House, being no small impediment to the Fort *Ernestus*, it being to be feared that under favour of these Houses and Trees the Enemy might unexpectedly surprize the Fort, and *Maurice's Town*.

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54 5. Town, and the Inhabitants earnestly requesting the pulling down of those Stables, out Houses and Trees, and what else might prove dangerous to the Place; Orders were given to Mr. *Valbergen* and Major *Bayert*, Commanding in the Fort *Ernestus*, to see the same put in execution, with as little damage to the House, as possibly could be. The Houses near the Fort *Brunn* were likewise ordered to be pull'd down, and the Horn-work belonging to it, to be level'd at the request of the Citizens. Many Negro's were also employed under the Conduct of Major *Eck*, and the Captain of the City Militia, to break down all the Houses in *Maurice's Town*, which lay too near the new Retrenchments. All Portuguese Prisoners were ordered to be distributed in the Ships, and several Volunteers who had committed many outrages in the Country, and were detained in Custody, were taken into Service for three Months. A Rumour being spread abroad that 18 of the Enemy were come into the *Affagados*, a Company of Citizens, were got in readiness to assist them, but it proved not true.

The same Day the Ship call'd the *Orange-tree* arrived near the *Receif*, being come out of the *Maeße*, the 21st of May, with 35 Soldiers for Recruits. The Watches were so disposed, that in *Maurice's Town* Mr. *de Wit* and *Raefield*, (besides the ordinary Officers) and in the *Receif* Mr. *Aldrich* and *Valbergen* should go the rounds.

Balthazar Dortmund, Governour of *Itamarika* sent Advice to the Council the 17th of Aug. that *Kavalkant* was with some Troops come to *Iguaiaki*, and had summon'd the *Brasilians* to join with him in four Days, under Forfeiture of their Lives.

The 19th, The Citizens presented a Petition, shewing the necessity of having the House of Count *Maurice* pull'd down, as hindring the Prospect from the Fort *Ernestus*, and if once possess'd by the Enemy, they might from thence annoy both the Fort and the *Receif* itself with their Cannon. But the Council having advised with Mr. *Walbeck*, Admiral *Lichtbart*, *Aldrich*, *de Wit*, *Raefield*, *Moncheron* and *Valbergen*, thought fit not to agree to it for that time, being in hopes that it might be made useful for their Defence. Mr. *de Wit* and *Hamel* were commanded, to go from hence to each House in *Maurice's Town*, and to take an exact account of what Negro's were

the Citizens Petition for pulling down of Maurice's House.

able to bear Arms, and to furnish them, with Musquets and Pikes; The same charge was given to Admiral *Lichtbart*, and Captain *Bartholomew Van Collen*, for the *Receif*. All the Sick that were in a state of reconvalescency, in the Castle were likewise ordered to be Armed for its Defence.

At the same time an Answer was sent to Mr. *Dortmund*, with Orders to draw as many *Brasilians* as possibly he could into the Isle of *Itamarika*, and to provide himself with as much Cattle and Meal (*Farinha*) as he was able to get out of the adjacent Places; But that, if he found himself not in a condition to maintain the whole Island, or the City of *Schop*, he should retire into the Fort *Orange*, where he might be supplied by Sea, and consequently make a Vigorous Defence. Mr. *Carpenter* was likewise forewarned to be upon his guard, and to retire in time into the Isle of *Itamarika*, with his Soldiers and *Brasilians*, if he found the Inhabitants ready to take up Arms against him.

The 19th at Night, a Party went abroad to get Intelligence, but met with no Enemy. Some Negro's were also sent towards the Enemies Quarters, to know their Strength. The same Evening the Council received a Letter by Lieutenant *Francis Meades* from *Andrew Vidal*, in which he testified his readiness still to maintain the Peace, complaining at the same time of Outrages committed by our Soldiers, as may be seen out of the following Letter.

A Letter from Vidal to the Council.

WE have sent you Advice before by Lieutenant *Manuel Antonio*, of our arrival in this Captainship, by Orders from the Governor *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, and at your own Request; in order to restore Tranquillity here by the most effectual means we could Devise. We also did represent to your Lordships, the many Innovations, and unaccountable Proceedings, which had reacht our Ears, by the lamentable cries of several Noble ravished Virgins, and the doleful complaints of the Inhabitants of *Rio Grande*, where 40 Persons of Note, together with a Priest, and the other Day two more in the *Salinas*, were murdered in cool Blood. I can't scarce mention without horror, (and the respect every one ought to have to Sacred places, forbids me to particularize) the outrages committed against the Images of Saints, and especially that of the Mother of God, and Sacrileges committed by your Soldiers.

Soldiers : All which Considerations, together with that we found you in a Warlike Condition, with your Troops in the Field, Natural right of self Defence established by the constant custom of War, did teach us, not to leave an armed Power behind our backs, which upon occasion might have proved fatal to us, before we could come to a Resolution, in conjunction with your Lordships, what measures were best to be taken, for the re-establishment of that tranquility, which was the only aim of our coming into these Parts ; according to which we have regulated our ~~Moves~~ in our march towards the Receif, till we come to the Town of St. Antonio de Cabo ; where, having caused John Fernandes Vieira to be taken into Custody, under a Guard of twelve Soldiers, we were surpris'd at the vast numbers of Inhabitants, Children, Women, and Religious Men, who to shelter themselves from the Outrages and Robberies committed against them, by Captain Bluer in the Vargea, came to seek for shelter among us. They gave us an Account, how that the said Captain not satisfied, with having plundered their Houses, had carried away three of the Noblest Ladies of the Country after they had been grievously disgraced before ; The Inhabitants being exasperated by these Violences, did (against our will) leave our Camp so suddenly, that whatever haste we made to march after them, we could not overtake them, before they were engaged with some of your Troops, in the Sugar-Mill of Isabel Gonsalves, which they intended to have set on fire, had it not been for our Men, who were forced to interpose betwixt them and your Soldiers, to their no small danger and our loss, as being exposed to the Volleys of your small Shot, which consisted for the most part of Bullets, cut in pieces, and made four square. As the Hostilities committed daily against our Troops, afford fresh occasions of Revolt among the Inhabitants ; so we can't but lay before your Lordships the late Proclamation, and Ratification of Peace betwixt us, professing now and for ever in the Name of God, John IV. our King, as also in the Name of the States General and all our Allies, that your Lordships will not let things come to a Rupture, and not give us new cause of acting offensively, or to declare War against you. We can't longer dissemble our Opinion, that the reiterated complaints of the Inhabitants, may at least in some measure serve for an excuse, if not a justification of the proceedings of John Fernandes Vieira, concerning whom we are sufficiently satisfied, that his first intentions were only to afford protection to some Innocent Persons, threatened with destruction ; which tho' it was in his Power to

do, yet did he retire from place to place with his Forces, in hopes of avoiding any Engagement, till forced thereunto by necessity, he was constrained to repel Force by Force. We beg of your Lordships to take this Letter into serious consideration, being of so much consequence, to our both sides safeties ; for it seems as if Heaven it self were offended at our proceedings.

God preserve your Lordships.

From de Ingenio of St.
John Baptist de Venies,
August 19. 1645.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

An Answer from the Council was sent the next following Day by the same Lieutenant.

The Councils Answer.

OUT of our Answer to your Letter, Dated at Serinhaim, the 8th of August, you may sufficiently see, that the Protestations made both by the Governour Antonio Telles da Sylva, and by your self, concerning the maintaining of the Peace betwixt his Majesty of Portugal and the States General of the United Provinces, were never look'd upon by us, as sincere, or to be relied upon, since your actions did in no wise agree with your words. The treacherous Proposals made to one of our Deputies, to betray one of our best strong-holds into your Hands ; The landing of so formidable a Force in our Territories, without any knowledge, under pretence of a misinterpreted Sense of our Letter to his Excellency ; The coming with a strong Fleet into our Road : The taking of the Fort of Serinhaim ; the slaughter of so many Brasilians, our Subjects, in cool Blood ; the Summons sent to the Cape of St. Austin, for a Surrender, nay the attacking and surprising of our Troops, who were forced to keep in the Field, for the bridling of our Rebellious Inhabitants ; all these, we say, can't by any unbiass'd Persons be looked upon otherwise, than manifest Infractions of the said Treaty, and open Hostilities. We on our side, can without the least contradiction to truth positively declare, that our Armament was not in the least intended against his Majesty of Portugal, but against the Rebels and their Adherents ; which we were compelled to, when we saw many armed Troops to penetrate into our Territories cross the River St. Francisco. The surprising of some of our Barks in the Salgados ; the taking of the House Marceape, and making our Safeguards Prisoners there, as well as at

645. Camba, and several other Places; The Gallows that were erected on purpose to terrify our Inhabitants into a compliance with the revolted Party; the killing of three of the said Inhabitants of Pojuka in cool Blood, and the surprising of several of our Soldiers and Brasilians sent to St. Lawrence to fetch Farinha; the plundering of the Houses and Shops of several Trades-Men in the Country, with many such like violences committed by the revolted Party, and what is the worst, before ever we appear'd in Arms, but endeavour'd by Proclamations of Pardon and of maintaining them in their Possessions, to divert the danger, all these actions we fry, will not admit of any other Interpretation, but of open Hostilities.

How can it be supposed, that in the Station we are, we could after all those provocations and slights of our kind offers, desist any longer from drawing the Sword. Whatever in the mean time has been transacted contrary to the custom of War, has been done without our knowledge and intention, being occasioned by the treacherous dealings of the Rebels, and consequently to be look'd upon as deserved punishments rather, than the consequences of a just War; Besides, that neither his Excellency Antonio Telles da Sylva, neither you nor any body else has any legal Power to call us to an Account concerning the Government or punishment of the Subjects of the States General, no more, than the King of Portugal is answerable to us, for what is transacted upon that account in his Kingdom or other Dominions.

Notwithstanding which we would have you not in the least lay the before-mentioned Crimes and Violences at our Door; we are so far from having encouraged or commanded the Tapoyars, to Kill the Portuguese Inhabitants in Cunhao, that for these several Tears last past, we have endeavour'd to prevent it; for having, by the ill treatment they had received from the Portugueses been extremely exasperated against them, they were for killing most of the Inhabitants of that Captainship, and had actually put it in execution, had we not interposed our Authority, and ordered our Garrisons to take them into their particular protection. What you say of ravishing of Women, is not only beyond our knowledge, but even beyond whatever we heard of before, having taken all imaginable care to prevent such Violences by our Proclamation, published for that purpose. It is known to all the World that we afforded our peculiar protection to the Women of de Ingenio, of St. Arnout d'Orlanda, and what concerns the taking of the Ladies by Captain John Blaer,

645. was, as we are informed, done with no other intention, than to exchange them for his Wife, or at least to keep them as Hostages for her, he having received Intelligence, that she was very ill treated by you at Serinhaim. The Rebels themselves made the first step towards those Robberies and Rapines that have been committed by our Soldiers since; which however, cannot come into balance with those Cheats, Frauds and Rapines, wherewith those Rebels have defrauded and robbed their Creditors of their Debts and Goods; notwithstanding which we have by granting safeguards and otherwise done all what in us lay, to prevent the same.

The late Murder upon the Person of the Salinhas was committed the 17th of August, without our Knowledge, to our great dissatisfaction, by the flying Brasilians, who being engaged at the killing of their Men, Women and Children, at Serinhaim, without any distinction of Age or Sex, took this opportunity of Revenging themselves. You may easily guess that the Papers dispersed by Anthony Kavalkanti at Iguaracu, have also contributed not a little to this Enterprize.

Of the Bullets mentioned by you to have been used in the last Encounter, we have more reason to complain than you, it being our constant Order, not to recede from what is the custom of War in these Cases.

The Comtesse shewn in the saving and recovering our Soldiers, we are ready to Acknowledge, and to return upon the like Occasion, desiring you would send us back your Resolution upon this Point, by the same Drummer.

It being evident from what has been acknowledged, That all the past Misfortunes ought to be imputed to the Rebels, unto whom we endeavour'd by all requisite means to restore Tranquillity and Peace; but they persisting in their rebellious Designs, deserve rather condign Punishment, than the least Excuse at your Hands. For which reason it is, That we protest before God, and the whole World, against the Proceedings of his Excellency Antonio Telles da Sylva, and what else has been committed by your self contrary to the Treaty concluded betwixt his Majesty of Portugal and the States General of the United Provinces; not questioning, but that upon the receipt of these Presents, you will retire with your Forces to the Bahia, and thereby put an end to the further Violation of the said Treaty. Thus, expecting your Answer, we rest,

Sir,

Receif, Aug. 20
1645.

Tours, &c.

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645. The same Night word being brought that some of the Enemies Troops were advanced to *Olinda*, Notice was given to all the circumjacent Forts, to prepare for a vigorous Defence, and two Batteries ordered to be raised on the backside of the dwelling Place of the Negroes, from whence they might Command the Avenues to the *Recess* along the River-side. Several Volunteers lately come from the flat Country, were incorporated into one Company, under the Command of Secretary *Hamel*, as Captain, *Jeronymo Holman* their Lieutenant : two advanced Guards were placed ;

one betwixt the Fort *Brim* and the Triangular Fort ; the second, betwixt the last and Count *Maurice's* Plantation : Part of the Bridge of *Boavista* was broken down, to hinder the Enemies passage that way ; and considering the Importance of the Triangular Fort, a Detachment of 26 Soldiers out of several Companies was ordered to reinforce the Garrison there. The same Care was taken for the Security of *Maurice's* Town, *Antonio, Vaz,* the Fort *Ernestus*, the Quinquangular Fort, and all the rest.

Maurice's
and
Forts.

Major *Bayert* was ordered to have the remaining Walls of Count *Maurice's* Stables pull'd down, because they hindred the prospect from the Fort *Ernestus* ; and *Henry Fermulen*, was commanded to employ 30 Negroes in clearing the Plantation of Count *Maurice* and the Ditches from all Rubbish ; and the before-mentioned *Bayert*, ordered to remove the Pallisadoes from the said Gardens, and to put them round his Fort. The Engineer *Pistoor* had Orders given him to set a row of Pallisadoes on that side of the Fort of *Ernestus*, where it front the before-mentioned Gardens, and to extend them five Rods into the River. And, this Fort being not sufficiently stored with heavy Cannon, Commissary *Sticht* was to carry thither two great pieces, then planted at the Bridge-foot, and instead of them to place there two Culverins ; likewise the Entrance of the Channel of *Maurice's* Town was stop't by a double row of Pallisadoes. The Members of the Council, in Conjunction with those of the Court of Justice, took another view of the Suburbs of *Maurice's* Town, to consult whether it were best to maintain, or to desert that Post, but the Resolution thereof defer'd till the next day. Two great Cannon were planted in the Quinquangular Fort, to Command the River-side ; and, in consideration, that the Hornworks belong-

ing to that Fort, required a considerable number of Men for their Defence, the Governor of the Fort was ordered to have the same level'd by his *Brasilians* and Soldiers, and 100 Negroes ; And the Woods betwixt the said Fort and the *Affagados*, were ordered to be cut down by the *Brasilians* belonging to the Fort, when it was also resolv'd to draw the Fortifications of *Maurice's* Town into a narrower compass, and to repair the Walls round the *Recess* ; so that by the indefatigable Care of the Council, all the Fortifications both of the *Recess*, and the other adjacent Places, were put into such a good posture of Defence, that the Enemy, tho' very strong, durst not attempt any thing thereabouts for that time. Mr. *Verminck* had drawn near 1400 Persons into *Unanaiska*, 700 of which being Women and Children, he desired some Supplies of Provisions, but for the rest, had put the Island in a good posture.

Mr. *Large* by his Letter, dated in *Paraba* the 22d of *August*, sent Advice to the Council, That after Notice given him of the Defeat of Colonel *Haus*, he had judg'd it most convenient to remove the Garrison and Inhabitants of *Federicia* into the Forts ; that however the *Portugueses* were pretty quiet as yet, notwithstanding his whole force consisted not in above 400 Soldiers, 100 Inhabitants, and 50 *Brasilians*, among whom were a good number of sick and maimed Men, and that the *Tapeyas* had slain about 12 or 14 labouring Countrymen. Major *Hooftwaer*, *Ley*, and *Heck*, had not long before given notice to the Council, That they had burnt all the Houses, but especially the Magazine and Church without the Fort, for its better Defence, and that the Enemy had posted themselves on the Hill of the Cape, and on the Southern Island.

Letters
the Council
sent out to
Paraba.

On the 25th of *August*, upon another review of the Fortifications of *Maurice's* Town, the same were ordered to be brought forthwith to Perfection.

The same day the Council received Letters from Mr. *Large*, by the way of *Iramarika*, dated the 18th and 19th of *August*, in *Paraba*, That *William Barents* had sent him Advice from *Kanbau*, the 14th of *August*, That he and *Rudolph Bawn* had a Troop of *Tapeyas* ready for our Service, every thing being very quiet thereabouts ; but that the said *Tapeyas* had carried away all the Cattle belonging to *Peter Farcharson*, which had occasioned no small scarcity of fresh Flesh thereabouts.

Consultations about removing several Garrisons to the Recceif.

It was also judged absolutely necessary by the Council, to take into their serious Consideration the present Condition of the Forts in *Rio St. Francisco* and *Seregippo del Rey*, which being provided but with slender Garrisons, and all Communication cut off betwixt them and the Recceif, and in great danger of being lost; it was judged absolutely necessary, after the Defeat of Colonel *Haus*, to endeavour the preservation of them, and consequently of the whole *Dutch Brasil*, by removing them from thence to the Recceif.

To accomplish this with all imaginable security, Mr. *Walbeck* was deputed by the Great Council to the Council of War, to know their Opinion, by what means these Garrisons, as well as that of *Porto Calvo*, might be with safety brought to the Recceif; or whether, considering that they would be forced to leave their Cannon behind them, they should be ordered to defend themselves to the last Extremity, in hopes of receiving speedy Succours from *Holland* for their Relief.

The Council of War, having well weighed the whole Matter, unanimously agreed upon the following Resolution.

The Resolution of the Council of War.

THAT it was their Opinion, considering the Capital City was in danger for want of a sufficient Garrison, the Garrisons of the before-mentioned Forts, which in all probability could not make any long Resistance, ought to be taken from thence with as much Ammunition and Cannon, as could be done, and carried to the Recceif. But in regard that the Fort of *Porto Calvo* lay pretty deep into the Country, where the River was very narrow and shallow, the Garrisons of *Rio St. Francisco*, and *Seregippo del Rey*, were to pass that way in order to join them, and that they should bury or break their Cannon.

By Order from the Council of War,
August 24. 1645.

Signed,
Kornelis Beyer,
Albertus Oosterman.
L. Van Harkema.
John Denning.
Samuel Lambertsz.
Henry Advocaat.
Frederick Psfoor.
Captain Haelmeijster.
Rene de Monchy.

Accordingly, two Barks, with the Ship *Zelandia*, were ordered for the Execution of this Enterprize, to *Rio St. Francisco*.

The last day of *August*, one of the Captains of these two Barks returned, and gave an Account, That he being advanced into the River of *Rio St. Francisco*, within a League of the said Fort, he received to warm a Salute of small shot from a *Portuguese* Vessel full of Firelocks, that he was forced to return, without being able to penetrate any further up the River; that the other Bark being discouraged thereat, durst not venture to go to *Seregippo*, but that they thought fit to retreat back with the Ship *Zelandia*; He further added, That it would be very difficult to put this Design in Execution, unless they were provided with some Galliot and Yachts well armed.

Pursuant to this Advice, the Council ordered the Yacht called the *Sprew*, with three other Barks, thither, to join with the Ship *Zelandia*, for the more effectual Execution of this Design.

They set Sail from the Recceif the 2d of September, Captain *William Lambertsz* Commodore. He return'd with the said Yacht, and the *Zelandia*, the first of *October*, to the Recceif, where he gave the following Account of his Expedition to the Council.

We came the 22d of September within a half League of the Fort of *St. Maurice*, where we met with a Bark, which at the discharge of one of our Cannon, sail'd away before us up the River. As we were in pursuit of her, we espied another small Vessel, in company of the Bark belonging to *John Hoek*, both full of Soldiers: We saw the first of these two run ashore, and the Soldiers landing, who skirmished with an opposite Party for the Defence of the Vessel: Our Yacht under favour of our Cannon, boarded the said Vessel, with an Intention to set it on Fire; but finding it loaden with the Baggage of our Soldiers, fell to plundering first; and soon after espied a Boat with a White Flag, making all the Sail they could towards them: Major *Pappenheim*, late Commander of the Fort of *Rio St. Francisco*, and Mr. *Hoek*, were in this Boat, being sent by the Enemy to let us know, That if we set Fire to the Vessel, he would cut all the Prisoners with their Wives and Children to pieces, so that we desisted from it. They gave us an Account, That the said Fort had been forced to surrender three days before, for want of Wood and Provisions, after a Siege of 26 days. That the *Portugueses* having taken a Serjeant with

Some Ships sent to Rio St. Francisco under William Lambertsz.

He gives an Account of his Expedition.

645. with four Soldiers of the Garrison of *Seregipto* had kill'd the Soldiers, and sent the Serjeant back with a Convoy of 200 Men, to fetch the Garrison of *Seregipto*, which had not above four days Provision left, from thence. That about eight days before the Surrender of the Fort, Colonel *Haus*, Captain *Lisby*, and Captain *Wilschut* pass'd by that way in their Journey to the *Bahia*, whither they, pursuant to their Capitulation, were to be carried with the rest of the Prisoners, and from thence to *Portugal*, and so further to *Holland*, without any other loss except their Baggage, being for the rest differently well treated. They further added, That the *Portugueses* not long ago detach'd 200 Men to the Island of *Melchior Alvares*, in hopes to cut off the Retreat of our Men, and to prevent their Excursions, but came too late, our People being retired before. That the Enemy had likewise made themselves Masters of the Fort *dos Affagados*, where Mr. *Bullestrate* being made a Prisoner, was now on his way to the *Bahia*. Captain *Lambart*, hearing this Account, thought it his best way to Retreat towards the Mouth of the River, where having spent two days in refitting his Ships, he return'd the first of *October* to the *Receif*.

Garrison of *Seregipto* and *Porto Culvo*; For the Council having sent a Bark with Provisions to their Relief, the same, contrary to her Orders, came to Anchor before *Rio St. Francisco*, where being seized by the Enemy, the Garrison of *Seregipto* being thereby disappointed in their Hopes, were forced to surrender, after they had spent all their Provisions. After this Misfortune, there was not the least probability left of saving the Garrison of *Porto Culvo*, which lying deep into the Country, the River was not Navigable thereabouts by reason of its narrowness, and that the Enemy was Master of the Field on both sides, so that they were likewise obliged to Surrender for want of Necessaries. The Garrisons of these three Forts, were contrary to their Capitulation, (by Virtue of which they were to be conducted to the *Receif*) carried Prisoners to the *Bahia*; but those that could not follow the rest, by reason of Sickness, or otherwise, were cut to pieces by the *Portugueses*.

Many of the Soldiers belonging to these as well as other Garrisons, and of the Troops under Colonel *Haus*, dreading the danger of the Land-Journey to the *Bahia*, did take Service among the

Portugueses; But Captain *Nicholas Nicholson* being sent with 64 of these *Dutch* to prepare an Ambush, for some of our Forces, took this opportunity to join with us, which exasperated the Enemy to that Degree, that they disarmed all the *Dutch* that had taken Service there, and Murthered them in cool Blood; the like they did with the *Dutch* Inhabitants that had staid behind in the Country.

In the mean while, the Captainship of *Paraiba*, through the good Conduct of their Governor *Paul de Linge*, remained in Obedience, at least in outward Appearance, till the 25th of *August* 1645, when the Inhabitants, having received Intelligence of the Defeat of Colonel *Haus*, and the Surrender of the Cape of *St. Austen*, and being at the same time encouraged by the Succours of five Companies, and good Store of Arms, sent to them by *Vidal from Pernambuco*, they began also to take up Arms, with an Intention to cut off the Communication betwixt the Garrison in the Monastery of *St. Francisco*, as the Inhabitants of *Friedericia*, (a place of no strength) and the Forts near the Sea shore; But Mr. *Linge* shrewdly suspecting their Design, did with Consent of the rest of the Officers there, order all the Citizens with their Effects, and the before-mentioned Garrison to withdraw within these Forts, to prevent their being surpris'd by the *Portugueses*, and to serve as an additional Strength for the Defence of the Forts; for which reason also the *Brasilians* Inhabiting with their Families in those Parts, were commanded to entrench themselves under the Cannon, which served for Outworks to them. The Enemy finding themselves by the Conjunction of these Forces, disappointed in their design of making themselves Masters of *Paraiba* by force, had recourse to their wonted Artifice, not questioning, but they might have the same Success in purchasing the Forts of *Paraiba*, as they had had at the Cape of *St. Austen*. To encompass which, they sent in *September* 1645, one *Ferdinand Rodrigo de Bulbaens*, Clerk of the Court of Justice of *Paraiba*, with a Letter directed to the Commander in Chief, *Paul Vander Linge*, offering him the Sum of 19000 *Gilders*, if he would Surrender the said Fort into their Hands. But this Messenger had not the desired effect; the Message being by Order from Mr. *de Linge*, taken into Custody, and Hanged the next day; of which he sent notice to the Council the 16th of *September*. In the mean while, (according to

E c Mr.

Mr. de Linge's Letter from the 6th of September) five Companies more of the Enemies Troops, making in all about 300 Men, were arrived in *Paraiba*, which being join'd by the ablest of the Inhabitants, had posted themselves near *Tibery*, where they had published by Proclamation, for every one to repair to his Sugar-Mill, under pain of forfeiting the same.

The Passage betwixt the *Affagados* and the *Quinquangular Fort*, where the Cattle belonging to the *Receif* were kept at Pasture, being much infested by the Enemies Parties, one of which had taken good part of it, a small Wooden Fort was ordered to be erected in the most convenient Post, for the security of the Meadows thereabouts.

Sometime before, viz. the 26th of July Orders were sent from the Council to *Servaes Carpenter*, to disarm the Inhabitants of *Goyana*, who thereupon Petitioned the said Council, to be excused from surrendering their Arms, considering that 37 *Portugueses* of *Kunhao*, who had been disarmed, were murdered by the *Tapoyers*, and that they were daily in fear of the same treatment, till they were further removed from their borders. The Council answered, That the Murder committed upon these *Portugueses* had been done without their Knowledge and contrary to their Orders; that in case they persisted in their Allegiance, they had nothing to fear from the *Tapoyers*, whilst they were under their protection; neither ought they to imagine that the disarming of them, was done with an intention to leave them a Prey to the *Tapoyers*, but for our own security, and to furnish them with a plausible excuse not to join with the Rebels, whenever they should be prompted thereunto by them. At the same time they repeated their Orders to Mr. *Carpenter*, not to desist from disarming those of *Goyana*, notwithstanding their Petition to the contrary; but that he should be very careful, that neither the Soldiers, nor *Brazilians* of *Marns* might be burthensome to them. The Council also deputed Mr. *Astelle*, and Captain *Will. Lambartz*, with Letters to *John Dumy*, and *Karakara*, the first King, and the second Commander in chief of a Troop of the *Tapoyers*, with presents to all the rest of their Commanders, in order to engage them to join with us, they having complained of their not having been presented, like as *John Dumy* was before; Accordingly the said Mr. *Astelle* and Captain *Will. Lambartz* having

taken their leave the 28th of August of the Council, took Shipping for *Paraiba*, in order to go from thence to *Kunhao* to treat with the *Tapoyers*.

The Members of the Court of Justice and the Council of War, in conjunction with the Magistrates having represented to the Great Council, the absolute necessity of having the Houses in *Marnes*'s Town pull'd down, and laid level with the ground; an Order of the said Council was publish'd the 29th of August by beat of Drum, enjoining the Inhabitants to pull down such Houses, within the space of two Days, and in case of failure, every body to be at liberty to break down the same for his use; The House of Mr. *Reicheren* only excepted, which was to be converted into a Redoubt for the Defence of the adjacent Plain. The same Day *John Denninger* lately Lieutenant to Colonel *Hau*, succeeded Captain *Bliss*, now a Prisoner with the Enemy, in his Command; and many Negro's offer'd to serve the Company under a Captain of their own choosing.

The 30th of August, Captain *William Lambartz*, with part of his Forces return'd to the *Receif* from *Paraiba*, where he gave the Council an Account of his Negotiation: That not without a great deal of trouble they at last obtained 200 ^{The Success of} *Tapoyers* from their King *John Dumy*, ^{offer'd of} who pretended that he dreaded an Incurision from one of his Neighbours, who in the absence of his Troops might perhaps Kill him with all his Family, and demanded at the same time, that all the *Portugueses* might be kill'd in *Paraiba*. That he marching with these *Tapoyers* into the said Captainship of *Paraiba*, they actually slew all the *Portugueses* they met with in their way, to the number of 100 Persons, and plunder'd their Houses; and as soon as they found him prepared to appease them, one half of them, with what Negro's and other Booty they had got, returned home; but continuing his March with the rest thro' *Goyana* towards the *Receif*, the *Tapoyers* did no sooner understand, that they were likely to meet with some opposition by the way, but they followed the footsteps of the rest homewards; so that he was forced to retire with all speed to the Fort of *St. Margaret* in *Paraiba*, from whence he returned by Sea to the *Receif*. Hereupon the Council dispatch'd some Letters the 16th of September for *Rio Grande*, directed to King *John Dumy*, *Jacob Kabbu* and *Rudolf Baro*, exhorting them to join their

Deputies
sent the
Tapoyers.

The *Tapoyers* do
fear.

543. their Arms with ours, for our mutual Defence, and to chase the *Portugueses* that were on their March thither, from thence.

The 13th of *Septemb.* 1685. *Jeronymo Serrao da Parva*, late Admiral of the *Portuguese* Fleet, (made Prisoners in the late Sea Engagement in the Bay of *Tamandare*) appear'd before the Council, where being examined concerning the Designs of the Governour of the *Bahia* in sending a Fleet, and landing his Forces in the Bay of *Tamandare*, as likewise concerning the Fleet under the Command of *Salvador Correa de Sa*, he refused to give any other Answer, or to make the least Confession, except that he was sent with the said Fleet and Forces to offer his Assistance to appease the Revolt arisen among us. He desired also leave to send a Letter by a Drummer to the Colonels, *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal*, about the exchanging of his Person, and some other *Portuguese* Prisoners, which was granted.

Some of the Citizens having conceived a jealousy, as if their pressing circumstances and the need they stood in of present Relief, had not been sufficiently represented to the Council of XIX in *Holland*, it was thought fit by the Council to Communicate the Contents of the two last Letters to them for their Satisfaction.

The 19th of *September*, about Noon, our whole Fleet retired from the Bay of *Tamandare* into the Road of the *Rio*, with two Men of War, and two small Vessels taken from the Enemy; where I was arrived long before, having left them, immediately after the Engagement. The same Night *Severus Carpenter* who died the Day before, was Interred. The same Day the Yacht call'd the *Doc*, and one of the small Vessels taken from the Enemy, and call'd by us the *Reef*, were sent out a Cruising to the Cape of *St. Augustin*, to prevent the Enemies receiving any Supplies by Sea thereabouts.

The Council being sensible that the Enemy made it his chiefest endeavour, to drive away their Cattle, and to prevent them, by strong Parties from fetching of Wood and Fishing, a Company of Fusiliers was order'd to be erected, out of other Companies, who were to be commanded by Captain *Kenbagh*, and to serve as a constant Guard against the Enemy's flying Parties. The 21st of *September*, the following Proclamation

of Pardon, for such as had taken Service with the Enemy, was published.

A Pardon Publish'd.

THE Great Council of the Dutch *Brasil* being made sensible, that many of their Subjects being fallen into the Enemies hands, have either for fear of being killed or transported, and out of other Considerations, taken Service among the Enemies Troops, and considering that most of them have been inveigled by their Commanders, and perhaps are in a fair way of repeating of their Error; have thought fit, by these Presents to grant our Pardon to all such as shall return to our Service, for all past Offences; with our Promise, that they shall receive the advantage of the same Station they were possess'd of among us before; and such as are willing to return to their Native Country, shall have Pass-Portes granted them for that purpose; from the benefit of which Pardon, are however excepted *Dutch Hoogstrate*, and the other Traitors, who being Commanders of Forts, have treacherously delivered up the same to the Enemy.

By this time the Enemy had block'd up all the Avenues by Land, leading to the *Recess*, in hopes to reduce us by Famine; having posted both all the *Portuguese* Forces sent to their aid from the *Bahia*, and the *Rebellious* Troops, from the City of *Olinda* to the *Rio*, in the form of a Half-Moon; and made about half a League from the Fort of *Alfagados* an Entrenchment provided with Six pieces of heavy Cannon; brought hither from *Porto Calvo*; but durst not attack us by force, knowing we were prepared for their Reception.

Mr. *Dortmund* having by his Letters represented to the Council, the necessity there was of sending one of their Members to provide for the security of *Itamarika*, and to keep the *Brasilians* (consisting of 1500 Men, Women and Children) by his Authority in their Duty, against the Solicitations of *Kamanon*, who left no Stone unturn'd to bring them over to his side; they desired Mr. *Bullestrate* to take upon him this Province; who accordingly the 23d of *September*, set Sail thither in the Ship the *Devenor*, and returning the 29th of *September*, to the *Rio*, gave the following Account to the Council.

He arrived about Noon at the Entrance of the River *Maria Farnha*, where being

Mr. Bullestrate
went to Itamarika.

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

1645.
An Account of his Proceedings.

being informed by John Vor, Master of a Bark, That the Enemy had twice attackt the City of *Shorpe*, and continued before it still, he went into a Challop, with five or six Seamen to the Fort *Orange*, but was no sooner espied by the Garrison, but they desired him not to come nearer, they being still smartly engaged with the Enemy upon the Hill, and doubtful of Success: Whereupon he sent two Seamen, with a Letter to Mr. *Portman*, who being encouraged by the Reward of two Reals, brought an Answer from him the same Night, intimating that the Enemy had been forced to retire.

The 25th of *August*, by break of day, he went in a Challop to the City of *Shorpe*, and finding that the Enemy, what with the brave resistance made by the Garrison, what with fear of this Ship, had abandon'd not only the City, but also the whole Island, he ordered the Fortifications to be forthwith repaired, and to be put into a good posture of Defence.

The Portuguese attack Iramarika.

For the Enemy perceiving that it was in vain to attack us upon the *Reef*, sent great part of their Forces, Embark'd in 8 Boats and a Bark, against *Iramarika*, the 20th of *September*; where having surprized, and vigorously attackt our Forces posted on the Hill near the City, (our Deferters making the first attack) that they the third time made themselves Masters of it, forcing our Troops to Retreat into their Entrenchment of the Church.

About three days after, viz. the 23th, Mr. *Bullestrate*, as we told you, arrived in the Ship *Deuener*, to give the necessary Orders for the Defence of the Place, and to keep the *Brasilians* in awe, he brought along with him some Volunteers chosen from among the Citizens, the Garrison of the *Reef* being so weak as not to be rendred useless by any further Detachments, besides that there were 400 *Brasilians* capable of bearing Arms at *Iramarika*. He was charged by the Great Council, and the Members of the Council of War, to watch above all things for the Defence of the Fort *Orange*, which was to be maintain'd to the last, if they were not able to keep the whole Island on the Hill.

Mr. *Bullestrate*, after his arrival there, found it absolutely necessary to preserve likewise the City of *Shorpe*, from whence the said Fort must be supplied with Wood, its situation being such, as that so long as we were Masters at Sea, we could maintain a Correspondence betwixt the

said Fort and City; For which purpose also, the Yacht call'd the *Golden Doe*, had her Station appointed betwixt the Fort *Orange* and the Hill, to maintain the passage of the River between both. But to return to the Siege of the City: The Enemy made three vigorous Attacks upon the Entrenchment on the Hill, but was repulsed with the loss of 150 kill'd; tho' a Barber, who after the fight, deserted them, made their loss amount to 450. *Kamaron* and *Hoogstrate* were wounded, and we had only 15 kill'd and 16 wounded. The *Brasilians* lately transported thither, from the Villages of *Poyana*, *Iguaruch*, and other Places, behaved themselves to a Miracle upon this occasion, tho' it must be allowed, that the arrival of Mr. *Bullestrate* did not a little cool their Courage, which made them abandon the Island in the night betwixt Sunday and Monday.

Abandon it again.

The 2d of *October*, the Great Council entred upon a second Debate concerning the Preservation of *Iramarika*, they having received certain Intelligence, that the Enemy had undertaken the last Expedition against that Island, upon hopes of being seconded therein by certain Persons of our Party, with whom they kept a secret Correspondency; and tho' they were in the dark upon whom in particular to fix the intended Treachery, yet did they think it conducing to the safety of that so important Place, to remove Captain *Slyster* with his Company from thence, and in their stead to send thither the Company commanded by Captain *William Lambart*, and to entrust him with the Supream Command of all their Forces there, which was put in Execution accordingly the next day. The Entrenchment round the Church, and the Fort *Orange*, were also ordered to be strengthened with Pallisadoes; and the first, (pursuant to the Advice of *Garstman* and *Dortmund*, I ordered to be surrounded with a Counterfarp, within the compass of which a Company of *Brasilians* were lodged, with their Wives and Children, and the rest to be employed in the Defence of the Fort *Orange*; so the Redoubt which commanded the Place, from which the Foot was supplied with Water, was ordered to be repaired against a sudden Attack, without which the Fort could not long subsist, or hold out against an Enemy.

Letters were about the same time delivered to the Council, dated the 5th of *October*, by Major *Arifin de Nagethae*, sent by *Andrew Vidal*, to Treat about the Exchange.

Exchange of Prisoners; he told them, that since Admiral *Serrao de Paiva*, had by two several Letters solicited his Release, he desired that the same might be Exchanged for other Soldiers, or be Ransomed by *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, Governor of the *Bahia*. He desired also, That a Cartel might be Agreed upon for the Exchange of the Soldiers; and that in the mean while such of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants, as were Prisoners with us, might be Released for reasonable Ransom, which was not accepted of by the Council.

In the mean while, (pursuant to the Letters from the Commander in Chief of *Rio Grande*, and *John Hoek* of the 6th of October) *Jacob Rabbi*, with a small Troop of *Tapoyars* and *Brasilians*, in conjunction with 30 *Dutch* Inhabitants, made themselves Masters of the Seat of *John Leflan*, with the Slaughter of 15 *Portuguese*. But they had not the same Success, at *Fernandes Menda's* House in *Portugi*, which being defended by 50 *Portuguese*, they were repulsed with some loss.

The Enemies finding themselves disappointed in their design of gaining *Parayba* by Treachery, did again apply all their care to block up all the Avenues leading to the *Recess*, in hopes of reducing it by Famine. This occasioned many Skirmishes, in which the *Brasilians*, who got the greatest part of their Provision out of the Country, did a considerable mischief to the *Portuguese*; who, for their greater security, built a Fort in *Pernambuco*, (as they likewise did in the *Vaigea* of *Parayba*) near the Sugar-Mill of *George Huomo Pinto*, but slightly fortified, and not able to hold out against any vigorous attack. In *Rio Grande*, the *Tapoyars* plaid the Masters over the *Portuguese*; for, as we told you before, that according to their Custom, they entered the said Captainship in July 1645. when being inform'd of the Rebellion of the *Portuguese* in *Pernambuco*, they, out of an Inborn Hatred to that Nation, attacked 16th of July, some of them in the Sugar-Mill of *Kunhao*, and kill'd every Soul of them, the *Dutch* Inhabitants thereabouts not being strong enough to prevent it. From thence the *Tapoyars* march'd to *Monpoba*, *Goyana*, and *Potoft*, Places belonging likewise to *Rio Grande*, where finding a Body of *Portuguese* entrenched with *Pallisadoes* in the nature of a *Palanka*, they forced them in conjunction with some *Brasilians*, to surrender, under Condition, That their Lives should

be saved, provided they did not give any further occasion of Disturbance. But some of the *Portuguese* flying afterwards into *Parayba*, the *Tapoyars* looking upon this as a Breach of the late Treaty, did with the beforementioned *Brasilians*, agree, to put the rest to the Sword wherever they met with them, which they did accordingly, the *Brasilians* exclaiming against the Tyranny committed upon 30 or 40 of their Comrades, who by *Andrew Vidal's* order, were tied to *Pallisadoes* in *Serinbaum*, and strangled, which had this good effect, that *Rio Grande* for that time was entirely purged of the Rebellious Crew, except some few, who escaped their Hands. Their Estates and Cattle were afterwards disposed for the Benefit of the Company, and others their Creditors, which furnished the publick Magazines with good Store of Flesh, at a very seasonable time. The *Portuguese* being sensible that we drew considerable Supplies of Provisions from that Country, endeavoured to prevent it by sending several Bodies of their Troops thither, but were always forced to retire to *Parayba*, whether they carried as much Cattle along with them as they could.

According to the Deposition of Captain *Nicholas Nicholson*, (who came over to us the 12th of November, as we shall see anon) the four Companies of *Dutch* quartered in the *Vaigea*, were as follows.

The Company of *Nicholas Nicholson*, 63 Men, and among them 23 Musquets.

The Company of *Alexander Buchholz*, of 43 Men, among whom 36 Musquets.

The Company of Captain *Anthony*, who was mortally wounded in a late Engagement, consisting of 36 Men, and among them 32 Musquets.

The Company of *John de Witt*, of 40 Men, but miserable Wretches, and among them only 12 Musquets.

Besides these, they had two other *Dutch* Companies in *Goyana*, one Commanded by *George Peterfon* of 17 Men all Pikes; the other by *La Cour* of 19 Men, likewise most Pikes. They had also two more in *Parayba*, one under the Command of Captain *Peter Gendre* of 19 Men, most Pikes; the second by *Edward Versman* of 20 Men, among whom was but one Musqueteer: So that the whole number of these Eight Companies, amounted to no more than 257 Men; their Colonel was *Hoogstraet*, and *Francis la Tour* late Aldermen of *Serinbaum*, Major, a profest Enemy to the *Hollanders*. Most of the *Dutch* Prisoners were put under a

1645. necessity of taking Service with the Enemy, being otherwise in danger of being Murdered in their way to the *Bahia*, as it happened to 42 Prisoners taken at the Cape of *St. Austlin*, who were all slain in the Sugar-Mill *Konjan*, near *Serinham*. He further declared, That the Enemies Forces in the *Vergea*, consisted of about 700 Men sent from the *Bahia*, divided into 9 Companies, well-arm'd with Musquets and Firelocks. That besides these, they had about 100 Men, gathered from among the Portuguese Inhabitants, they having forced all the young Men from the South of *Huma*, as far as *St. Lawrence*, to take up Arms; some being armed with Firelocks, others with Musquets they had taken from us; They were for the most part *Mulats*, and an undisciplin'd Rabble, Commanded by *John Fernandez Viera*, as Colonel, and *Anthony Dias*, (who came from the *Bahia*) their Major. Their Captains, most in Esteem among them, were, *Simon Mendes*, *Domingos Fagundes*, and *John d'Albuquerque*. *Kamaron* Commanded 100 *Brazilians* arm'd with Blunderbusses, and *Dias* 200 Negroes, (among whom 50 were ours) provided with very good Guns; besides some *Tapeyars*. Each Soldier had for his daily Allowance, a Pound of Meat, and about a Pint of Farinha or Meal, and 12 Guilders per Month; a Captain 120 Guilders, and *Fagundes* 21, a Sergeant 21, and a Corporal 15 Guilders per Month. But they only paid the Dutch Troops with ready Money, the Account with the Portuguese from the *Bahia* being made up but once a year. They were at that time busie in raising of a Fort with four small Bastions, and a Powder-House, betwixt *Bierbroms* Sugar-Mill, and *Casa de Sabrodo*, upon each of which were to be mounted 3 pieces of Cannon, 8 pieces having been brought for that purpose from *Porto Calvo*, among which were five of Metal. Round about this Fort the Soldiers from the *Bahia* had their Quarters assigned them, except the Company commanded by *John de Magehar*, which was Quartered in the *Baretta*, with four Dutch Companies, viz. The Dutch that were in the Sugar-Mill of *Bierbrom*, and those Commanded by Captain *Peter Kalkanti*, and *Antony Jaconio*, and two or three Companies of the Portuguese come from the *Bahia*, in the Sugar-Mill *Brito*; the rest being Portuguese, *Mulats*, and other idle Fellows they had forced to follow them from the South. These were armed for the most part with Firelocks and Musquets, the rest with Pikes,

1645. *Andrew Vidal*, *John Fernand Viera*, and Major *Hoogstrate*, were at that time in the *Casa de Sabrodo*: All these consisted not in above 600 Men. About the Sugar-Mill of *John de Mendonca* were quartered three Companies, two at the House of *Sebastian Carvalho*, and two more in the Sugar Mill of *Mengao*. The rest were posted in the *Salinet*, *Baretta*, and the City of *Olinda*. Some of *Kamaron's* Troops were in the Sugar-Mill of *Van Scholl*, and in the House of *John Kordge de Mendonca*, upon the Bank of the River, being their advanced Guard; *Henry Dias*, with his Troops, had his Post in the House of *Mr. Luffelen*. The Redoubts belonging to the City of *Olinda*, were manned only with 17 Soldiers.

In November, the Great Council received Intelligence, both by Letters from *Paulo de Linde* out of *Parayba*, as also by several Deserters, That the Enemy had sent 400 Men, 200 of which were Soldiers, the rest Inhabitants, from *Rio Grande* into *Parayba*, to make themselves Masters of the open Country, or at least to drive away the Cattle; whereupon it was resolved, with consent of Colonel *Garfman*, to endeavour to hinder the Execution of the Enemies Design.

The 12th of November, Captain *Nicholas Nicholson*, a Native of *Amsterdam*, came, as we told you before, over to us to the *Recess*. He was among other Prisoners of the Cape of *St. Austlin*, carried from thence to *St. Antonio*, where he took Service among the Portuguese, but with no other Intention, than to Desert from them upon the first opportunity; he being intrusted with a Captain's Commission, to Command a Company of Dutch Soldiers forced to List themselves from among the Prisoners they had taken, was ordered, at the Recommendation of *Hoogstrate*, and *Albert Geurtz Weddo*, with the Approbation of *Vidal* and *John Viera*, to lay in Ambush for some of our People in the *Salnet*, with a Detachment of 60 Men, out of the four Dutch Companies in their Service; and four more Companies were ordered for a Reserve, to assist him upon all Occasions. The Supream Command of the whole Body being committed to him, he approached as near as he could with his Dutch to the Fort *Bruin*, where he took the opportunity to pass the River by break of day, and to go with them (they being all willing to follow) over to us to the said Fort. Captain *Nicholas Nicholson* had the Command over the said Company confirmed to him by the Council, they being

ing all willing to enter into their Service: But the Enemy had no sooner notice of it, but they disarmed all the Dutch, and under pretence of sending them to the *Bahia*, caused them to be Murthered by the way, with their Wives and Children.

The 2d of *November*, the Council had received Advice from Mr. *Linge* from *Parayba*, That *Andrew Vidal* had entred that Captainship with 200 Men, and that *Kamaron* had by Letters strongly solicited *Peter Potty*, to Desert our Service — In his *Brasilians*, but had received a flat Refusal; the Council sent him two pieces of fine Linnen Cloth as a Reward of his Fidelity. For, it ought to be observed, That the *Portugueses*, when they first began to take up Arms against the Government, did with Letters and great Promises tempt the *Régidors* or Commanders of the *Brasilians*, to joyn with them, but they were so far from hearkning to them, that they sent all the Letters written upon that Account, both by *Kamaron* and the rest of the *Rebellious Ringleaders*, without opening, to the Council, thereby to avoid all suspicion of keeping any Correspondence with the Enemy, *Peter Potty* being a near Kinsman of *Kamaron*; and ever since that time they have behaved themselves so well upon all occasions, and have done such considerable Mischiefs to the *Portugueses*, by plundering and killing them, that wherever they could meet with them, that we had not the least reason to mistrust the Sincerity of their Intentions.

The said Mr. *Linge* did also send word *Novemb.* the 4th. That the Enemy had attempted nothing as yet; and from *November* 14. That a Party of 300 of our People being join'd by some *Brasilians* of *Parayba*, had engaged 800 of the Enemies Troops, whom after a smart Engagement they put to the Rout, with the slaughter of a good number of their men. The *Brasilians* being encouraged by this Success, did over run all the flat Country, and meeting with a good number of *Portugueses*, who were merry-making upon *St. Martin's Eve* in the Sugar-Mill of *Andrew Dias de Tigereda*, they attackt them so furiously, that after a slender Resistance, they put them all to the Sword, even the Son of the said *Tigereda* himself, and a Priest, without giving Quarter to any Body, except to a very beautiful Maiden; who, tho' almost Distracted at the Death of her Father, and some of her other Relations, that lay wallowing in their own Blood, had

such a powerful Influence upon the Hearts of these *Barbarians*, that they brought her a Prisoner safely to the Fort of *Parayba*.

The 21st of *November* towards the Evening, 360 Soldiers, (20 of whom were taken from the *Receif*) set Sail in small Boats to the Bay of *Traucan*, and continued their march the same night, under the Command of Lieutenant *Berge*, Justice *Hoek*, and the Receiver-General of *Pernambuko*, towards *Kunhao*, in order to attack the Enemy that were lately come into *Rio Grande*, from *Parayba*; But these Enemies having got some Intelligence of our Designs, were retired from *Kunhao*, to a Retrenchment among the Bogs, which being accessible but in one place, they so warmly saluted our Forces, that would have forced them from thence, with their Shot, that they were obliged to retreat with the loss of some dead and wounded, to the Castle of *Korden*, partly to refresh their Men, partly to prevent their penetrating deeper into the Council.

The 4th of *December* it was resolved to send the Ship the *Overysfel*, and the Yacht call'd the *Spreu*, towards the *Bahia*, a Cruising, to get Intelligence of their Naval Strength thereabouts, and to endeavour to take some Prizes. The 5th of *December*, the Great Council sent for all the Commanders of the *Brasilians*, to inform them, That they had received considerable Supplies of Powder, Ball, and all other sorts of Ammunition, by the Ship call'd the *Swan*, with Letters from *Holland*, that they were Equipping a considerable Fleet for their Relief; at which the *Brasilians* were extremely rejoiced; the *Portuguese* Commanders having made it their Business to perswade them, that no such thing was expected from *Holland*.

The same Evening a *Brasilian* Deserter declared, That all the Dutch were killed by the *Rebellious Inhabitants*, and their Wives and Children made Slaves. The same thing was confirmed by a Negro Deserter, concerning Captain *Bockholt*; who having taken Service with the Enemy, and being afterwards suspected by them, had caused him to be Murthered, as they had done with all the rest of the Dutch in their Service, who were slain in their way to the *Bahia*.

The 7th of *December* it was resolved in Council, to erect four Companies of Fusiliers, the same being found by Experience to be more Serviceable at this juncture, for which purpose the Compa-

The Dutch attack the Portuguese near Kunhao with success.

The Brazilian Commanders summen'd.

Advice that all the Dutch were kill'd by the Portuguese.

Four Companies of Fusiliers erected.

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se
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1645. nics of Colonel Garfman, Captain Julian Remberger, Captain Nicholas Nicholson, and Captain John Taylor were pitcht upon before all the rest.

In the same month of December, a certain Portuguese, Gaspar Gonçalves, was taken by the *Brasilians* in the Island of *Itamarika*, sent on purpose to persuade the *Brasilians*, That the Dutch intended to deliver them up to the Portuguese for a certain Sum of Money, and they to retire with their Effects into *Holland*, which caused no small Commotion among the *Brasilians*, who began to give credit to the Relation. And because Gonçalves had spread this Rumour abroad some time before the arrival of Caspar Horyhouse, (who the 28th of August was appointed Commander in Chief of the *Brasilians* of *Itamarika* instead of *Listry* taken Prisoner by the Enemy) he was hardly put to it, how to remove this Jealousie from among them, Jacob Rabbi, pursuant to his Letters of the 11th of December, was about the same time preparing to enter 80 Leagues further into the Country towards the *Tapoyars*, to solicit their Assistance: He at last came to Oyepe, Son-in-Law of King Dumy, who promised, in case those of *Sara* would send their Troops to us, he would endeavour to raise as many of his Vassals as he could; but King Dumy excused himself, under pretence that many of his Troops died by Sickness in the *Santan*.

The Night before the 27th of December, the Enemy had by means of a Boat, fastned two Puppets with Fireworks to the Ship, call'd the *Swan*; but being discovered as soon as it took Fire, was soon squench't, without doing any damage to the Vessel; which made the Ships to be constantly upon their guard for the future.

The Portuguese
endeavour
to Fire the
Dutch
Ships.

The 30th of December, two such Puppets found by two Soldiers in a small Boat near the Fort *Bruin*, were presented to the Council. This Boat, which questionless was sent on purpose to fasten these Puppets to some Ship or other, being discovered by the Centinels, the Men quitted the Boat, leaving the said Puppets behind them.

Mr. De Linge, by his Letters dated the 30th of December from the Fort *St. Margaret* in *Parayba*, advised, That a certain Negro, who had Deserted the Enemies Quarter of *St. Andrew*, had declared, That the Enemy had built two large Barks in order to transport 300 Men in each, in order to attack Peter Porty Commander of the *Brasilians* in his Entrench-

ments. That *Kamaron* had been near three Weeks in *Parayba*, the Enemies Troops consisting thereabouts in 16 Companies; But that they had many sick among them, for want of Provisions, and that they had drawn all their Forces out of *Rio Grande*.

The 6th of January 1646, Peter Bass one of the Members of the Great Council, did by order from the said Council, set Sail with the two Ships the *Lichtbart* and the *Receif*, and a Bark call'd the *Blig Boer*, towards the Captainships of *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*. His Instructions were: To Consult with Mr. Linge Commander in Chief in *Parayba*, and the rest of the Officers there, how to put the Entrenchments and other Works of the *Brasilians* into a posture of Defence. From thence he was to go to *Rio Grande*, there to take an exact Account, both of the real Estates and Chattels of such Portuguese, as by reason of their being engaged with the Rebels, were forfeited to the Company; He was also to use his Endeavours to have those Goods which were upon that Account concealed or embezled, restored for the benefit of the said Company. He was also ordered, to act in all other Respects, but especially in providing for the Security of the Captainship and the Fort, as he found it most consistent with our present Interest, and to exhort the Inhabitants to remain stedfast in their Duty, and not to neglect the Cultivating of the Grounds and Breeding of Cattle.

The 12th of January, Peter Dunkerke arrived from *Parayba*, where he had been a Cruising before the *Receif* in the Ship *Hamel*; he brought a Letter from Mr. Linge, dated in the Fort *St. Margaret*, the 11th of January, who sent also one Mr. Steenhuisen to the Council, he having Deserted the Enemy when they began to kill the Dutch in their Service. This Steenhuisen brought Advice to the Council, That *Kamaron* with 500 well-appointed Soldiers, was marched out of *Parayba* into *Rio Grande* to be Master of the Field there; and consequently to keep our Garrisons from being supplied with Cattle and Fariuha from thence. He further added, That the Enemy were in want of Meat, Oil, and other Necessaries; but that the Inhabitants flattered themselves, that for want of Provisions, we should shortly be obliged to Surrender our Forts into the hands of the Portuguese. This being likewise confirmed by Mr. Linge's Letter dated the 10th of January, a Council was call'd against the

1645.

1646.

Mr. Bass
Commissioner

An Account of
the Enemies
Signs

13th of January, Dirk Hamel and Mr. Bullestrate being present, both Members of the Great Council, besides the Assessor Walbeck, as likewise Lieutenant Colonel Garfman, Mr. Raetsfield, Mr. de With, Alrich, Volbergen, and Sams, in order to deliberate concerning the present Exigency, considering, that in case we should, by the Enemies being Masters of the Field, be bereaved of the Supplies of Cattle and Farinha of Rio Grande, at a juncture, when Itamarica and Paraiba, are closely beset by their Troops, it would be next to an impossibility, to maintain our selves in the possession of the Dutch Brasil, till the arrival of the expected Succours from Holland. It was therefore taken into Consideration, Whether this Captainship might be best secured by a powerfull Diversion, or by endeavouring to drive him from thence. But being sensible that the Enemy were so powerful near the Recess, Paraiba, and Itamarica, as not to be attackt in any of these Places, without exposing the whole Dutch Brasil to an imminent Danger, it was resolved, That in order to attempt the recovery of the Captainship of Rio Grande, Mr. Dortmont should be ordered to send 60 Soldiers under the Command of Captain Welling, and 100 Brasilians, in the Barks sent him for that purpose, from Itamarica to Rio Grande: At the same time Orders were dispatcht to Mr. Linge Commander in the Fort St. Margaret in Paraiba, to send the same number of Soldiers under Lieutenant Bressman, and of Brasilians, to Rio Grande, to join with the rest that were to Rendezvous there. These Forces consisting of 120 Soldiers, and 200 Brasilians, set sail the 19th of January for Rio Grande, and were thought sufficient to oppose the Enemies Designs on that side.

Mr. Dortmont and William Lambartiz, by a Letter dated the 15th of January, gave notice to the Council, That they had sent a Body of 60 Soldiers and 100 Brasilians abroad, as far in the Aldea by Ombus, and from thence to the Sugar-Mill Arrarape, but did not meet with any Enemies in that part of the Country, tho' they had several Guns discharged at them from among the Woods; so that they return'd to Itamarica by the way of Tapajuma.

Mr. Linge not long after sent Advice by his Letter dated the 22d of January, at the Fort of St. Margaret in Paraiba, to the Council, That Peter Porty with 150 Brasilians had attackt the Enemy 400 strong in the Aldea of Magrebebe,

and put them to flight with the loss of 20 kill'd, and many wounded, whereas they lost but one Brasilian.

The 29th of January it was resolved in Council, to bring the Ships, the *Elias*, *Orange Tree*, *Deventer*, *Omlandia*, and the *Swan*, into the Road of the Recess, to be ready upon all Occasions, in case the Enemy should again appear at Sea.

Mr. Bas, pursuant to his Letter from the Castle of Keulen in Rio Grande dated the 23th of January, could not, by reason of a Tempest, land his Forces at Kunhao, in order to join them with those under Captain Rhinebergh; but was forced to land his Forces the 14th and 15th near Peringi. In the mean while Kameron having found means, to break in through the *Matta*, had surpris'd many of the Inhabitants in their *Fazendas*, and kill'd them without distinction of Age or Sex: He had since posted himself with his Forces, consisting of 400 Soldiers, as many Brasilians, and 80 Tapoyars, under the Command of Antonio Jacomo Bessero, at a House of Henry Hannic in Morapbou, to cut off the Provisions from us. Our Forces consisting of about 1000 Soldiers, Brasilians and Tapoyars, marched the 23th of January to a House of John Lestian Navare, to attack the Enemy, and to force them to quit the Captainship of Rio Grande. Besides these, Jacob Kalbi, and the Sons of King Dany, were the 19th inst, by the Fort Keulen, at the Head of 60 Tapoyars, and were daily followed by others, that came to our Assistance. Mr. Bas solicited also some Supplies of Provisions, of which they stood in great want, there being above 1500 Brasilians, Men, Women, and Children, lodged under the Cattle. He desired also some Money, Ammunition, Linen and Silks to present to the Brasilians and Tapoyars; all which, together with some pieces of Red-Cloth, was sent him by the Council.

According to this Advice, it being much to be feared, the Enemy would scarce stand the brunt in Rio Grande, but retire into Paraiba, it was taken into serious Consideration the 29th of January, Whether it would be adviseable, in case the Enemy should be forced by our Troops, or voluntarily retreat into Paraiba, to pursue them thither, and thereby endeavour the recovery likewise of that Captainship: But considering that by reason of the weakness of our Garrisons, we were not in a Condition to send any further Succours from the Recess, Itamarica, or Paraiba, without running a manifest

hazard to our Troops there; whereas, on the contrary, the Enemies did not want opportunity to relieve theirs from the adjacent Places of *Paraba*, and that we lived in daily hopes of Succours from *Holland*, it was judged the best way, that the welfare of the whole *Dutch Brasil* ought not to be put to the hazard by such an Enterprize as this.

Accordingly Orders were sent to Mr. *Bas* and the rest of the Commanders of our Troops there, to act with all imaginable Caution, and rather than expose our Men, in following the Enemy into *Paraba*, to be contented with the Recovery of the Captainship of *Rio Grande*.

The 30th of *March*, Colonel *Garfman* was by special Order from the Council, sent a second time with some Troops to the Captainship of *Rio Grande*, to inform himself, whether any Troops of the Enemy were posted in that Captainship, and in what number; His Instructions were: That so soon as he had received Intelligence of the Enemy, he should with what Forces he was able to bring together, endeavour to stop their Progress. But, if he found himself not strong enough to oppose them, he should send speedy Advice thereof to the Council, that they might send him speedy Succours, and that he was to take all imaginable care not to engage the Enemy, before the arrival of the said Succours. But if he found the Enemy already so strongly Entrenched as to be Master of the Country, without any hopes of forcing them from thence, the Defence of the Fort *Keulen* should be his chiefest Care, as likewise of the *Brasilans*, with their Wives and Children; and since, in case the said Fort of *Keulen* should be in danger of being attackt by the Enemy, it would be of ill Consequence, to have these Women and Children enclosed within the Fortifications, for fear of want of Provisions, he was strictly ordered, to transport them in time, to some place of security, such as *Siara*, or the like, where they might be able to subsist, and be secure against any attempt from the Enemy. He was ordered also in his return to the *Receis*, to take *en passant* (if it could be done without inconvenience) a view of the Fortifications of *Itamarika* and *Paraba*, in order to give an account of their condition to the Council.

But to return to Mr. *Bas*: According to his Letters dated the 30th of *January*, from the Fort *Keulen*, Captain *Rhineberg* had with his body made six several at-

tacks upon the Enemy, who was retired from *Mompabou* and *Kinbaou* into a Bogg, without being able to force their Entrenchments; we lost about a 100 kill'd and wounded in this Action, and retreated to the House of *John Leytan*; with order to get some Cattle, which was very scarce thereabouts, our Forces feeding most upon Fishes, which they caught by the help of two large Nets; 28 of our wounded Men were brought to the *Receis*, with Advice that notwithstanding this unsuccessful attack on our side, the Enemy were retreated into *Paraba*, Mr. *Bas* also solicited some fresh Supplies of Men and Ammunition, in order to pursue them into *Paraba*, but the resolution upon this head was deferred till they should hear further from Mr. *Bas*. The 7th of *February* it was resolved by the Council with the approbation of Admiral *Luchhart* to Equip the *Hollandia* and the *Swan* together with the Yachts, the *Flight*, the *Hamel*, *Bullestrate* and *Lichtbert*, for cruising. By Letters from Mr. *Linge*, dated the 11th of *February*, at the Fort *Margaret* in *Paraba* the Council was advised, how that, according to the Deposition of a Negro Defterter, *Kamaron* was come with all his Troops into the City of *Paraba*, with an intention to attack our Forts on that side; an Answer, with what was thought necessary for this present purpose was immediately sent back in a Bark by the Council. By another Bark sent by Mr. *Bas* from *Rio Grande*, they were advertised, that he lay still encamped with his Troops, near the House of *John Lestan*, where with much ado he could get Provisions for them; the Enemy being still posted at *Monguappe*, and guarding all the Avenues into the Country; that he had sent several Spies a broad, to get Intelligence concerning the present posture of the Enemy. The 17th of *February* the Ship the *Swan* and the Yacht call'd *Bullestrate* were ordered to go out a Cruising; the 18th the Yacht the *Flight*, and the 20th the Ship *Hollandia* set Sail for the same purpose. The Ship the *Overijssel* was also ordered to go out, to serve for a Spie Ship on the Coast of *Paraba*.

The 21st of *February* the Council received a Letter from Mr. *de Linge*, dated the 18th, in the Fort of *St. Margaret*, intimating that he had heard nothing since of the Enemy. Yet that he wish'd, the Forces he had sent to *Rio Grande* might be returned with all convenient speed, to make use of them for the defence

645.

1645.

The Dutch
attack the
Enemy,
without
success.

Advice
from Mr.
Linge.

seace of his Forts, in case of an attack.
 45. The 24th of February a Party under
 Command of Captain Killion Taylor and
 Captain Nicholas Nicholson, were sent
 abroad towards the Island of the *Barette*
 to get some Prisoners, but they return'd
 the 20th to the *Recess*, having met with
 no body except with a Man, at a
 considerable distance. Another Party
 which had taken their way towards
Olinda and *Bracco de St. Jago*, but
 with the same success, the Enemy ha-
 ving only shewn himself at a distance,
 as they were returning to the Fort *Bruin*.
 The 27th of February the Enemy ap-
 pear'd with a strong body in the *Salinas*,
 but being saluted by some Cannon-shot
 from the Fort *Bruin*, retired without
 attempting any thing.

In the mean while, according to Mr.
Linge's Letter, from the 2d of March,
 three Barks with Soldiers were arrived
 in *Paraiba* from *Rio Grande*, so that the
 rest under the Command of Mr. *Bas* be-
 ing 500 in number might be hourly ex-
 pected at the *Recess*. He further ad-
 vis'd, that he had seen no Enemy of
 late, but being informed that a consider-
 able body lay encamp'd in a Valley near
 the Village of *Magarebbe*, he had order'd
 thither 120 Soldiers, and 100 *Brasilians*,
 to beat up their Quarters, and to get
 some Prisoners. In effect the 4th of
 March, he, with his Troops consisting in
 500 Men, arrived from *Rio Grande* at
 the *Recess*, and the 5th of March gave
 the Council an account of his Expe-
 dition.

The 9th of March in the Night, the
 Enemy appear'd in three bodies near the
 Fort *Prince William*, and gave us several
 Volleys of small Shot, but being an-
 swered with our Cannon retired im-
 mediately. The same Day a Party of 50
 Men were sent abroad under Lieutenant
Mos, to get Intelligence; being met by
 two Companies of the Enemy, a sharp
 Encounter ensued, our Forces retir-
 ing without any considerable loss,
 under the Fort *Wardenburgh*, and the
 Enemy retreated at the discharge of
 some of our Cannon. By Letters from
 Mr. *Linge*, dated the 8th of March at
 Fort *St. Margaree* in *Paraiba*, the Coun-
 cil received the unwelcome News that
 the Enemy in *Rio Grande* had by a pre-
 tended flight drawn the 5th of March
 Lieutenant *John de Wael* with 48 Soldiers,
 who were too eager in the pursuit of
 them, into an Ambush, where they had
 kill'd 30 of them, tho', according to
 the report of some Deferters that were

present at the Engagement, not with-
 out considerable loss also on their side;
Kameron, *Andrew Vidal* and some other
Portuguese Officers of note were also
 present. About the same time 15 *Bra-
 silians* surpris'd five Men, six Women
 and eight Children, in an Entrenchment
 seven Leagues above *Iguarachu*, call'd
Papeku.

In the mean while the *Tapoyers*, who
 according to their custom, come once a
 Year, about Midsummer, from among
 the Mountains, some hundreds strong
 into the Captainship of *Rio Grande*, were,
 after they had carried away all the Horses
 and Mares they could light on, retired
 to the Hills; a thing very fortunate for
 us, for without it our Garrisons would
 not have been able to subsist there.
 Provisions growing every day scarcer in
 the *Recess*, it was agreed the 6th of
 March by the Council, to send the *Bra-
 silians* raised in *Rio Grande* with a Com-
 pany of Fusileers to *Iamariku*, to ease
 our Magazines of that burthen, whilst
 they might provide themselves with
Farinha Roots in that Island. Much
 about the same time the two Majors
Bayert and *Pistoor*, appear'd before the
 Council, intimating, that, being in-
 formed that the Citizens began to Mur-
 mur at their staying at home, pretend-
 ing that they were sufficient to guard
 the Forts, for which purpose, as it was
 reported Admiral *Lichthart* had offer'd
 300 Men, they were come on purpose
 to offer their Service, and were ready
 to take the Field with those few Forces
 they had left in the Garrisons; tho' they
 at the same time protested, that they
 were of the same opinion, which had
 been approved some days before, to
 wit, That this undertaking, by reason
 of their small number, would be full of
 danger, and yet not answer the end,
 of bringing Provisions into the *Recess*.
 Admiral *Lichthart* being thereupon ask'd
 whether he had made any such offer, he de-
 clared, not to have spoken any thing like
 it, his Ships being so ill mann'd, that he
 could spare no Men for any other Service.

The Night before, the 13th of March,
 the Enemy appear'd both on the other
 side of the River and the Dike leading
 to the Fort *Bruin*, discharging their
 Musquets and Blunderbusses at our Cen-
 tinels, but upon the first salute from
 the Cannon of the Fort retired. The
 same they did near the Fort of *Affagados*.
 The same Evening betwixt Nine and
 Ten a Clock they made an attack upon
 the Wooden Fort, built betwixt the
Affagados

Propositi-
 ons about
 the taking
 of the
 Field.

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

Afogados and the *Quinquangular Fort*, for the defence of the Plain, which they continued till one a Clock, cutting down some *Palifado's*, and bringing great store of dry Reeds, in order to set it on fire, out in vain, being forced to retreat with the loss of some of their Men; On our side two were kill'd, and four or five wounded, among the last was Lieutenant *Calpar Eura* and *van Gool*, who received two dangerous wounds. The next Morning the broken *Palifado's* were repaired and another row ordered to be set before the first, and footangles to be laid to twist both. The 17th of *March* the *Bark* called the *Paraiba* coming from *Sara* brought Advice, that the *Brasilians* were gone from *Sara* to *Komnests*, having refused to return to *Rio Grande*, for fear, they should be call'd to a severe account there for the Murder of several Inhabitants, committed by them before.

By the same *Bark*, Mr. *Lunge* sent Advice from the 14th of *March*, That the Enemy had appear'd of late in a considerable Body near the Northern Fort, but was retired now, but whether to *Rio Grande* or *St. Andre*, he was not able to tell. They had spoil'd all the *Fernaba-Root* Fields in the *Aldeas Magabbe*, and thereabouts: so that the *Brasilians*, being for the future to be furnished with Provisions out of the Magazines, he desired a Supply of Wine and Oil: Immediately Advice hereof was sent to *Dortrecht* Commanded in Chief of *Iamariaka*, and some Annamites, besides 1000 Guilders in ready Money. The same Sum was transferred to Mr. *Lunge* in *Paraiba*, and a Barrel of Gunpowder, a Pipe of Wine, a *Barrel* with Oil, and another fill'd with *Iron Balls*, besides good Store of Ammunition. He was also ordered to send the *Brasilians* back to *Rio Grande* for Defence of that Captainship, and to get Intelligence, whether the Enemy had directed his march thither in order to oppose his Designs.

In the mean while Admiral *Lichtbart* (in answer to his Letter of the 21st of *March* to the Council) had Embark'd some Soldiers and *Brasilians* in *Iamariaka*, and taking his Course to the North Entrance of the River, was got up as far as the Isle of *Lapcho*, from whence they had brought back a great quantity of *Fernaba-Roots*, for the use of the *Brasilians* in *Iamariaka*, and of the Magazines there.

The 30th of *March* it was resolv'd, with the Approbation of Admiral *Licht-*

bart, to send the following Ships a Cruising before the *Babia*; the *Ulissingen*, the *Ter Veer*, and the Yachts, the *Greyhound*, the *Heemstede*, *Spreu*, and *Bullestrate*; And on the 6th of *April*, the *Swan*, the *Zouteland*, the *Flight*, and the Yacht the *Lichtbart*, were ordered to go a Cruising before the Cape of *St. Anshin*, and set sail the 10th of *April* accordingly.

The 31st Letters were brought to the Council, dated the 25th of *March* in *Rio Grande*, intimating, That *Paulo de Kunha* and *Kameran*, were entred *Kunha* with 800 Men, among whom were 300 Musquetiers, to carry away the Cattle from thence to *Paraiba*.

But, according to Colonel *Garfman's* Letters to the Council, upon his arrival, which was the 4th of *April*, the Enemy were already retired out of *Rio Grande*, without undertaking any thing against our People, who consisting only in 400 Soldiers and 300 *Brasilians* lay encamp'd near the House of *John Lestan*, yet they carried off some Cattle.

About the same time they received Letters from Mr. *Lunge*, That the Enemy had made several false Alarms near the Forts, without attempting any thing. And in effect in *June*, they did not appear any more thereabouts.

In the year 1646. the 5th of *April* in the Night, *Jacob Rabbi* was at the Instigation of Lieutenant Colonel *Garfman*, near *Potoff*, about three Leagues distant from the Castle of the same Name, villainously shot with two Bullets, as he was going home from one *John Miller's* House, where he had been entertained that Evening in Company with Colonel *Garfman*. *Rabbi* had a considerable time before (as he had declared to his Friends) suspected the treachery of *Garfman*, and was for that reason just upon his departure out of *Rio Grande*, in order to shelter himself among the *Tapoyars*.

The Council resent'd this Villainy to the highest degree, since, considering that this *Jacob Rabbi* was in great Esteem among the *Tapoyars*, and his Wife a *Brasilian*, it was to be feared, that this would exasperate both the *Tapoyars* and *Brasilians* against us. So that *Garfman* returning the 19th of *March* to the *Recess*, after he had given an Account of his Expedition to the Council, was by their particular Order, the 24th of *March*, taken into Custody, and sent on Board the *Hollandia*, Major *Bayert* being ordered in the mean time to supply his Place. This *Jacob Rabbi* a Native of *Germany*, had been employed by Authority of the States

1645.
Ships sent out a Cruising.

News from Colonel Garfman

164
Jacob Rabbi treacherously killed.

Garfman secured

Good News
from
Iamariaka

General, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Company, to engage and keep the *Tapoyars* in the Interest of our Government; in which Commission he had acquitted himself so well, that he brought these *Tapoyars* several times, out of the Mountains (their Habitations) to our Assistance. His dwelling Place was in the Fort Keulen in *Rio Grande*, where he had Married a *Brasilian* Woman. *Gaspar Hombyoufe*, Commander of the *Brasilians* in *Itamarika* being slain in the last Engagement in that Island, Mr. *Vincen van Drillenbergh*, was, at their Request, constituted their Commander by the Council.

The 17th of *April*, some Papers were delivered to the Council, which had been dispersed by the Enemy, to debauch our Soldiery; in return of which, they sent abroad their Summons, upbraiding such of their Subjects as were in the Enemy's Service, with Treachery, and exhorting them to return to their Duty. It was also agreed to publish a Copy of a Letter delivered by the *Portuguese* Ambassador at the *Hague* to the States General from the King his Master; with the Answer of the States to the said Letter: For since the King of *Portugal* in this Letter did disown the War, and the Proceedings of *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, and his sending of his Troops into the *Dutch Brasil*, they did not question but by this means to open the Eyes of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants, not to flatter themselves with vain hopes of Assistance from *Portugal*; besides, that we were in hopes thereby to sow the Seeds of Mistrust betwixt them and the *Portuguese* Commanders from the *Bahia*.

The 24th of *April*, two *Portuguese* Companies commanded by Captain *Lawrence Karnero* and *Peter Kavalhanti*, consisting of about 40 men each, marched from the *Vargea* and the City of *Olinda* to *Iguarassu*. They were headed by *Vidal* and *Hoogstrate* in Person, who having got Intelligence, that Admiral *Lichthart* and *John Nicholson* were gone to *Itamarika*, to get some *Farinha*-Roots.

The 25th of *April*, as they were marching from *Iguarassu*, a certain *Go man* *Chirurgion*, named *Christopher Mars*, who as formerly taken Prisoner by them, uppening to stay somewhat behind, whilst : was Pissing, was surprized by one of 11 Parties near *Tapasino*. Upon Examination by Mr. *Walbeck*, he declared, hat not long ago there were nine Companies of the Enemies Forces quartered the *Bareta*, the City of *Olinda*, and in

the Mills of *Bierboom* and *Boro*; each Company consisting of betwixt 40 and 50 Men. That there were five Companies more, much of the same strength, posted in the *Salinas*, and *Henry Dias* with 200 *Mulats* and Negroes in *Gaspar Cox's* House, but they had then no Forces in the *Vargea*.

That after *Nicholas Nicholson* was come over to us with his Troops, *Martin Soares Moreno* had caused 260 *Dutch*, both Soldiers and Inhabitants, (among whom were six Women and two Children) to be kill'd by a Company of the Country Militia, in the Woods of *Tabatinga*, betwixt *Shero* and *Deriba*, in their way to the *Bahia*, besides those kill'd by his Order in other Places, amounting in all to 300.

By this time there began to be great scarcity of Meat in the *Recf*, notwithstanding which, the Garrisons in the Outworks, as well as the *Brasilians* in *Itamarika*, with their Wives and Children, were to be supplied from thence; and the *Farinha*-Roots being either all taken up before by our own People, or else destroyed by the Enemy, in the Island *Itamarika*: To supply this pressing necessity, it was resolved by the Great Council, to send a Detachment of 400 Men in Barks to *St. Lawrence de Praja* or *The Dutch Tiyukapa*, to fetch *Mandinka*, or *Farinha*-Roots from thence. This Detachment was composed out of these following Troops.

Out of Captain *Nicholas Nicholson's* Company 9 men.

From the *Quinquangular Fort* 25.

From the *Affagador* 25.
Out of the Company of Captain *William Lambartz* 50.

Volunteers from *Itamarika* 30.

Brasilian 150.

The 29th of *April* the Council was by Letters from *Itamarika*, advertised, That our Forces being sent abroad to fetch some *Farinha*, had chased the Enemy out of two or three Entrenchments; but they retiring into another, surrounded with a deep Ditch, they were there also with more Courage than Conduct attackt by our Troops, being forced to retire with the loss of 16 kill'd and 26 wounded, among whom was Captain *William Lambartz*: The Enemy had likewise not a few kill'd on their side. Mr. *Dortnon*, Commander in Chief of *Itamarika*, therefore desiring to be supplied with Meal, his Magazines being quite Exhausted, the Council sent thither the first of *May*, 20 Barrels with Meal,

164.
His Depositions.

1646. two with Oatmeal, two with dry Pease, besides a Pipe of Wine and Brandy, and 1000 Gilders in Money, for the use of the *Brafilians*.

The 3d of *May*, the Council received Advice by a Letter dated the 2d of *May* from Mr. *Dormont*, That the Enemy had carried away ten Negroes, four belonging to the Company, the rest to one Mr. *Seilin*, and four other Men from *Itamarika*; and that the *Brafilians* there had been so far Debauched by their Intreagues, that they retired into a Wood, and being twice Summon'd to rejoin our Troops had refused so to do. That at last, Mr. *Apprisius*, (Minister of the *Brafilians*) having been sent to reduce them to their Duty, either by Persuasions or Threats, his Arguments were so prevailing, that they return'd quietly, alledging for their Excuse, That they were forced to fly thither for want of Subsistence. Hereupon *Dormont* desired fresh Supplies for his Magazines, that a Person of Authority might be sent thither, and that another Company might be put in Place of that of Captain *Vosfتمان*, his men being ready to Revolt.

Mr. Bullen-
strate sent
to Itamarika.
To remove all these Obstacles, it was resolv'd immediately to dispatch thither Mr. *Bullstrate*, a Member of the Great Council, who was to agree with certain private Persons, to provide our Garrisons with Fish, and to act in every thing there, as he should find it most expedient for the Service of the Company.

Accordingly Mr. *Bullstrate* set sail the 4th of *May*, in the Yacht the *Greyhound*, and arriv'd the same day in the afternoon in *Itamarika*; where having executed his Commission, he return'd the 10th of *May* to the *Recess*, and gave the following Account to the Council: That he had taken a view of the City of *Shappe*, and the Fort *Orange*, both which he had order'd to be strengthened; as also, to fortifie the old Brick-House formerly the *Stadthouse*, with Pallisadoes against any sudden Attempt; That he having call'd before him all the Commanders of the *Brafilians*, had represented to them that we were in daily expectation of a powerful Succour from *Holland*, exhorting them to remain steadfast in their Duty, and to keep their Soldiers under the best Discipline they could; He had also presented their Commander with Cloth for a Suit of Cloths, and the rest with some Wine and Money, which they very thankfully accepted; He had *En Passant* taken a view of the Plantations of *Conrad Pauli*, where he

1646. had found about 160 Cocoe Trees cut down by the *Brafilians*, being forced by Famine to Feed upon the Fruit; the like they had done in several other Places; That he had endeavour'd to treat with several private Persons, for a certain quantity of Fish to be delivered at the *Recess*; but could meet with none that would accept his Offers; they alledging that most of their Negroes being either run away or taken by the Enemy, they did catch no more Fish, but what they could readily Sell in the Island, without the Charge of Salt and Transportation; That he had likewise propos'd to the Commander in Chief of the *Brafilians*, to give them for the future Money instead of Meal; and that they were to be furnished with three Nets to catch Fish for their own use, that the Commander promis'd to propose it to the rest, and gave him some hopes, that they would accept of the said Offer.

To Supply the present want of Provisions, which began to be scarcer and scarcer every day in *Itamarika*, *Paraiba*, *Rio Grande*, and the *Recess*; by reason that the expected Supplies from *Holland* were not as yet arriv'd, and we were closely block'd up by Land; it was thought fit to give all imaginable Encouragement to the Fishing Trade; for which purpose the two Members of the Great Council, Mr. *Hamel* and Mr. *Bas*, order'd the 7th of *May*, to Buy up as much Yarn as possible could be got to make Fishing Nets of, which afterwards stood us in good stead.

A certain *Portuguese*, who had committed Manlaughter in *Angola*, and was fled from thence to the *Recess*, having accus'd *John Vieira d'Alencar*, he was by Order from the Council taken into Custody.

This *Portuguese* declared, That the said *Vieira* had delivered to him a certain piece of Parchment, written in Characters, and a Box, wherein were several other Papers, in order to carry them to the Enemy, which Parchment and Box he produced in the presence of the Members of the Council. *John Vieira* denying the matter, was put to the Rack, but continued resolute in his denial; till at last, the Key of these Characters being found among his Papers, and a certain Jew having Uncyphered these Letters: it appear'd, That he had given an Account of the whole posture of our Affairs, to the Enemy, with Directions how to make themselves Masters of the *Recess* so that finding himself discovered, he confess'd that he had written and deli-
vere

An Account of his Proceed-
ings.

John Vieira
denying
of Treach

vered these cyphered Papers to the Portuguese, and was executed the 29th of May.

The Magazines being by this time almost exhausted, there being scarce Provisions left for a few Weeks, it was proposed by the Council to the Majors, *Beyert* and *Pissloor*, that considering it was not adviseable to exasperate the Soldiery at this juncture, by retrenching their allowance of Bread, and other eatables, whether instead of a pound of Meat, they might not be prevailed upon to take Six-pence, by this means to preserve that small store of Flesh they had left, which these two Majors undertook to propose to the Soldiers, not without hopes of succeeding in their project, And, that no body might be excepted from bearing his share in the publick Calamity, it was ordered that the Loaves which used before to weigh a pound and half, should be reduced to one pound weight, and that each Citizen and others depending on the Company, nay the Members of the Great Council themselves, should have an allowance only of two Loaves per Week; the same was to be given to all Seamen, Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns; but the rest, from the Sergeant to the common Soldier should have three pounds of Bread allow'd them per Week.

Mr. *Lyng* adviced from the 1st of May, out of *Paraiba*, that the Enemy had not attempted any thing against the Forts, and that a Party of *Brasilian* was gone abroad towards *Tupoa*, in hopes to take some Prisoners. Much about the same time the Council received Advice, that Colonel *Gasp* without Orders from the Council, had endeavoured by some Presents, to draw the *Tapoyers* into *Rio Grande*, under pretence of keeping them at hand, to enter into a Confederacy with the new Members of the Great Council, that were expected from *Holland*. The Council being not a little surpris'd at this undertaking, since by the coming of the *Tapoyers* into that Captainship, they should be disappointed of a considerable part of those Supplies they received from thence; they sent word to *Rudolph Barro* to leave no Stone turned to draw the *Tapoyers* by fair means back to their Habitations, but that if they would send some of their Commanders to the *Recefs*, all imaginable satisfaction should be given them concerning the Murther of *Jacob Rabb*; and the more to engage *Barro* to do his utmost, a present of Wine, Brandy

and some Toys was ordered to be sent him. For as the case then stood, it was absolutely necessary for us to remain Masters of *Rio Grande*, till the arrival of the Succours from *Holland*; the vast numbers of *Brasilians*, that were fled to *Itamar ka*, having consumed all sorts of Provisions there to that degree, that that Island could not only not send any Supplies to the *Recefs*, but most of the Women and Children of the *Brasilians* must be supplied out of the Magazines there; so that *Rio Grande* was the only place left from whence they received a considerable quantity of *Lumbea* and Cattle, which in some measure abated the scarcity of Provisions in the *Recefs*, and by the prudent Conduct of the Council, was the chief means that the place continued in tolerable good Health till the arrival of the Succours, which without it, it would in all humane probability have been impossible to be done; And no question but this Captainship might for a considerable time after, have furnished the Garrisons to the South with necessaries, had it not been for the following accident.

The expected Succours from *Holland* being detained by the Winter season and contrary Winds, the *Brasilians* of *Goyana*, who with their Wives and Children, had sheltered themselves in *Itamarika*; were reduced to the greatest extremity for want of Food; for, after they had consumed all what the Island could afford for their Subsistence, and all the Avenues by Land being block'd up by the Enemy, they had no other Supplies but what they received from our Magazines: These being now exhausted to such a degree, that each Citizen had but one pound of Bread allowed him per Week (which however at that rate would not hold out above fourteen Days longer) the Council was under an absolute necessity, to have it proposed to the *Brasilians*, to retire with their Wives and Children (in all about 1200) to *Rio Grande*, where they might subsist some time upon what the Country afforded. Accordingly they write to Mr. *Dormund* the 11th of May, and sent Mr. *Walbeck* thither in Person, to persuade the *Brasilians* to send at least 500 Women and Children, with a certain number of their Men, to *Siara* and *Rio Grande*; there being at that time in all near 1500 *Brasilians*, Men, Women and Children in that Island; among whom were only 500 fit to bear Arms, under the Command of *Caspar Honyhouse*, who had

The consequence of Rio Grande to the Dutch.

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

1646.

Consultations about the security of Provisions.

had each scarce a pound of Bread allow'd them per Week.

Provisions as I told you before growing daily scarcer and scarcer, by reason the Succours from *Holland* was detained, beyond all expectation, by contrary Winds; a General Council was call'd, where the three Numbers of the Great Council Mr. *Hamel*, Mr. *B. llestrate* and Mr. *Bas*, being present, as likewise Admiral *Liechbart* and the two Majors *Beyers* and *Pistoor*, the following Points were taken into debate.

First of all, the sending of the *Brasilians* from *Itamarika* to *Rio Grande* being look'd upon as unavoidable, immediate Orders were given to get the necessary Transport Vessels ready for that purpose. It was also taken into consideration, whether it were not feasible to gather a sufficient Force out of the Forts, who in conjunction, with the *Brasilians*, might attack some place or other, from whence to provide our selves with *Farinha*; but to this it was objected by the Majors *Beyers* and *Pistoor*, that the Garrisons of the Forts could not be weakened by any Detachment, without running a great hazard; besides that it was a hard matter to pitch upon any place, where there was any store of *Farinha*, the Enemy having either consumed, spoiled or carried it away before; so that we must expose our Men to an apparent danger, without a sure prospect of Interest; for, supposing we should be successful, the quantity that might be got, would not be sufficient to maintain our Garrisons for any considerable time. It was however agreed to take an exact Account of all the Garrisons, to see whether upon an occasion something might be undertaken for the Service of the State. Accordingly these two Majors *Beyers* and *Pistoor* having presented a List of these Forces the next Day to the Council, it was concluded that no Troops could be spared out of the Forts, except it were out of the *Affagados*, but they were but few in number. At the same time it was resolved to send Captain *Niger* with his Company of *Brasilians* to *Rio Grande*, and the *Omlandia* and *Greyhound* Yacht were ordered forthwith to Sail to *Itamarika*, to Transport the *Brasilians* to *Rio Grande*.

Further debates about the attacking of the Enemy.

The 30th of *May* the Council, the Admiral, and two Majors entred into a second debate, whether it were possible to attack the Enemy, and in what place: Against which it was alledged, that their chiefeest Force was at present in the

Vargea; but supposing, it was not, no *Farinha* was to be got there, because they were supplied with it themselves from far distant places. That the *Farinha* Fields nearest to the *Recif* were about St. *Lawrence*, at least five Leagues from thence; that the nearest *Farinha* Fields to the South were about St. *Antonio* and *Moribeka*, where by reason of the Strength of the Enemy, and the great distance from us, there was no probability of encompassing our design; and that the *Farinha* Fields to the North were likewise at such a distance from the Sea-side, as could not in any likelihood answer our expectation. It was farther taken into consideration, whether some Forces might not be spared in *Itamarika*, but it was carried in the Negative, because since the *Brasilians* were ready to depart for *Rio Grande*, it was not advisable to expose the rest of our Troops there to a hazard. After serious deliberation, what Forces possibly could be raised out of the Forts, (their places being in the meanwhile to be supplied by the Inhabitants) it was found that the *Affagado* could furnish about 70 or 80 Men, the *Quinquangular* Fort, and *Maurice's Town* the same number, and that of St. *Antonio Vaz* about 50. But, considering that the City Militia of the *Recif* consisted only of 6 Companies, of 70, or at the most 80 Men each, and that they were obliged to be upon the guard every Night there (the place being without a Garrison) if a considerable number of them should be employed in the Forts, this must needs expose the Capital Place, which the Enemy chiefly aimed at, to an imminent danger. The Seamen being not above 250 in all could likewise not be employed in that Service, unless we could leave our Ships quite unman'd and useless. So that after many arguments on both sides, it was agreed to choose the securest way, and according to the orders of the Council of XIX. in *Holland*, to expect the succours from thence with patience, and in the mean while to provide for the security of our Forts.

The same Day the Council received Letters from Mr. *Walbeck*, that some of the *Brasilians* of *Itamarika* had deserted, a rumour being spread among them, that we intended to leave them to the mercy of the *Portugueses*, which had put all the rest into a great consternation, but that Mr. *Dortmund* had convinced them to the contrary. Mr. *Walbeck* and *Dortmund* had in the mean while represented

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46. sented to the *Brasilians*, that they being many in number, and consequently very ill provided for at this juncture, whether it were not best, for them, to go for some time to *Rio Grande*. They were at first averse to his Proposals, for fear of being deserted by us, nevertheless the urgent necessity of providing for their sustenance, and to shew their compliance with the Governments Orders, were so reconciled with them, as to resolve to go to *Rio Grande*, provided they might be furnished with convenient Transport-Ships, Provisions and some Ammunition for their Defence, and 50 Men of regular Troops. Mr. *Dortmund* having again solicited for Provisions, some were sent (sufficient for 14 Days) immediately, with some Gunpowder, Bullets and other Ammunition.

Accordingly above 1200 *Brasilians*, most Women and Children, whose Husbands and Fathers had been slain in our Service, embark'd a board the *Omlandia* and some Yachts, a pound of Salt-Cod-fish being allow'd to each for the whole Voyage, without Bread. At their arrival in *Rio Grande* they were so emaciated by Famine, that they appear'd more like dead Carcasses, than living bodies, and laid hold of every thing they could meet with, to satisfy their greedy Stomachs, so that in a little time they consumed all the *Farinha* that was left there.

Mr. *Linge* by his Letters from the 25th of *June* sent advice to the Council, that there appear'd no Enemy at that time in *Paraiba*, but that Ten *Tapoyers*, Vassals of King *John Duwy*, being come into *Rio Grande*, had shewn themselves extremely dissatisfied at the Murder of *Jacob Rabbi*, whereupon it was resolv'd to Reconcile that King to our Interest by the following presents:

200 Gilders in ready Money.
1000 Ells of *Osnaburgh* Linen Cloath.
100 Gallons of *Spanish* Wine.
Two Casks of Brandy.
40 Gallons of Oil, and a Barrel with powdered Beef.

The *Brasilians* in Garrison in the Fort, the *Brun*, the *Quinquangular* and some other Forts, being dissatisfied at their being detained there for Eight Months last past, petitioned the Council the 12th of *June*, to be sent back into *Rio Grande*.

The Opinion of the two Majors being ask'd thereupon, they advis'd, that considering they did no extraordinary Service there, they might well be spared;

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so that it was resolv'd the 14th of *June* in Council, to pay them their Arrears, and to send them back to *Paraiba* and *Rio Grande*, to Inhabit their Villages as before.

In the *Quinquangular* Fort the Company of *Immanuel Barros* was order'd to keep guard, instead of the *Brasilians*, who were commanded to depart the 20th of *June*. The 11, 12, 13th and 14th of *June*, the Enemy Shot in the Night time very fiercely against the Fort de *Affagados*, a redoubt call'd *Kirk* and the House *Boavista*.

The 15th of *June* it was propos'd to the Council by Admiral *Luchbart*, and the two Majors, *Bayert* and *Pissoor*, to beat up the Enemies Quarters in the House of *Immanuel Kavalkanti*, and in the *Baretta*, with the following Troops.

The Company of Captain *Kilian Taylor*, 40 Men.

The Company of Captain *Nicholas Nicholson*, of 70 Men, which were to be joined by Captain *de Niger* with Thirty Men out of the Fort *Frederick*, with Lieutenant *Mo*, from the Fort *Ernestus* with 10 Men, and Lieutenant *Katnar* from the Fort *Prince William* with 20 Men.

In all 200 Men.

About a 100 Volunteers were suppos'd to be rais'd from among the Citizens, under the Colonel *Walbeck*, and *Immanuel Barros* with his Negro's, consisting in 50 Men, these joined with the other 200, would make up a body of 350 Men, to be commanded in chief by Major *Pissoor*; and to be conducted by Sea by Admiral *Luchbart* to their landing place; viz. the Regular Troops to the South of the *Baretta*, and the Negro's upon the Island on the North side, from whence they might break thro' the Marshes to the *Affagados*, and so further to the House cross the River, where they were to make a false attack, whilst the Troops landed at the *Baretta* allaulted them from before; the Admiral with his Transport Vessels to lay ready all this while to receive them, and to secure their retreat upon all occasions. This proposition being approved of by the Council, partly to animate our Soldiers, partly to get at least some Provisions for the Sick, it was resolv'd to be put in Execution the next Day, but the Wind proving contrary, and afterwards the Tides being unseasonable for the convenient landing of our Men, this project was laid aside, especially

Brasilians
sent to
Rio Grande

Presents
sent to
John Duwy

Brasilians
detained
from
the Forts
near the
River

1646

is laid
aside.

1646. especially when instead of 100 Volunteers, scarce 25 offered themselves for this Service, notwithstanding the Council gave them all imaginable encouragement, by promising them to receive the same treatment as the other Servants of the Company had, in case they should be wounded or come to some other misfortune.

In the mean while the Enemy having been informed by some of our Deserters, that by the departure of the *Brasilians* from *Itamarika*, the Garrisons there were much weakened, they thought fit to lay hold of this opportunity, to land such a Force there, as should be beyond our power to drive from thence. The 15th of June, with the break of Day they surprised our Spie Ship there, call'd the *Spiew*, with several Barks and Boats at the Entrance call'd *Passoor*, (*Markers*) they got three Prisoners, the rest escaping with the loss of two of their Comrades kill'd.

The Ship before *Tapasima* was set on Fire by our own People, leaving the Galeot, that lay hard by to the Enemy, after they had taken out all her Men, who went aboard the Yacht call'd the *Golden Doe*, lying before the North Entrance. They landed with about 2000 Men in Chaloups and other Transport Vessels, and *Andrew Vidal* and *John Ferdinand Vieira* writ the same Night the following Letter to Mr. *Dortmund* Commander in chief of *Itamarika*, which they sent by a Boy they had taken Prisoner in the *Spiew*.

Their Letter to Mr. Dortmund.

Most Honourable and most Brave;

YOU are doubtless not unacquainted with the Resolution of the Inhabitants of this Country to retrieve their former Liberty; to effect which they neither want power nor any other means; but their chief aim being to encompass their design, without Effusion of Blood, we thought fit to let you know that we are ready to attack you in this Island with all our Forces, unless you will prevent it by a Treaty. For being sensible that you are pass'd all hopes of Relief, we were willing to advise you, to treat with us, according to the custom of War, used in such cases; that, in case hereafter things should fall out contrary to your expectation by the fury of the conquering Sword, you may not lay the fault thereof at our Doors; For which reason it is, that we offer to you and the rest of the Commanders there, all their Arrears due to them from the Company.

When upon we expect your Answer to Morrow.

From our Head Quarter,
June 15. 1646.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.
John Ferdinand Vieira.

The 17th of June the Council received Advice from Mr. *Dortmund* of their Landing, desiring prompt Succours without which he would not be in condition to maintain the Island against them. It was therefore taken into debate, whether it were possible for us to bring together such a Force, as without much hazard might be able to force the Enemy from thence, but 'twas carried in the Negative.

For it was alledged, that without manifest danger not above 200 Soldiers could be taken out of the Forts of the *Recess*, which number was not sufficient to attack the Enemy, who had already entrenched himself there, with hopes of success: And, considering that these Forces must be transported, either by Sea, we wanted Ships (there being at that time not above two Barks at the *Recess*) both to Convoy them thither, and to cut off the communication with the Continent, to the Enemy. Besides, that at least 14 Days Provisions were required for this Expedition, in case the Enemy should stand his ground, which at this juncture was not to be done, unless we would leave the Magazines of the *Recess* quite empty; There being then no possibility of attempting its relief, the next thing under consideration was whether the Entrenchments on the Hill might be defended or not? Against the maintaining of it was objected; That without fresh supplies of Provisions this Fort could not hold out a Week, especially since the Enemy by cutting off the Pipes of the Spring, that furnished them with fresh Water, would soon put them under a necessity of coming to Surrender; when it was evident, that they might post themselves betwixt the Fort of *Orange* and this Hill, and consequently prevent their receiving any supplies from thence.

Besides that the Hill being of a considerable compass, was the more difficult to be mention'd by our Forces, the Fort it self being irregular and but slightly fortified, on that side especially where the old Church-Wall, making up part of the Courtain, would not be proof against

Consultations about the Relief of Itamarika.

Whether the Fort on the Hill was to be defended.

The Portuguese Land on Itamarika.

against the Enemies Cannon, and consequently expose the whole Fort, with the Garrison, to the Mercy of the Enemy: So that it being beyond all dispute in the Enemies Power to cut off all Communication with the *Fort Orange*, it was unanimously resolved and ordered, to leave the said Entrenchments, and to retire with the Garrison, and what Provisions and Ammunition they had, into the *Fort Orange*, before their Retreat was stop'd by the Enemies Troops; it being past all doubt, that in case they could maintain themselves in that Fort, they could at all times, if they were Masters of the Field, recover the Hill, and the whole Island.

The Council were the more forward in coming to this Resolution, because they had received certain Information, that the Enemy, who knew the Importance of the *Fort Orange*, had gain'd some of the Gunners and Volunteers of the Fort, by Presents, who had engaged to assign them a place where it was easiest to be attack'd, whereabouts they were to charge the Cannon with Gunpowder only, to facilitate their Attack: Two of the Gunners were King'd the 23d of June for this Treachery, the rest made their escape to the Enemy. For the better preservation therefore of this Fort, our People left the Entrenchments upon the Hill the 21st of June, where the Enemy posted a strong Body of their Troops immediately after. The Council likewise ordered the Yacht the *Heenstede* to Cruise in Conjunction with the *Golden Doe*, before the North Entrance of the Island, to keep open free Communication for us with our Garrison, and to prevent the Enemy from receiving any Succours that way; and at the same time some Provisions were sent thither for the use of the Garrison.

But whilst things were thus transacting with various Fortune, tho' for the most part to our Disadvantage, and the so long expected Succours from *Holland* not arriving, the want of Necessaries increased more and more every day in the *Recess*, to such a degree, that whatever was found fit for Sustainance, either in the publick Magazines, or with private Persons, was apply'd to the common Use; which however amounting to no more than one Pound of Bread a Week for each single Person, many died for Hunger; their Legs beginning to swell first, which was the fore-runner of certain Death: Cats and Dogs, of which we had great quantities, were look'd up-

on as Dainties at that time; and you might see the Negroes digging the rotten Bones of Dead Horses out of the Ground, and to Gnow them with incredible Eagerness; Neither was the want of fresh Water less insupportable, by reason of the heat of the Climate, and the constant use of Salt-Meat, all Springs that were dug, being brackish. The poor Slaves, who had the least share of what was left, look'd so gaspily and wild with their Eyes and Jaws sunk, or appear'd terrible to the most undaunted of Men. At last (notwithstanding all the care taken by the Council) things came to that pass, that the Allowance of one Pound of Bread per Week was found to be taken away from the Inhabitants, and allotted the Soldiers; who, by the Encouragements of the *Portuguese*, beginning to Desert apace, had two Pound of Bread allow'd them, as long as there was any left; But when all was spent, and no remedy was to be found against this lingering Evil, it was proposed by the Council, and unanimously resolved, rather to Die bravely, than to Starve, and to Fight their way through the Enemy. The Soldiers were to lead the Van, the Women, Children, sick and other unable People to keep in the middle, and the Members of the Great Council, with the Inhabitants to defend the Rear: The *Jems* were above all the rest in a desperate Condition, and therefore resolved rather to Die with Sword in Hand, than be Burnt alive, which is their Doom in *Portugal*.

But when we were just reduced to the last Gasps, all Horses, Cats, Dogs, and Rats being consumed, and a few Quarterns of *Farinha* sold at the Rate of betwixt 80 or 90 Gilders per Quartern, which however could not suffice for above two days longer, on the 22d of June, (a day never to be forgotten) we saw two Vessels with *Dutch* Colours making all the Sail they could towards the *Recess*: They had no sooner cast their Anchors, and giving us the signal by the Discharge of three Guns each, that they came from *Holland*; but you might have read in all our Faces the sudden Joy we conceived at this Relief in our last Extremity: There was no body that could stand upon his Legs for want of Bread, but did crawl to the Harbour, where you might hear the crys of the People weeping for Joy at a great distance. These two Ships, call'd the *Falcon* and *Elizabeth*, were freighted for the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, and had left the

Text

The Rec
relieved.

On the 26th of April; they brought us the welcome News, that we might hourly expect the whole Convoy. The Captain of the *Elizabeth* told me himself, that having a very fair Wind one day, he said to his Crew, *I am sure they are in great Extremity at the Receif, God send us fair Wind and Weather to relieve them in time*, which happened thus accordingly. The Captains were each presented with a Golden Medal, with the following Inscription, *The Falcon and Elizabeth did relieve the Receif.*

Mr. Bas
narrates
this.

The 23d of June, Mr. Bas, a Member of the Council was sent to *Iamarika*, to assist in the Defence of the Fort; by his Letters of the 28th he advised, That the Enemy continued still in his Post on the Hill, and that he had sent abroad, some Spies to get Intelligence. The 7th of July, the said Mr. Bas return'd to the Receif with the Companies commanded by Captain *Bleucock* and *Cumrad Held*, leaving the two Companies of *Reinard Siklema* and *Dignus Bylsterman* there in Garrison. The Enemy had some days before, after having blown up the Fort on the Hill, and set fire to their Camp, left the Island, carrying along with them all the Cannon, and among them two Brass ones. For, when they saw that we were reinforced with several Ships from *Holland*, they did not think fit to abide there, till we should stop their Passage back by our Vessels; Neither were they insensible, that without being Masters of the Fort *Orange* they could not promise themselves the possession of the Island, the South-Entrance being commanded by the said Fort, and the North-Passage by our Yachts.

The Por-
tuguese
leave Ima-
marika.

The 29th of June, the Council received Advice from our Head-quarter at the House of *John Leston*, in *Rio Grande*, That two Sons of King *John Dumy*, with 23 *Tapoyars*, were sent thither by their Father, to assure our People of his good Inclination and Service; but they refused to come into the Fort *Keulen*, before they had spoken with *Rudolph Baro*, who had been sent for upon that Account. About this time several Merchants set out some Privateers, but as this could not be done without great Charge, and there were but few Ships at Sea of the *Portuguese*, this turn'd to no great Account, and consequently continued not long. A very odd Accident happened to me much at the same time: For, some of the Labourers, who were employed to unload a Vessel belonging to the Company, were got so Drunk, that

they had kill'd a Man, and hurt several others, by letting a Pipe of Wine fall upon them: I went thither to prevent any further disorder, but was no sooner entred the Ship, when on a sudden I found the Silver Galloons upon my Coat turn black, and my self bereaved of my Sight, which however I recovered by degrees in a few days after; the cause of which I attributed to the strong Exhalations of the Wine, that had been clofed up for a considerable time before. Much about the same time a difference arose betwixt the Officers of the Army and the City Militia, about the Chief Command of the Head-Guard in the Receif, which the City Officers laid claim to.

An Acci-
dent hap-
pens to the
Author.

But to return to our so long expected Succours.

The reiterated Letters from the Council of the *Dutch Brasil* to the States General, and the Directors of our Company, wherein they presented their dangerous Condition to them, had had such an Influence upon the first, that they advised the Directors of the Company, to send us a Reinforcement of 3 or 6000 Men, and a good Fleet; for which purpose they sent them 25 Companies of their regular Troops, and gave leave for the raising as many more, as in all mounted to 4000 Land Soldiers, besides Seamen and Volunteers.

This Fleet consisting of a good number of brave Ships, was ready to set sail in November 1645. but by reason of a sudden and hard Frost were detained in the Road of *Vliesingen*, till February 1646. One Mr. *Bankert* Admiral of *Zee Land*, had the Chief Command of this Fleet, and at the same time the following five Gentlemen, who were appointed Members of the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil*, and were to relieve the old ones, were sent to their Stations there; to wit, *Walter Schonenburgh* President, *Michael Van Goch* Pensionary of *Vliesingen*, *Simon Van Beaumont* Fiscal of the City of *Dort*, *Henry Hacks*, and Mr. *Tiowens*, two great Merchants of *Amsterdam*, and Mr. *Heremite* a Lawyer of *Dort*, their Secretary. One *Sigismund Shoppe*, formerly under Count *Maurice*, and had commanded the Land Forces of *Dutch Brasil*, was now sent in the Quality of Commander in Chief of these Forces; He was a most experienced Captain, and who always kept a strict Discipline among the Soldiers.

A Fleet
quits in
Holland
for the
use of
Brasil.

Never did any Fleet sent from *Holland* to *Brasil* meet with so many unfortunate Accidents

ccidents, as this, during the 6 months they were at Sea. For within two days ter they had left the *Dutch Coast*, they were forced to cast Anchor in the Downs opposite to *Newport*, where they lost two of their Ships by stress of Weather. After a stay of three Days, the Winds being somewhat allay'd, the Squadron under Mr. *Van Goch*, set sail again, but was in two days after again forced into *St. Helens* in the Isle of *Wight*: Three days before their arrival, a rich *Dutch Ship*, valued at two Millions of *Livers*, then lately come from *Brasil*, was lost among the Rocks, so that of 300 Persons, no more than 30 were saved. Here they were detained by foul Weather and contrary Winds seven Weeks, when another *Dutch Ship* coming from *Brasil*, chanced to cast Anchor near them, and told them, That their Countrymen in the *Receif* were drove to the last Extremity; nay, that perhaps the Place was surrendred by this time, they having no more than two Months Provisions left at the time of his departure. Hereupon it was resolv'd to continue their Voyage with the whole Fleet, notwithstanding the Winds were against them; but on the Coast near *Portland* were again overtaken by a violent Storm, in which they saw a *Scotch Ship* with 200 Persons in her perish. The Fleet under Mr. *Van Goch* came with much ado to an Anchor behind a Rock, where they staid till the fierceness of the Tempest being allay'd, they prosecuted their Voyage. But scarce were they got through the Channel, just as they were entering the *Spanish Sea*, but a difference arise betwixt Mr. *Van Goch* and Mr. *Beaumont* about the Flag, the *Zealanders* (in a Council of War held for that purpose) allotting the precedency to Mr. *Van Goch*; whereas the *Hollanders* pretended the same to belong to Mr. *Beaumont*; But Mr. *Van Goch* persisting notwithstanding to Claim the Precedency, Mr. *Beaumont* gave a signal to the *Holland Ships* to follow him, and so bid adieu to Mr. *Van Goch*, who after a troublesome and tedious Voyage, in which he lost many of his Men by sickness, and especially the Scurvy, he arrived the 14th of *July* with his Ship in the Road of the *Receif*, being the first of the five new Lords of the Council that arrived in the *Dutch Brasil*. The 31st of *July* 1646, the Ship the *Bluecock*, and the *Flessingen* of *Zealand*, came likewise to an Anchor there; in the first came Mr. *Tromps*, and in the last Colonel *Sigismund Shoppe*.

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The 6th of *August* the said Colonel gave an Account to the Members of the Council, how pursuant to their Orders, he was advanced with 450 Men as far as the Fort of *Olinda*, to discover the Countenance of the Enemy, and to take some Prisoners; That they had made a shew of attacking us, but after some slight Skirmishes retired, and with a Body of their Troops marched through *Bracer de St. Jago*, to cut off our Retreat; but our People forced them to Retreat again with the loss of several of their Men killed and wounded; whereas, we had but one wounded during the whole Action, besides Colonel *Shoppe* himself, who received a slight hurt on his Leg.

The 8th of *August*, the Arms of *Dort* and in it Mr. *Beaumont*, arrived before the *Receif*, he was conducted the next day, with all imaginable Respect, to the *Receif*.

The 12th late in the Evening Mr. *Walter Schonenbergh*, President of the new Council, and *Henry Hacks*, arrived in a Bark from the North in the *Receif*, where they were received by all the Citizens and Soldiers in Arms; They had been forced to leave their Ship, call'd the *Middleburgh*, before the North-Entrance of *Itamarika*, as likewise the *Dolphin*, loaden with Provisions on Account of the Chamber of *Zealand*, both which were seen the 30th of *July* off of *Olinda*, but being forced back by contrary Winds, the last of these two did not come to an Anchor near the *Receif* till the 13th of *August*.

More Ships arrive from Holland.

The same day a certain Negro Deferter coming to the *Receif*, brought Information, That the Enemy intended to erect a Fort on the Pass of the *Baretta*, to prevent our Excursions into the open Country; whereupon it was resolv'd, with unanimous Consent of Mr. *Schonenbergh*, and the whole Council, as likewise with the Approbation of Colonel *Shoppe* and Admiral *Lichtbarr*, to prevent the Enemies Design, by fortifying and maintaining the said Pass, as being the only Inlet we had left for the Recovery of the whole *Dutch Brasil*, all the other Passes being so strongly fortified by the Enemy, as not to be attempted without great hazard.

Accordingly the said Colonel *Shoppe* march'd the same Night with all the Shoppe Forces he could bring together, ordering the Boats laden with Materials for the intended Fortifications, to follow him the next Tide. The Colonel at his arrival, having soon Chased the Enemy

K k from

1646. From thence, and possess'd himself of the House of the *Baretta*, sent for immediate Orders to the Council, to know, whether he should continue in that Post all Night; who, with the approbation of the new President *Schoonenbergh*, dispatched Mr. *Bullestrate* thither immediately to take a view of it, and to make his Report accordingly; He returned the 14th against Night, and reported to the Council, that he had found the work there very far advanced already, and the Fortifications in such a state, that they would soon be in a posture of Defence against any Attempts from the Enemy.

The 13th of August, *Rudolph Baro*, who, as we told you was sent with some Presents to *John Dwy*, King of the *Ta-poyars*, brought a Letter from the said King dated the first of July, to the Council: wherein he thank't them for their Presents; and desired they would be pleased to send him some Iron Weapons, he being then in War with the *Pojak's*, and that after he had humbled them, he would march with all his Forces against the *Portugueses*.

By this time, the President *Walter Schoonenburgh*, and the other Members of the new Great Council, being arrived at the *Receif*, and having delivered their Commissions from their High and Mightinesses the States General, his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of *XIX.* constituting them joyn't Governours of the *Dutch Brasil*, the late Members of the said Council, to wit, *Henry Hamel*, *Bullestrate*, and *Leio Bas*, ordred all the Colleges, and other Persons of Note to be call'd together to be present at the Installment of the future Lords of the Council.

Accordingly all the Members of the Court of Justice, and of the Finances, next the Magistrates and Commissaries of *Maurice's* Town; then the Ministers and Church Council, together with the Sea and Land Officers, the Heads of the *Jews*, and last of all the Factors and Book-keepers of the Company being assembled, Mr. *Walbeck* told them in the Name of the Council, That Mr. *Henry Hamel*, Mr. *Bullestrate*, and *Peter Bas*, had call'd them together, to lay down in their Presence, the Reins of the Government, and to Surrender the same to Mr. *Scho-*

The Mem-
bers of the
Old Council
Surrender
the Govern-
ment.

nienburgh, and the rest of the Lords, appointed by their High and Mightinesses, by his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of *XIX.* for the Supreme Management of the Government of the *Dutch Brasil*; returning them their

heartly Thanks for the Services, each to his respective Station, had done to the Government, and for their constant Fidelity during these intestine Commotions, exhorting them, to persevere in the same Obedience to the new Council; Whereupon the new President and other Members, having received the Congratulations first of the old Council, and then of the other Colleges, they from thence forward transacted every thing by their own Authority, tho' they in all Affairs of Moment took the Advice of the said Members of the old Council, during their stay in *Brasill*; for which purpose they desired them the 20th of August, to appear every day at Eight a Clock at their Assembly, and to assist them with their Council for the better Management of the Affairs of the Company. The 19th of August Mr. *Trowens* died late at Night.

The 3d of September was appointed *Agem* for a General Muster of all the Forces *Review* in Garrison in the Forts near the *Receif*, Mr. *Heck* and *Commissary Zwart*, were ordered to take a Review of those in the Fort *Ernstus*, *Wallerbergh* and *Bon-vista*. Mr. *Beaumont* and *Commissary* in *Agem* the Fort of *Anthony Velt* and *Maurice's Review* Town, Mr. *Van Gock*, *Harvel*, and *Al-rich*, at the *Receif*, and of those belonging to the Artillery. Mr. *Raetsfeld* and *Cronranger* at the *Baretta* and adjacent Quarters. Mr. *Volbergen* and *Commissary Strick* in the Forts *William* and *Frederick Henry*. Mr. *Bullestrate* and *de Witt* in the Fort *Bruin* and the Land and Sea Fort.

The 4th of September, a Pardon being agreed upon by joint Consent of the old and new Council, the same was the 6th sent by a Drummer to the *Bahia*, with a Letter to the *Portuguese* Commanders from the *Bahia*, desiring them to withdraw their Forces.

The 10th of September being appointed for a Review of the Militia of the *Receif* and *Maurice's* Town, the same was found to consist of 700 Men; They received the Thanks of the old Council for their Faithful Services, during the present intestine War, and then returned their Thanks to them for their prudent Management of the Government.

The 13th of September the Letters written by the *Portuguese* Colonel, the 11th of September, in Answer to ours of the 6th, were read in the *Great Council*, fill'd with untruths and Fictions of their own invention. They pretended that they were prevented by the Inhabitants from retiring to the *Bahia*, besides

that they wanted Transport
Vessels, their Ships being detained in
the Bay of Tamandare, and that they
must expect the Kings orders for that
purpose.

They took also a great deal of pains,
to magnifie their Strength, The 12th
and 13th of September several Letters
were dispersed abroad by the Portuguese,
directed to Justice Daems, to Matthew
Bek, Balthazar da Fonseca, Duarte Sarayva,
Cespar Francis da Costa, being all Mer-
chants, and written by John Fernand
Vieira; In which they again exaggerated
their own number, and spoke very de-
spisably of ours, threatening, that in case
they should be forced to quit the Coun-
try, they would destroy all with Fire
and Sword, as they had already done
in some parts of Paraíba. The Contents
of these Letters were as follows.

*A Letter from Vieira to some Mer-
chants in the Dutch Brasil.*

Experience has without question con-
vinced you sufficiently of the reasons
that moved us to undertake this War, and
the sincere love we war with is an ample
testimony, that God was pleased to influe
this punishment upon our Enemies, for the
many outrages committed against the In-
habitants of this Country. This is however
in a great measure to be attributed to the
general consent of the said Inhabitants, who
having now forced themselves from the ty-
rannical Yoke of their Oppressors, ought to
expect from me, who, tho' unworthy, am
appointed the chief manager of this War,
to be back'd in so brave a resolution. I
would not have you be Ignorant, of our
Strength, which, in comparison of yours,
exceeds all what can be said upon that head;
I will only tell you that as by our quitting
the Captainships of Paraíba and Goiana, we
are considerably increased in number, so, it
is most evident from thence, that the In-
habitants chose rather to lose their Possessions,
than to continue any longer the Indignities
that were done upon them, which was the
true cause of their Insurrection, and not
as it is given out among you because they
were unable to satisfy their Creditors; be-
cause they left more than what would have
aid their Debts. But if it should happen
that the said Inhabitants should not be
able to maintain themselves by force of
Arms, they are resolved to lay all the other
Captainships desolate in the same manner.

Having therefore well weighed the reasons
which seem to promise us a good issue of this
War, I thought myself obliged as a Friend,

to advise you that that Party which is back'd
by Reason and the unanimous Resolution of so
many thousands; for, I can assure you, we
are at least 14000 strong besides the Negro's
and Tapoyers, dispersed in several
places from Rio Grande as far as Rio St.
Francisco. Kameron commands 600
Musketeers, Henry Dias 800 Negro's,
200 Minos and 700 Tapoyers; and those
of the Sertan are at our devotion, whenever
we are pleased to call for them; but above
all the rest we have God on our side. We
are not ignorant, that before the arrival of
Mr. Sigismund Shoppe your whole Force
consisted not in above 600 Men, and that
the Succours come along with him does not
amount to above 1200 more; most of which
are Boys, and the rest either Dead or Sick.
You see I am well acquainted with your
Strength, having kill'd and taken Prisoners
about 2600 of your best Soldiers, and 500
Brasilians, besides the wounded that were
carried to the Recife; when our Troops
had no other Arms than pointed Sticks and
Clubs. These are blessings from Heaven,
for we were able to perform these things
without Powder and Ball, what may not be
expected if we have now they are
furnished with good Troops, and provided
with all the Arms and Ammunition? all
which I confirm to you upon my word, to be
nothing but the real truth, and had it not
been in respect of those Colonels sent from the
Bahia, and of his Majesty of Portugal, I
had by this time been Master of the Recife,
or some of the Forts, or at least I might have
done much greater mischief: But if matters
are not brought to a happy conclusion,
I am resolved to act like a desperate Man,
and not to leave any Sugar-Mills, Cattel
or Negro's in the Country, but will ra-
ther turn all to Ruin and Destruction,
before we will be compelled to submit
again to your Obedience.

As these presents may serve as warning
to you, so, I hope you, and the rest of the
Merchants will not delay to enter with us
into such Articles of Agreement, as may
be most conducive to the preservation of your
Possessions; for I would have you call to
mind that there are many Ingenio's (Mills)
reduced at present to such a state, as not
to be likely to be in a condition, to be used
these Ten Years next to come. The Var-
gea is in no better condition than Paraíba
and Goiana, and the Cartel (without which
the Mills cannot subsist) destroyed in most
places.

Colonel Sigismund Shoppe I suppose pre-
tends to keep the Field against us, as he
did in the last War, but he will find himself
egregiously mistaken, because the Inhabitants

646. will not be of his side, for if I should hear of one that was, I would cause him to be hanged immediately. You allege that we are Vassals of the Company, but when was ever any conquered Nation treated thus as we were, worse than the vilest Slaves, of which you are sensible as well as we; so that being forced to break our Chains, we don't owe you any further Obedience. If we had not been in hopes of this opportunity, we would long before have implored the assistance of the King of Spain or France; and if those had failed us, to have had recourse to the Turks and Moors. I desire you not to throw away this Letter, because experience will convince you of the truth of it; and that we shall pursue the same methods here, as we have done in other places; wherefore I would have you not give Credit to anybody, except to those that come in Person from those places; I having told them nothing but the bare truth, which you will find in effect thus: In the prosecution of this War, I hope you will consider, what is most for your Interest, in which I am ready to serve you; for tho' your Governours don't direct their Letters to me, 'tis I that have the chief management of this War, and under my Command the power of the Colonels came from the Bahia, extending no further, than over those Troops, they have brought along with them. A Royal de bon Jesus, September 11. 1646.

On the 10th of this Month, the before-mentioned Colonels having sent an Answer to a Letter directed to them from your Council, by one of our Captains; several ensnaring questions were ask'd him concerning the present War, which he perhaps not answering according to their expectation, they replied more like drunken Cowards than Soldiers; If they will be pleased to come out and tell me these things, I will try whether their Swords are as nimble as their Tongues are, and teach them what respect is due, to the Messengers of those Persons, who have the supreme Command here. This I write to you at present, but shall not fail in due time, to make my words good by the Sword, of which your People feel the daily effects as often as they dare to come out of their Forts. Pray be not deceived, for Brazil is not allotted to you; not questioning but that God will bless our Arms, and if we happen to Die, we shall lose our Lives in the Defence of our Holy Religion and Liberty; and all those that have refused to accept of our Offers, will pay for it with the loss of their Lives, Possessions and Debts.

A Royal, Sept. 12.
1646.

Signed,

John Fernand Vieira.

The 14th of September a Man of War, call'd the *Ter Veer*, Equipp'd by the Chamber of Zealand, (aboard of which was Colonel *Hinderfon*) arrived before the Receif, after a Voyage of 14 Weeks. The 24th of September the Enemy caused some Pamphlets to be dispersed, promising in very haughty terms, a general Pardon, and a Composition of their Debts, in case we would leave the Island. The 27th of September Colonel Shoppe return'd with some Troops from *Goiana*, by the way of *Itamarika*; I had not met with any Enemy, but had found all the Sugar-Mills burnt in the first place, but the Sugar-Reed and Farinha Fields in a pretty good condition; we received afterwards further Information, that the Sugar Mills of *Goiana*, were not quite burnt down. The 27th October a Conference was held betwixt the Old Council and Mr. *Van Goch*, unto whom they imparted their Advice concerning several matters relating to the State of the Dutch Brazil, and especially to the Planting of the *Mandioka* or *Farinha* Roots, and the killing of Cattle, which they advised to be done, with great circumspection, Brazil being not able to subsist without a considerable number of Oxen, which were continually employed in carrying of Sugar-Reeds, Wood and other necessaries to the Mills.

Colonel Shoppe returns from Goiana.

A Conference betwixt the Old Council and Mr. Goch.

For the planting of *Farinha* Roots they proposed *Itamarika*, *Rio Grande* and *Paraiba*, which Countries were thought sufficient to supply their present occasions; provided it were done before the Season was elapsed.

In the mean while Colonel Shoppe having made several, but for the most part, unsuccessful attempts upon the Enemy; our Forces were thereby so diminished that we were not in condition to make head against the Portuguese near the Receif; which made our Council take a resolution, to endeavour the recovery of *Rio St. Francisco*, the execution of which being committed to the management of Colonel *Hinderfon*, proved more fortunate for us, he meeting with little resistance thereabouts.

Accordingly the 24th of October the following Ships; Count *Eano* Admiral, *Loanda* Vice Admiral, The *Arms* of the Dort Rear Admiral, the *Bluecock*, the *Watchful Dog*, the *Greyhound*, *Eagle*, the *Star*, *Heemstede* and the *Flight*, with Eight Barks, set Sail under the Command of Admiral *Lichtbart*, and Colonel *Hinderfon* to the South. The 17th of November the Council received Advice, that

The Port assembly of the recovery of Rio St. Francis

that our Troops under Colonel *Hinderson* were safely landed at *Korasippa*, and marching from thence to *Rio St. Francisco* and the Fort *St. Maurice* had met with no opposition from the Enemy, who had begun to raise the said Fort. That they had been seconded by the small Vessels, which had followed them up the River, which our Forces had passed, and were marched to *Seregippe del Rey*, having left some behind to repair the Fort; and that four *Portugueses* had requested their Pardon, which was promised them. Whilst our Forces were employed thereabouts, I was ordered thither to take care of the necessary Provisions (of which there was great plenty) for our Troops; having accordingly caused my Cargo to be embarked, aboard a Ship call'd the *Brownfish*, *Francis Frantz* Master.

*Mr. Nicu-
hoff order-
ed thither.*

I set Sail the 24th of November. We were carried with a brisk Gale as far as the Mountains call'd by our People the *Saddle-Hills* from their shape, the Coast all thereabouts being white Sand Downs. About half an hour after Sun-set we saw our selves off of the Bay of *Tamandare*, and from thence continued our Course with a fair Wind, which in two Days after brought us happily to the Entrance of that great River, which is so broad at the beginning that a Sixpounder can scarce reach cross it; it falls with a very soft Current into the Sea, its Waters being low in the Winter, but increase in the Summer, perhaps by reason of the Snows that are melted by the heat of the Sun. About 50 Leagues from its mouth is a great Cataract or Water-fall, surrounded by a great many Islands; The Sea at its Entrance meeting in tempestuous Weather with the Current, is so boisterous, that they strike Terror into the stoutest Mariners, and carry away great pieces of the Continent long with them. We entered the said River, but were forced to cast Anchor immediately after Sun-set, for want of a fair Wind to carry us higher up, which commonly begins to blow thereabouts at three in the Morning. The country appear'd very pleasant on both sides, and we saw abundance of Wild beasts near the River side, and several sorts made of Straw. We were detained near 24 Hours upon a Sand bank, which after we had passed, we came at last to the Village call'd *Penedos*, situate upon a high Hill; Here we landed with 11 Boats, and found a few Houses which were rebuilt by our People, the first being burnt by the Enemy before Vol. II.

their flight. In the Fort was formerly, (in the time of the *Portugueses*) a Church, which we turn'd into a Magazine; it was surrounded with a goodly Wall, the River passing by it on the Northside, where the Hill is very Steep.

The 30th of November Admiral *Lichthart* was seized with a sudden and violent illness, occasioned by his drinking too much cold Water, after he had overheated himself before; He was carried into a Boat, with Three Soldiers under the Command of an Officer, lower down the River, but soon after lost his Senses, and in my presence expired. The next Day his Corps being put in a Coffin was carried aboard the *Golden Star*, being conducted by the Chief Officers there present, and Four Companies of Soldiers to the River side, who gave Three Salvo's with their Musquets, as did the Cannon from the Fort and Ships, in order to his Interment at the *Recess*.

*Admiral
Lichthart
dies.*

Towards Evening as I was going aboard our Ship the Boat overturned by the swiftness of the Current, and had I not been a good Swimmer, I had infallibly been drowned. The Master threw out a great Cable over-board, by the help of which, and God's Mercy I got safely into the Ship. The Soldiers in the mean while scow'd the Country, and brought 700 Oxen, (of which there was great plenty) and 300 Calves into our Quarters, having been at Pasture in one of the adjacent Islands of the River, under the guard of some Soldiers; they were not extraordinary Fat, but tolerable good Meat. The Soldiers Huts were for the most part planted on the North-side of the Hill, which being composed of Branches and Leaves of Trees took Fire accidentally the 3d of December, with such fury, that in a quarter of an Hour the whole Quarter was in a flame, notwithstanding that the alarm was given immediately, by the beating of Drums and the sounding of Trumpets; some Soldiers that were then swimming in the River, lost all their Cloaths by this accident. It was well it happened by Day; for if it had been in the Night it would have put us under a great consternation, it being generally reported, that it had been done by Treachery. There was at that time a plentiful crop of Tobacco upon the circumjacent Fields, but was not quite fit for reaping, which must be done at a certain Season, before the low Grounds are overflow'd. The Colonel desired me to provide those who had lost all, with

*Mr. Nicu-
hoff in
danger of
being
drowned.*

*A Fire in
the Soldi-
ers Quar-
ters.*

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

new Cloaths, and to deduct it out of their Pay; but I told him, that I being only a Factor could not do it without special Order from the Council, some having but little Pay due to them. The 25th of December we received Intelligence that the Enemy began to appear in a considerable Body, whereupon the Companies of Captain *Cousin*, *Schut*, *Gyseling*, *La Montayne*, and of a *Brazilian* Captain call'd *Tomee*, were sent in quest of them, with Orders, to set their Stables on Fire, and bring the Cattle to our Quarters. The next following Monday word was brought us, that our Troops were so narrowly enclosed by the Enemy, that it was feared scarce one of them would escape with Life. Whilst we were in a great Conternation, not knowing what Resolution to take, a *Brazilian* brought us the unwelcome News, that our whole Body was routed and dispersed, and Captain *Schut*, *Cousin* and *La Montayne*, kill'd upon the Spot. He had scarce finished his doleful Relation before a *German* Soldier, who had escaped the Fight, by his bleeding Wounds, and his words gave us a Confirmation of what had been told us before, with this addition, that Captain *Gyseling's* Lieutenant, *La Montayne's* Ensign, and one *Kilmet*, belonging to Captain *Schut*, had fought their way through the Enemy, with about 30 Soldiers, and would soon be here. This mishap was chiefly attributed to the Fool-hardiness of our Troops, who contrary to Colonel *Hinderfons* Command, having at once discharged all their Musquets against the Enemy, fell in Pell-Mall without any regular Order, with Sword in Hand upon the Enemy, which the Enemy perceiving, retreated back and drew them into an Ambush. Towards Night we saw several Soldiers miserably wounded with Darts come to our Quarters, some who had thrown away their Arms, were forced to cast Lots for their Lives, the misfortune of which fell upon a *Dutchman* and a *Brazilian*, who being tied to a Stake to be Shot to Death, were, however pardon'd by the Colonel. Captain *Gyseling's* Lieutenant who came without his Arms to the Fort, was sent immediately to the *Receif*, where his Sword was broke over his Head, and he declared incapable of serving the Company for the future, notwithstanding he had done them faithful Service for seven years last past.

The Dutch
defeated
in Rio St.
Francisco.

By this time I was sent for to the *Receif*, so, that after having taken my leave

of the Colonel and Mr. *Dames*, I embark'd a board the *Bar* the 16th of December, and we were the same Evening with a fair Wind and Stream carried, to the mouth of the River. It being a fine Moon light Night, we catch'd abundance of *Zoggers* as we call them, a Fish of a very good taste, and continued our course with a brisk Gale: Not far from the Rivers Mouth we met with four of our Ships, who told us, they were to fetch Provisions, but in case they could not, were to return forthwith to the *Receif*. The 18th we advanced but little, the Ships being not out of sight of us, near the Rivers Mouth; but did catch more Fish than we were able to Eat. The 20th we were likewise becalmed, and we perceived the Moon to be half Eclipsed for the space of two Hours. The next following Day we sail'd so near to *St. Antonio*, that we could see them walking along the Sea-shoar: Towards Night we discovered *Porto Calvo*, about 30 Leagues from *Rio St. Francisco*. We were often becalmed, but catch'd abundance of *Kings-Fish*, and Cods, and saw Fires in many places along the Coast. The 24th of December we came so near to the Cape of *St. Austen* that we discovered five Ships and seven Row-Barges in the Harbour; we might have reach'd some of those that went a shoar with our Shot, had it not been for the Sand bank, which hindered our nearer approach. About Noon we came before the *Recess*, but it was so Foggy that we scarce could discover the Water-Fort, nevertheless we ventured in, and I got ashoar immediately, with an intention to give an account of the State of Affairs in *Rio St. Francisco*, to Mr. *Schonenbergh*, being conducted thither by Colonel *Shoppe*, who happened to meet me immediately after my landing.

The 27th of October the Enemy had laid two Ambushes in the way to the Fort *Prince William*, beyond the Redoubt *Kisk*. They did not stir, till towards Noon, when perceiving a Company of our Soldiers marching along the Dike, they fired so briskly upon them, that they killed 11, wounded 12, and took three Prisoners; yet not without the loss of some on their side.

In the mean while the *Tapoyars* being much exasperated at the Murder of the before-mentioned *Jacob Rabbi* their Commander, had left our Party; The Council did what they could to appease them, imprison'd and banish'd *Garman* the Author of it, and confiscated his Estate, notwithstanding

10404

Mr. Nieu-
hoff's re-
turn to the
Receif

The En-
emy an A-
mbush.

The Ta-
poyars
leave
Party.

which, the *Tapoyas* could not be prevailed upon to join with us, as before.

Journal
concerning
the Enter-
prise a-
gainst the
Enemy.

The 18th of November, Mr. Van Goch entered into a Conference with the Members of the Old Council, whether it might not be feasible to Embark what Forces we were able to spare on Board our great Ships, and to attempt to make a powerful Diversion to the Enemy by attacking him in some Place or other. But those of the Old Council having represented to him the danger of this Enterprize, if it should miscarry, whilst they were blockt up in the *Recife*, the further Debate thereof was deferred till the next day. It was then proposed, upon second Thoughts, That in case we could bring all our Forces together, something of moment might be undertaken without manifest hazard, whereby to oblige the Enemy to withdraw his Forces from the *Recife*; but Mr. Van Goch apprehending no small danger in case we miscarried, they came to no resolution for that time.

another a-
out refus-
ing of
quarter.

It being found by Experience, that all our Promises of Pardon had proved ineffectual; it was proposed by Mr. Van Goch the first of December, Whether it were not most Expedient to give no Quarter for the future; unto which it was answered, That very seldom Quarter had been given by us, and few Prisoners were taken, and that the Enemy had likewise kill'd most of our People that were falln into their Hands, but they judged it not convenient to refuse Quarter to all without Distinction, which would induce such of the Inhabitants as had remained quiet hitherto, to betake themselves likewise to their Arms.

The 23d of November we laid an Ambush for the Enemy near the Fort of *As Jagados*, who being by some few, sent out for that purpose, engaged in a Skirmish, and pursuing our Men with great Eagerness under the Cannon of the Fort, were set upon by those lying in Ambush, who killed and wounded many of them.

The 12th of December, the Corps of the late Admiral *Lichtbart* was later'd, one Company of the City Militia, and two of Soldiers appearing in Arms upon that Occasion, gave him three Salvoes with their Muskets.

News from
Rio St.
Francisco.

The 30th of Decemb. the *Eagle* Yacht brought Letters to the Council, dated in *Rio St. Francisco* the 4th of December, intimating, That in an Island a little above the Fort, one Colonel *Rebellia* was arrived with 200 men from the *Bahia*;

and that they expected another Reinforcement, as well from thence, as from the *Paraga*; That our People being sent higher up the River, had attackt some of the Enemies Troops, but they made their escape to the other side, leaving their Arms and Clothes behind them.

1646.

The 2d of January 1647. Colonel Shoppe, who had been with 300 Fusileers in *Goiana*, return'd to the *Recife*, giving an Account, That he had taken a View of all the Rivers thereabouts, but met with no Enemy.

1647.

The 5th of January, the Council received an Account of the beforementioned Action in *Rio St. Francisco*, viz. Five Companies of our Forces being sent to *Orambou*, to beat up the Enemies Quarters, they met with a Body of 100 Men, whom they attackt and put to flight; but soon after our Forces were attackt by a much stronger Body, who put them to the Rout, with the loss of 150 Men; of our Officers, one Captain was kill'd, and five taken Prisoners, viz. Captain *Samuel Lambart*, *La Montagne*, *Gerrit Schut*, *Kilian Taylor*, *Daniel Koin*, and three Lieutenants, *Josff Koyman*, *Anthony Balthart*, *Jeronymus Helleman*, and one Ensign.

Shoppe re-
turns from
Goiana.

The 8th of January, Mr. Van Goch, in the Name of the New Council, advis'd with those of the Old Council, that it being resolv'd among them, to send for a considerable number of their Forces out of *Parayba*; in order to gather a Body of Troops for some important design, they desired to be inform'd concerning the present Condition of the said Captainship; and whether the City of *Paraiba* and *St Andrew* might be defended by a small Garrison; whereupon those of the Old Council reply'd, That the Town of *Fredericia* had no fresh Water but what they must fetch at a miles distance, and consequently might be cut off by the Enemy; the same thing might be done at the Passage leading to the Riverside; besides, that there was no Fortifications belonging to the place but the Monastery, which was of no great consequence, and the *Guarte Domages* Church which had been fortified by the Enemy in this War. As to *St. Andrew*, it was no more than a Sugar-Mill about four hours distant from the City of *Paraiba*, situate upon the Bank of the River; that the Communication of this Place with the Fort of *St. Margaret* might easily be cut off by the Enemy, as being likewise about four Leagues from thence, but it might be relieved from

Consulta-
tions con-
cerning the
State of
Paraiba.

1647. from the Water-side, and yet not without great difficulty. Mr. *Van Goch* told them, he would make his Report thereof to the Council.

The 12th of *January*, the Council received Advice, That the Enemy were with a strong Body of Troops entred *Paraiba*, and advancing very near to the Sugar-Mill of St. *Andrews*, had in the Night time surpris'd some *Dutch* and *Brazilians*, to the number of 50 Men, Women and Children, of which they had kill'd some, and ript up the Womans Bellies.

The 13th of *January*, some Pamphlets were again disperf'd by the Enemy, containing in substance, That since the Inhabitants of the *Receif* were now beyond all hopes of further Relief, it would be their surest way to come to an Accommodation; for they were resolv'd to venture all before they would lay aside their Design, but if all fail'd they would destroy the whole Country, and so leave it: They Exhort'd them not to be deceived by the Insinuations of those who belonged to the Company; and call'd them Rebels; they being no more to be stiled so, than the *Dutch* themselves, who had assert'd their Liberty against Spain.

Advice
from *Paraiba*.

The 17th of *January*, four Negroes belonging to one *Isaac de Roffier*, who had been taken Prisoners some days before in *Paraiba*, came over to us into the *Receif*, and brought Advice, That the Enemy, after having tarried but a little time in that Captainship, where they had kill'd five *Dutch* Men and some *Brazilians*, were retir'd from thence.

The *Wool-*
en Fort
batter'd.

The 22d of *January* early in the morning, the Enemy began to batter the Wooden Fort near the *Baretta* from a Battery on the Bank of the Southside of the River, which he continued the whole day, but desist'd at night; the Garrison having been reinforced about Noon with five Companies of Soldiers, and some Provisions; because Mr. *Hamel* one of the Members of the Old Council, did represent to Mr. *Van Goch*, that though the Fort it self was so inconsiderable, as scarce to be worth the trouble of defending it, by a good Garrison, yet at this juncture, when the Enemy had made his first attempt upon it; it would not be adviseable to desert it, for fear of giving Encouragement to the Enemy to attack the other Forts; But, that on the contrary, as long as they did meet with a brave Resistance here, they would not be so forward to attempt others; especially since we had the conveniency of

relieving them with Boats at High Water with Low-Tide by Land by the way of the Sandridge; and that we might annoy the Enemy with the Cannon from our Yachts, in his Trenches, as we had done that day. About the same time, a Map was order'd to be made, shewing the true Situation of the *Receif*, with the Turnings and Windings of the adjacent Rivers and Marshes, as far as the *Baretta*, for the better Instruction of the Council.

The 24th of *January* in the morning, News was brought, That the Enemy had rais'd the Siege of the Fort of the *Baretta* the Night before, and carried off all their Cannon, being sensible, that as long as they could be annoy'd from the Sea-side, and we be able to reinforce them daily with fresh Troops, they could promise themselves but slender success: But besides, that our People were to struggle against the Enemy and Famine, they were frequently troubled with Desertions, many of our Soldiers, nay even to the Serjeants, and other Officers, who begun to Despair of our Ease, running over to the Enemy, even at that time when the before-mentioned Ships the *Falcon* and *Elizabeth* were in sight of the *Receif*.

Now the Members of the Old Council began to prepare in good earnest for their return to *Holland*, they had already in December 1646. solicited Mr. *Schenbergh* President of the New Council, to order some Ships to be got ready to Transport them thither, and the *Vliesingen* had been appointed for that purpose; But the same being not as yet return'd from Cruising, they apply'd themselves the 25th of *January* 1647. to Mr. *Van Goch*, and told him, That whereas according to their Commission, one of them should return after the Expiration of three years, they had continued in *Brafil* these six years: Mr. *Kodde* having indeed been order'd to return about that time, but his Place not being supplied by another, he died, before his departure: That they had for these three years last past, solicited their return, and had two years ago received Promises of being relieved by others; which had not been performed till within these few Months, to the great prejudice of themselves and their Families: Mr. *Van Goch* promised them to take effectual Care to have the Ships got ready, and to send for the Ship the *Vliesingen*, in order to their return home. At the time of the Accession of the New Council to the Government, and the departure of *Henry Hamel*, *Adrian Budegren*, and

The Members of
old Council
follow'd
their return.

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A Catalogue of the Forts in the hands of the Dutch.

and Peter Bar; late Members of the Great Council, the following Forts remained still in the Possession of our West-India Company.

The Fort Keulen at the Mouth of Rio Grande, provided with 28 Brass, and one Iron Cannon.

The Redoubt of St. Antonio, on the North-side of the River Paraíba, with six Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort Restangues in an Island of the same Name, within the River Paraíba, with four Brass and five Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort Margaret on the Southside of the River Paraíba, with 14 Brass and 24 Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort Orange, in the Isle of Itamarika, with six Brass and 7 Iron pieces of Cannon.

Nossa Senhora de Conceição, an old Battery upon the Hill of Itamarika, with two Brass and eight Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Redoubt call'd Madame de Brun, three Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort Wassendungh, alias the Triangular Fort, betwixt the Brun and the Recife; the first provided with four Brass and five Iron pieces of Cannon; the last with sixteen Brass Guns.

The Land Fort alias St. John's, with 11 Iron Guns.

The Water Fort, at the Mouth of the River of the Fier, with 7 Brass Guns.

The Fort Fortif. with five Brass and three Iron pieces of Cannon, and the Battery with five Brass and two Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Recife.

Maurice's Town, upon the Island of Anthony Vnez.

The Fort Frederick Henry, alias the Quinquangular Fort.

The Redoubt of Stone near this Fort.

The Redoubt Kirk, betwixt the Fort Frederick Henry and the Fort Prince William.

The Fort Prince William upon the River Affagados.

The Forts then in possession of the Portugueses, and taken by them from the Dutch, are these:

Seregippo del Rey, Rio St. Francisco, and Porto Calvo, being reduced by Famine, were raised by the Portugueses, being sensible that our People could not maintain themselves there without erecting of new ones, which was not to be done without a vast Charge. Near the Point of Tamandare, the Place where the Portugueses from the Bahia first of all land-

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ed their Men; and where afterwards their Fleet was beaten by ours, the Enemy laid the Foundation of a Fort, for the security of that Harbour, where Ships of great Burthen might safely ride at Anchor.

The 23d of January, Mr. Beaumont was sent by the New Council to Confer with the late Members concerning the present Condition of Rio St. Francisco, and what was best to be done there: They answered him as before, That the Fort, as it was now, could do but little Service, and that therefore it would be worth our Consideration, Whether the Proposals made by them in Writing, might not now be put in practice. The said Mr. Beaumont further propos'd, Whether it would not be requisite to erect an Earthen Redoubt for the Defence of the Baretta; unto which those of the Old Council reply'd, That considering the vast Charge, and the small Benefit which could be expected from it, the same might be more conveniently built in some Place or other, to facilitate our passage into the open Country. Beaumont was of Opinion, That thereby the Enemy would be prevented from advancing to the Fort Frederick Henry; but the Old Members told him, That notwithstanding we had now a Fort on the Baretta, we could not hinder the Enemies coming upon that Island near the Fort, unless we would keep a considerable Force there for that purpose; That we need not fear their Transporting any Cannon thither, because their Retreat might be cut off at high Tide; neither could they from thence do any mischief to the Recife, it being evident, that the Shot of our biggest Cannon in the Fort Frederick William, could not reach the said Island. The same Evening Mr. Van Goch and Hack, came to tell the Members of the Old Council, That the Hollands and Fleessingen would be ready in a little time, in order to conduct them to Holland, the Fleessinger being ordered forthwith to return from the Bahia, whither she was sent a Cruising.

By this time the Enemy had blockt us up so closely in the Recife, that on the Island side we durst scarce look without the Gates; and a certain Portugese had prepared us a wofe Entertainment, having invited all our Chief Commanders abroad to his Daughters Wedding, during which time the Enemy were to have surpris'd the City; but this design being timely discovered by some Portugueses and Jews, miscarried.

M m

About

1647.

A Conference about Rio St. Francisco,

An Isle Baretta.

The Recife blockt up.

1647.
The Portuguese
build a
Fort.

A miserable
Spectacle
is.

About the 15th of October, the *Portugueses* began to Rebuild the Fort *Bon Jesus*, as it is call'd by them, but by us *Altena*, on the other side of the River. We had some notice of it by Deserters, but could not discover the Truth of it, because they kept us from advancing that way by their Cannon, and the place was surrounded on all sides with Woods; but as soon as they had caused them to be cut down, we discovered it both by sight and the roaring of their Cannon, which thundring incessantly against the City, caused such a Consternation, as is not easie to be express'd, most People sheltering themselves in Vaults, to avoid the fury of the Enemies Cannon. Of this I saw a most miserable Spectacle in a certain young Lady, a Niece of the late Admiral *Lichthart*, who being come to visit one of her Acquaintance lately Married, had both her Legs shot off by a Cannon Bullet, which at the same time kill'd the new Married Woman upon the spot. At the outcry of these miserable Wretches I ran thither instantly, my leg being left by, where I was an Eye-witness of their Misery, the poor young ~~lady~~ rubbing my Legs with such an Agony, that she could scarce be pull'd off with all the strength I had; it being a most miserable Spectacle for me to see the Floor covered with the Legs and Arms of these miserable Wretches; the poor young Lady died likewise within three days after. It was not long after that I narrowly escaped the same Misfortune; for whilst I was Talking with some of the Inhabitants of the City, as I was going the Rounds, two of them were kill'd by a Cannon Bullet, and another had both his Hands shot off as he was lighting his Pipe. Nay, we were forced to remove all the Ships out of the Harbour for fear of being Sunk. Colonel *Shappe* in the mean while had made himself Master of, and destroyed *Taperika*, 2000 *Portugueses* only having saved themselves by flight; But by the many unsuccessful Encounters we had with the *Portugueses*, our Forces decreasing daily, whereas theirs encreased, Colonel *Shappe* was ordered to Command Colonel *Hinderfon* to leave *Rio St. Francisco*, and to join him in *Taperika*; but this stood us but in little stead, being not long after obliged to leave likewise *Taperika* for the Relief of the *Recess*. All our force consisting of about 1800 men, being now come to the *Recess*, (where they had not Provisions for above seven months left) it was several times taken

into Consideration, what was best to be done at this juncture. Colonel *Shappe* with some other Officers were of Opinion not to hazard an Engagement, our Forces being so much inferior to the Enemy, but to stay for a more favourable opportunity; But it was carried by the majority to venture a general Salley for the relief of the *Recess*, the chief Command thereof being given to Colonel *Brink*, because Colonel *Shappe* was not as yet cured of his Wounds he had received in a late Encounter. Our Forces marched towards Evening as far as *Gue-rapes*, a place fatal to us the year before by the defeat of our People, the Fields thereabouts being as yet covered with their Bones. The *Portugueses* no sooner perceived us to be upon the march, but they left the Fort *Altena*, of which we having got notice, possess'd our selves of it immediately; and thus drew the Thorn out of our Foot. But the 16th of May prov'd the most fatal of all we had seen for many years before in *Brasil*. For, though our Forces attackt the Enemy with bravery, and maintained the Fight with great obstinacy for some time, yet the Enemy flush'd with their number and late Success, with 2500 of their best Men, at last forced our Men to give way, and afterwards to fly, being pursued by 150 *Portuguese* Horse; so that both in the Fight and Flight, we lost above 1100 Men, among whom were Colonel *Brink*, and almost all the rest of our Commanders: We lost also 19 Colours, and all our Cannon and Ammunition, we had carried along with us. It was not till five days after before leave could be obtained to bury our Dead, which began to corrupt and stink most nauseously, by reason of the burning heat of the Sun. This was the last Effort we were likely to make in the Field; all our future care being for the Preservation and Defence of the *Recess*, unless we should be supplied with fresh Succours from *Holland*; but the same arriving but slowly, most People began to fear, that in case God Almighty did not send us some unexpected Relief, we should be at last forced to leave that Place likewise to the Mercy of the Enemy: The Great Council laying the Fault of our late Misfortunes upon the Council of War, and these again upon them, alledging, That the Soldiers were ill provided for, and wanted their Pay. As for my self, being sensible that things would be worse and worse every day, thought it the safest way for me also, to desire a Passport for my re-

A gene-
ral Salley m.
by the
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Are
ed.

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1647. tuftn to Holland, which at last, with much ado I obtained, and so prepared every thing for my Voyage. But before I leave *Brasil*, I ought to give you a short account of the Products of the said Country.

The Captainship of *Pernambuco* and *Brasil* in general being not only well stored with Cattle, but also with several sorts of Herbs, Trees and Fruits, we will give you a short view of them, and begin with the *Mandioba*, and its Root.

1647
Mandiok
Root.



call'd *Mandioka*, unto which the *Brasilians* stand chiefly indebted for their Subsistence. The most parts of *America* are ignorant hitherto of Wheat or any other Grain, instead of which Nature has furnished them with a certain Shrub, the Root of which dried and powdred, and afterwards Boil'd and Bak'd as we do our Bread, is the common Food of the Inhabitants of *America*. This Shrub grows in Vast Plenty every where, being by the *Brasilians* call'd *Maniba* and *Mandioba*, and its Root *Mandioka*. There are divers kinds of it, distinguished by the *Brasilians* by different Names, but the Root is in general call'd *Mandioka*. Their Leaves are small, green, and long, pointed at the end, which grow upon large stalks or Branches, each of which has five, six, or seven Leaves, growing in a Cluster, resembling a Star, call'd by the *Brasilians*, *Manikoba*. The Stock or Stem is distinguished by certain Knots, not above an Inch thick, but generally,

six, sometimes seven foot high; from whence, Sprout forth several Branches, which producing again lesser Stalk, bears the before-mentioned Leaves; It bears a small Flower of a pale yellow colour, and of five Leaves only, with small Stalks within, which at last turn to Seed. The Root *Mandioka* resembles our Parsnip in shape, being two or three foot long, and about a Man's Arm thick, but grows thinner towards the bottom. Its outward Rind resembles that of a Hasel-Tree, but its substance is white, affording a Milky sharp Juice, which is pernicious to Beasts. This Shrub grows in dry, barren and sandy Ground, its Nature being so averse to Moisture, that they are obliged to Plant it only in the Summer Months, where it is most exposed to the Sun. For this purpose it is, that the Inhabitants cut down the Woods on the Hills and in the Plains, which they burn, and so prepare the Ground for the Production of this Root; These Fields

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

Fields are by the *Brasilians* called *Ko*, by the *Portugueses*, *Roza*, or *Chokas*, and by our People *Rosin*. These Fields are turn'd up into small round Hills, like Mole-Hills; the *Portugueses* call them, *Montes de Terra Cavada*, or *Hollowed Hills*, the *Brasilians*, *Kojo*. These Hills they make about two foot and an half asunder, each being about three foot in Circumference, and half a foot high, that the Rain Water may be carried off with the more ease. In each of these Hills they commonly Plant three small Taks of this Shrub, of about nine, ten Inches, or a foot long, without Leaves, notwithstanding which they grow and soon bear fresh Leaves, and in time produce new Roots; which cannot be transplanted, because no sooner are they taken out of the Ground, but they begin to putrify and stink. After these Taks have been about ten days in the ground, they begin to bud and produce as many fresh Taks as they have Knots; Each of these Taks is about a Finger long, from whence sprout forth many lesser ones of a Purple colour. The Fields must be three or four times a year cleared of the Weeds, which grow in great plenty amongst it, and choaks it up, before it comes to its full growth. The small Taks and Leaves of these Shrubs are mightily infested by the *Pilimres*, and likewise coveted by the Wild-Goats, Oxen, Horses, and Sheep, for which reason they are very careful to Fence these Plantations, with Stalks and Branches of Trees. The Bees, Conies, and some other *Braslian* Creatures are mighty fond of the Root, which takes no harm, tho' the Shrub be stript of all the ovoided the Root it self be not touch'd. This Root does not come to its full Perfection till a year after the Planting of the Taks, tho' in case of necessity they may be drawn in six months, but afford but little *Farinha*. Each Shrub produces, two, three, four, nay sometimes twenty Roots, according to the goodness of the Ground, and after they are come to full maturity, will keep two or three years under ground; but it is much more safe to take them up at the years end; for else many of them will rot; nay, if the Season happens to prove very wet, they must of necessity be drawn tho' they are but half ripe. The Root, after it is taken out of the Ground, will not keep above three days, but stinks, take what care you can; for which reason, they seldom draw more at a time than they can make immediate-

ly into *Farinha* or Meal. That kind of *Mandioka*, commonly called *Mandibuka*, grows faster and ripens sooner than any other, and affords the best *Farinha*; It thrives best in sandy and hot Grounds. But that kind which is most generally used is called *Mandikparata*, and grows indifferently in all Grounds. The *Farinha* is prepared thus: The Root after it is taken out of the Ground is purged from its outward Rind by a Knife, and wash'd in fair Water: Then the end of the Root is held close to a Wheel of about four or five foot Diameter, which being covered round the edges with a Copper or Tin Plate full of sharp small holes, not unlike a Nutmeg-grater, and the Wheel being turn'd round continually, grates the said Root into small Particles which fall into a Trough underneath. The Wheel is by the *Brasilians* called *Ibecem Babake*, and by the *Portugueses* *Roda de Farinha*, or the Flower Wheat; The Trough the *Brasilians* call *At-kaba*, and the *Portugueses*, *Kochê de rater Mandiboka*. But the poorer sort are fain to be contented with a *Hand Grater*, called *Tapiti*. The Root thus Grated is put into a Bag made of the Rinds of Trees about four Inches wide, called by the *Portugueses*, *Ejpremendouro de Mandiboka*. This Bag with the Root is put into a Press, and all the Juice press'd out, (it having a venomous quality) which is by the *Brasilians* called *Man-puera*, or *Mum-puera*, and by the *Portugueses*, *Agua de Mandioka*, i. e. The Water of *Mandioka*. The next thing to be done is to beat the Root through a Sieve, called by the *Brasilians*, *Urupema*; and then to lay it upon a Copper-Plate, or Earthen-Pan, over the Fire, and to stir it continually with a Wooden-Spoon or Spattle till it be quite dry. This Pan or Vessel the *Brasilians* call *Vimovipaba*, and the Slice, *Vipucutaba*. The *Farinha* before it being quite dry is called by the *Brasilians*, *Vitinga*, and by the *Portugueses*, *Farinha Kelada*; But when it is completely dried, and fit for keeping, the *Brasilians* call it *Viata* or *Viccia*, and the *Portugueses* *Farinha Seca*, or Dry Meal; or *Farinha de Guerra*, War-Meal; because it is most used in time of War. For the more it is dried the better it keeps, but never keeps good above a year; the least moisture being apt to taint it; which is the reason, that both the *Portugueses* and we, in imitation of the *Brasilians*, bake Biskets of it, upon a Grate Iron, with hot Coals underneath, for the Magazines.

•The Juice *Manipuera*, which is press'd out of the Root *Mandioka*, put into a Vessel, gets in two hours time a white Settlement at the bottom, call'd by the *Brasilians*, *Tipioja*, *Tipiaka*, and *Tipiabika*: This dry'd affords a very White-Meal, call'd *Tipiocur*, which Bak'd into Cakes as before, call'd by them *Tipiacika*, Taste as well as Wheaten Bread. This Juice is also boil'd to Pap, and Eaten, and serves likewise instead of Starch or Paste. The *Portugueses* take this Pap, mix it with Sugar, Rice, and Orange-Flower-Water, which they make into a Conserve of a delicious Taste; they call it *Marmelada de Mandiboka*. The Juice *Mandiga* or *Manipuera*, is of a sweetish Taste, which is the reason the Beasts covet it, but commonly Die soon after they have Drunk of it; it being pernicious, nay mortal, both to Man and Beast. If the Juice be kept twice 24 hours, it produces Worms, called by the *Brasilians*, *Tapucu*; yet it has been found by Experience, that this Juice loses its pernicious Quality after it has stood 24 hours, there being many of the *Portugueses* who boil and Drink it without any harm. The Root *Mandioka* is likewise immediately after it is taken out of the Ground, sliced in pieces, and laid in fresh Water for four or five days, when it begins to be soft, it is called *Puba*, or *Mandiopuba* and *Mandiopubo*. This the wild *Brasilians* inhabiting the Deserts and Woods, Roast in the Ashes and Eat; because it is done without much trouble. The same *Mandiopuba* Toasted before the Fire, is called *Kaarima*, which being afterwards beat to Powder with a Wooden Pestel in a Mortar, they call *Kaari-macu*; of this they make a Pap with boiling Water, which seasoned with some *Braslian* Pepper, or *Nhambi* Flowers, affords a very good Dish, especially with the addition of some Fish or Meat, when it is called *Mingupisinga* by the *Brasilians*, who look upon it as one of their best Dainties. It is also very wholesome, for this *Kaarima*, and the Flower *Tipiaka*, boil'd in Orange-Flower-Water, and Sugar to the consistency of a Syrup, affords a very good Antidote. They make also a kind of Starch of the Flower called *Kaarima*, which they call *Mingupisinga*; as likewise very fine Cakes, by mixing it with Water, Butter, and Sugar. There is a kind of Meal prepared from the Dregs of the *Mandioka*, or *Mandiopubo* Root, thus steeped in Water, call'd by the *Brasilians*, *Vipiba*, and *Via-bururu*, and by the *Portugueses*, *Farinha*

Fiesca, or fresh Flour, and *Farinha d'Agua*, or Water-Flour. It is very well Tasted, but will not keep above 24 hours. But if you make it up with Water into Balls or Rolls, and let them dry in the Sun, they will keep good for a considerable time: These they call *Viapua* and *Miapeteka*. The *Tapoyas* and almost all the other *Brasilians* prepare it thus, and afterwards mix it with another Meal, called *Viata*, which affords it a more agreeable Taste.

The *Mandioka*-Root is likewise prepared thus: After it has been cleansed and cut in thin slices, they beat it with a Wooden Pestel, and squeeze the Juice of it out with their Hands only, which being dried they call *Tina* and *Mixakuruba*; Another way of preparing the *Mandioka*-Root is, to cut it into pieces, of about two Fingers long, and two Inches thick, which without being squeezed, is exposed to the Sun, and afterwards beat to Powder in a Wooden Mortar, call'd by the *Brasilians* *Tipirari*, by the *Portugueses* *Farinha de Mandioka crua*, or the Flour of raw *Mandioka*: The pieces before they are beaten to Powder are very white, and may be used instead of Chalk. Out of this Flour they make very good White Bread, and Bifkets, call'd *Miapeta*, the last of which are chiefly used in the Camp; because they will keep a great while.

Out of the Root *Apimakaxera*, the *Brasilians* boil a certain pleasant Liquor not unlike our Whey, call'd by them *Kavimakaxera*. The same Root chaw'd and mixed with Water furnishes them with another Liquor, they call *Kaon Karaxu*. The Cakes made from the Flour of this Root, laid in a Cask with Water, till it ferments together, affords them likewise a sort of Strong and very good Beer.

All these different kinds of *Mandioka* Roots, if they be eaten fresh prove mortal to Mankind, except that call'd *Apimakaxera*, which roasted may be eaten without danger, and is of a good taste. But all sorts of Beasts both wild and tame ones, don't only feed upon the said Roots and Leaves, without the least hurt, but also grow Fat with them, notwithstanding that the Juice of both is mortiferous as well to Men as Beasts. The Negro's and *Brasilians* bruise the Leaves of the *Mandioka* in a Wooden Mortar, which being boil'd they put Oil or Butter, over it and eat it like as we do our Spinage, this is sometimes done by the *Portuguese* likewise and the

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Dutch who make a kind of Sallet of the *large Leaves*. The *Brasilians* prefer the Bread made of the *Mandioka-Root* before ours, but is not so natural to the *Europeans*, it being, if used in a great quantity, pernicious to the Nerves and Stomach, and corrupts the Blood. About three Bushels of this Meal, (at the rate of two Gilders per Bushel) will suffice a strong labouring Man, for a whole Month, and a piece of Ground planted with this Root, produces four times the quantity, as if it had been sown with Wheat. There is a certain kind of *Mandioka-Root* call'd *Pitinga*, by the *Brasilians*, the Flour of which cleanses and heals old Ulcers. This Root is likewise found in the Isle of St. Thomas; and in those of *Hispanola*, *Cuba* and others thereabouts, and in most parts of the Continent of *America*; the Inhabitants of which call it *Tuka* and *Kassave*, and those of *Mexico* *Quauhka-moth*, and the Bread which is made of the Flour, *Kazabis*, *Kazabi*, or *Kakavi*. The *Mandioka-Root* is originally the natural product of *Brasil*, and from thence transplanted into other parts of *America* and *Africk*. Its Flour furnishes all the Inhabitants of *Brasil*, as well the *Portugueses* and *Dutch* as the Natives and Negro's with Bread, which next to Wheat is the best of all, so, that our Soldiers would rather choose to have their allowance in *Farinha*, than Wheaten Bread out of the Magazines. Since the War 'in 1645, the price of the *Farinha* was risen to three or four Gilders per Bushel, which, as it tended to the utter destruction of the Sugar-Mills, so, by special Orders from the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil*, all the Inhabitants of the open Country were enjoined under a severe penalty to plant a certain quantity of *Mandioka* Yearly, in proportion to their Abilities; by which means the price of the *Farinha* was so considerably abated, that three Bushels were Sold for two Shillings ready Money, at the *Recess*, and for less in the Country.

Kaeco or Herba viva.

Brasil produces a certain Herb call'd *Kaeco* by the *Brasilians*, by the *Europeans* in *Latin Herba viva*, because it seems to shrink, when you touch it, and so it does likewise about Sunset; its Seed has been transmitted into *Europe*, where it grows to its full perfection.

Kalaballies.

The *Kalaballies* are a kind of Pompions, their Rind, if dried, being so thick and strong, as to serve for materials for Cups, Porringers, and such like Utensils. But what is most surprising, is, that they

always grow of a different shape, some being long, others round, others oval, some thick before, others at the end. They Blossom and bear Fruit once a Month, the Blossom being Yellow mix'd with Green; the Pulp is white at first, but turns to a Violet colour; They are of a tolerable pleasant taste, but very unwholesome, by reason they are too astringent.

The Tree, call'd *Imakaru* by the *Brasilians*, is of a middle size, its Trunk round and its Bark Grey, covered with small Thistles of the same colour. Its Branches sprout forth on the top, with broad Leaves of an Oval Figure, edged likewise with small Thistles or Thorns. There is also another kind of *Imakaru*, much larger than the former, call'd *Kakabu* by the *Brasilians*, and *Kardon* by the *Portugueses*. This sprouts forth first of all in the form of a large Octangular Leaf; upon which grow crosswise many Thorns; This produces other Leaves of the same kind, each being three, nay sometimes six Foot long, and of the thickness of a Mans Arm. By degrees the first Leaf turns into a Woody substance, of a greenish colour, but somewhat Spungy; those Leaves that grow next to this Stem are instead of Branches, which produce other Leaves. The Stem bears only one large white Flower, the Fruit of which is of an Oval Figure, and of about twice the bigness of a Hens-Egg, of a dark brown colour, and fit for use. This Tree grows to a great height. There is also another kind of *Imaraku*, being altogether the same with the former in respect of its largeness, Blossom and Fruit, except that its Leaves are of a Triangular Figure.

What the *Brasilians* call *Pako Kaatinga*, the *Portugueses* commonly call *Canodo Mato*, or *Wild Reed* or Canes. The Stemm or Stalk is like that of other Canes, about an Inch thick, containing a white Marrow or Pith, of a sweetish taste; on which grow Leaves of Eight or Nine Inches long and Three Inches broad, shaped like a Tongue, smooth and pale Green on one, and covered with a white woolly substance on the other side. The Fruit of which is not unlike a Pine-Apple, about Ten Inches long, grows on the top of the Stemm; it is divided into several partitions which opening by degrees, a pale Grey Flower appears betwixt each, containing underneath Twenty or more Grains of a black shining Seed. The Stalk chaw'd draws the Rheum from the Head, and breaks the

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tife Stone in the Bladder. It is look'd upon as an excellent Remedy against the involuntary emission of the Seed, throughout *Brasil*, and cures it in Eight Days time.

The Tree
and Fruit
Kasjou.

All over *Brasil*, but especially in the Isle of *Itamarika* grows a certain Tree call'd *Kasjui* or *Kasjou*, bearing a Fruit of the same name. Its Leaves are dark Green, broad and round, interspersed with many small Veins. It bears two different Blossoms and Fruits. The white Blossom which appears in the lower Branches, produces a Juicy Spungy Fruit like an Apple; of a very cooling and astringent quality: But the red Blossom on the top a kind of Chestnut. The *Brasilians* draw no small advantage from this Tree; out of the Apples they make a very good Cyder, call'd by them *Kasjoumy*, which is sowerish, but if mix'd with Sugar makes it as pleasant as *Rhenish* Wine, and has this excellency, that tho' it soon siezes the Head, yet it passes off without any harm. The other Fruit they eat like as we do our Chestnuts.

Pinogua-
cu or Pa-
pay.

Among the products of the *West* and *East-Indies* is a Tree call'd *Papay* by the *Javanese* and *Dutch*, and *Pinoguaçu* or *Mamoeira* by the *Americans*; and sometimes intitled with the Name of the *Melontree* by our People, by reason of the resemblance of its Fruit to our Melons. This Tree is of two different kinds, to wit, the Male and Female. It grows and perishes again in a short time; its Trunk being so spungy that it may be cut as easie as a Cabbage Stalk; The Leaves it bears are very large and broad, not unlike our Vine Leaves, growing on long Stalks round the top of the Tree, and covering the Fruit, which hangs in a knot, and is Green at the first, but turns Yellow at last, resembling in shape a Pear, but of the bigness of our small Melons, unto which its Pulp resembles both in colour and taste, when come to maturity, but whilst they are Green, they are boil'd with Meat, and give it a tart taste.

Chili La-
dado or
Red Pepper.

The Red Pepper, known by the Name of *Brasil Pepper*, and call'd *Chili Lada* by the *Brasilians* grows on knotty Stalks of about five or six Foot high; the Rind being a dark Green, distinguished with white rings; from whence shoot forth small crooked Branches of a Hands breadth in length, bearing a small white Flower; which produces a Green Husk, and turns Red by degrees as it Ripens, with a certain Seed within it,

being as hot and biting upon the Tongue as the common brown Pepper, and so does the Husk. In the *East-Indies* they preserve it and call it *Aetzar*; and use it raw in their Fish Sawces. In *Brasil* they cut two or three of these Husks whilst they are Green in Slices, and mix them with Oyl and Vinegar, or some Limon Juice, to acuate their Appetite; but it is too hot for those that are not used to it; which is allayed by a good quantity of Salt. This kind of Pepper grows likewise in the *East-Indies* in the Island of *Java*, in *Bengala* and several other places. I have seen it also in some of our Gardens in *Holland*. There is another Shrub which grows frequently in the *East-Indies*, not unlike this in shape and bigness, which bears a Yellow Flower; it is call'd *Halika Kabre* by the *Arabians* or *Alkekenge*, and sufficiently known in these Parts. The Flower produces a small Bladder which contains the Fruit and Seed, they are not so big as ours. The *Indians* and *Chinese* mix it with a certain Fruit call'd by them *Poma d' Oro*, *Tamatas* by the *Portugueses*, and *Melan-sina* by the *Italians*; they also eat it with *Chili Lada* or *Brasilian* Pepper. The *Portugueses* cut the *Poma d' Oro* and the Husk of the *Brasilian* Pepper in thin Slices, which being mix'd with Oyl and Vinegar they eat as a Sallat, and look upon it as a proper Remedy to cut the rough Flegm of the Stomach, a distemper very common in those Parts. The *Brasilians* as well as the *Dutch* chew this Pepper for the same purpose, but it is very burning upon the Tongue.

The Sugar-Canes or Reeds, call'd by *Sugar-Cane* or *Reeds*, the *Brasilians* *Viba*, are the product both of the *West* and *East-Indies*; but grow in great plenty throughout all *Brasil*, but especially in the Captainship of *Pernambuco*. They are of two different kinds: One bearing small, the other larger Leaves. The last, which is accounted the best, sprouts up into a long Stem of the thickness of a Child's Arm, the Leaves growing all on the top in a cluster, being of an Oval Figure, and a dark Blue colour. The Rind is distinguished by certain joints or knots; The other kind bears small Leaves from the top to the bottom. The Sugar-Canes are propagated from their small Sprouts, which being put in the Ground like our Vines, grow up to the height of Twelve Foot; if they are planted in good Soil, and are kept free from Weeds. Six Months after they have been planted, a brown Seed appears on the top, then

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then it is fit to be cut, for if they stand longer in the Ground, their Juice diminishes, dries up, and turns sowre. The Juice if taken immediately after it is drawn, causes a looseness. The low Grounds are much more convenient for the planting of Sugar-Reeds than the Hills, especially near the River side, where the Banks are often over-flown by the Stream. There are a certain kind of winged Worms, call'd *Guirapeakoka* by the *Brasilians*, and *Pao de Galinha* by the *Portugueses*, which are great Enemies to the Sugar-Canes, especially in moist Grounds, where they gnaw and consume the Roots. The Sugar, which is the product of these Canes, is not procured without a great deal of toil and labour, in which for the most part are employed Slaves, under the tuition of certain Overseers, appointed by the Masters of the Sugar-Mills; who were for the most part *Portugueses*, the *Dutch* being hitherto not arrived to the utmost perfection in that Art. In the Captainship of *Pernambuco*, many fine *Ingenbo's* or Sugar-Mills, with their adjacent Plantations were erected for this purpose, amounting in all to above 100 in number, and the Labourers, Negro's and other *African Slaves*, thereunto belonging, to near 40000. The whole Yearly product of Sugar of the *Dutch Brasil*, is computed to be betwixt 200000 and 250000 Chefts.

In the year 1642. one *Gillin Venant* brought some Indigo-Seed from the *American Islands* into *Brasil*, who having certain Lands assigned him near the small River *Mercera*; and being provided with all other Conveniencies by the special Command of the Great Council, erected several Plantations for the producing of *Aniel* or *Indigo*: But it being found by Experience, That the *Pismires* consumed most of the Leaves, the said Mr. *Venant*, by employing many Labourers and Negroes to destroy these *Pismires* with Burning and Digging, at last so well cleared the Ground, that the *Indigo* came to its full Perfection, several Patterns of which were sent into *Holland*. Mr. *Venant* having made an Agreement with Mr. *Christopher Evershuetel* to instruct him in the most necessary Points relating to the Coagulating the *Indigo*, he was treating with the Great Council concerning certain Grounds for the Planting of *Indigo*, so that there was a fair prospect of bringing this Design to a considerable Perfection here, if the same had not been prevented by the intestine War.

The Wild *Aniel*, which grows in *Brasil* in great Plenty, has a great resemblance to the true *Indigo* in outward appearance, but affords no good Colours. Some pretend to have seen also a kind of Wild-Cochenille in *Brasil*, and the Ground would produce good store of Cotton, but that the Inhabitants draw much more Profit from the Sugar-Plantations.

Some Ginger is likewise planted in *Brasil*, but not in such quantities as to be Transported into other Parts, no more than the *Mechoacanna*, *China*, and some other Medicinal Roots; and the *Herba de Cibra* or *Herba de Nossa Senhora*, which is lookt upon as an infallible Remedy against the Gravel; and the Root called *Pajucuanha*, which is the Universal Medicine of the *Brasilians*. There are also many transplanted hither from other Parts, as Ginger, Tobacco, Rice, Cotton, Turkey-Wheat, *Aniel*, or *Indigo*, and the Sugar-Reeds were first of all transported by the *Portugueses* from the *Canary Islands*. The Fruits in daily use among the Inhabitants, are, *Ananas*, *Bananas*, *Mangaba*, *Akaju*, *Arakou* great and small, *Gujaba*, divers kinds of *Murukaja*, *Ibapiranga*, *Mazaxanduba*, *Akaja*, *Aratiku*, *Guitakori*, *Biringela*, *Mamam*, *Coco-Nuts*, and several sorts of *Indian Figs*. The Roots chiefly in use, are, the *Batatas*, *Nhambi*, and *Umbi*, and the *Indian Acrons*, called *Tembi*, which are of a delicious Taste.

The whole Country of *Brasil* is extremely Fertile and pleasant, being watered by many Rivers and standing Waters, most of which arise from the Hills, and pass through spacious Plains, the last of which are clayey and marshy Grounds, (called *Vargen's* by the *Portugueses*) which produce all sorts of Fruit; but especially Sugar-Canes in great Plenty. Their Meadows and Pasture Grounds do not appear so pleasant in the Summer, as in the Rainy Season, when they are very green; Wheat and Rye grow soon Rank here, which is occasioned partly by the Nature of the Soil, partly by the heat of the Sun; to prevent which they never let their Grounds lie Fallow, and Manure them with Sand instead of Dung; The same must be observed with all other Foreign Seeds here, that require to be kept a considerable time under Ground. In February and March (which is the Rainy and Winter-Season of this Climate) they Sow their Seeds, and that towards Evening, not by Day time, or about Midnight. They take great care not to Plant any thing too

and Travels to BRASIL.

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too deep under Ground ; for whatever is Planted beyond the Sun-Beams, seldom produces any Fruit, which our People have learned to their Cost. There is a remarkable difference betwixt the Seeds and Fruits which are produced on the Hills, and those of the marshy Grounds, as to their time of Ripening ; tho' the Coco and Palm-Trees are transplanted here without the least regard to their Age, Bigness, or the Season, and grow very well. Most of their own Trees and Shrubs bear Flowers and Fruit throughout the whole year, so that at one and the same time, you enjoy the Benefit of the Spring, Summer, and Winter ; The like is observable in the Vines, Citron, Limon, and other Trees, brought by the *Portugueses* from *Angola* into *Brasil*, and in several Roots, Pot-Herbs, and other Fruits, transplanted thither by the *Dutch*. *Those who covet Ripe-Grapes throughout the whole year, do only Prune their Vines at divers times, which produce a fine Grape, and a Wine as sweet as Molosses. The worst is, that they are much infested by the Pismires, which suck all the Juice, and leave nothing but the Husks to the Owners ; Several other sorts of Trees have been transplanted thither from *Holland*, which thrive extremely, and bear very good Fruit.

The standing Waters of *Brasil* are for the most part covered on the Surface with green Shrubs and Herbs, that they appear rather like Land than Water, and Feed both Land and Water Fowl. At the Entrance of most of their Rivers, (where you meet with vast quantities of Oysters, and Crabs) the Country is so overstockt with a certain kind of a Tree, call'd *Guaparaba*, or *Mangle*, by the *Brasilians*, that they render it impassable for Travellers. In short, the whole *Brasil* is well stor'd with Trees, Shrubs, and useful Woods, there being scarce a place, either in the Vallies, or Rising Grounds, which are Clayey, or among the Hills, which don't produce something that is useful, and that in such Plenty, that the *Portugueses* after their first arrival here, were forced to cut their way through these Trees with incredible Pains and Charge. The Hills furnish also great store of Wood, which is of a very good Scent, and is used by the Dyers ; as for instance the *Brasil Wood*, which is from hence transported into *Europe*.

The Stem or Trunk of this Tree is knotty, of a very agreeable Scent, and sometimes two or three Fathoms thick :

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Its Leaves are dark-green, and small Thorny at the end, and grows on small Stalks ; the Bark, which is about three Inches thick, is generally taken from the Trunk, before it is fitted for Sale : It sprouts from its own Root, and produces neither Blossom nor Fruit. Most of these Trees grow about 10 or 12 Leagues from the Sea-side, where they cut them down, take off the Bark, and carry them upon Waggon to the Sea-shore, from whence they are transported into *Europe* for the use of the Dyers chiefly ; The *Brasilians* call this Tree for its Excellency's sake, *Ibirapitanga*. After the *Dutch* had conquered part of *Brasil*, they found great store of this Wood ready cut and fitted for use by the *Portugueses*, who sold it to the *Dutch Company* ; since which time it was cut down promiscuously by the *Portugueses* as well as the *Dutch*, and such vast quantities of it were transported in 1646, and 1647, that the Members of the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil*, Mr. *Henry Hamel*, *Bullestrate*, and *Codd*, being made sensible of the destructive Methods that were made use of in cutting this Wood, which must in time have tended to the utter Extirpation of these Trees, did by their Proclamation regulate these Abuses. They have another kind of very fine Wood in *Brasil*, called by the *Portugueses*, *Pao Santo*, as likewise those call'd *Gitayba*, *Vio Wood*, *Massaranduba*, *Cedar*, and divers other Woods fit for Cabinet-Work. The Tree called *Taraiba* by the *Portugueses*, the Wood of which, the *Portugueses* call *Pao Amarello*, affords a yellow colour for the Dyers. The Bark of the Tree *Araiba* is of an Ash-colour, but boil'd in Water gives a Red Tincture. The Tree *Jakauranda*, or *Jaturiba*, or the White-Cedar ; as well as several other Trees, furnish the Inhabitants with Materials for Building, being very hard and durable. The *Brasilians* make also Matches and a kind of Hemp out of the Bark of some Trees.

The most Barren-Places of *Brasil* do produce a certain kind of Trees without Leaves, which they call *Timbo* or *Tibo* ; out of these they make Hoops, by reason of their Flexibility, and the Bark serves the Ship Carpenters instead of Hemp.

The *Brasilians* light their Fires by striking two pieces of Wood, of the Trees *Karagusta Guacm* and *Imbaiba* together, as we do with our Flint-Stones and Iron. The first is a Tree of an admirable Nature : Its Stem grows 14 or 15 foot high, which being come to its full Perfection, bears

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Brasil-wood.

The Timber, or Tipo.

Their Fire

On

bears

bears yellow Flowers on the top, and a buo-
 d-
 abundance of large, long and thick Leaves.
 Out of the Stem they make Sticks to
 hang their Matresses on, the Leaves af-
 ford the Fishermen stuff for Yarn to make
 Nets of; and out of the Leaves issues a
 certain unctuous Liquor, which serves
 instead of Soap. The Trees and Woods
 of *Brasil* are never seen to be covered all
 over with Leaves at a time; but whilst
 some cast their Leaves, you see others
 bring forth new ones; nay, sometimes
 one Tree is half covered with Leaves,
 and bare on the other side. *Brasil* like-
 wise abounds in Shrubs and Reeds, some
 of which creep along the Grounds,
 whilst others Twist themselves up to the
 top of the highest Trees; which affords
 a very agreeable Spectacle at a distance,
 and a pleasing shadow to Men and Beasts,
 tired with the Heat, Hunting, or any
 other Exercise.

Oranges. Among other Fruits, *Brasil* produces
 very fine Oranges of divers Kinds; The
 other Vegetables, which belides the *Man-
 dioka* Root, serve for the Sustenance of
 the Inhabitants, are, Rice, Millet, *Pa-
 ratas*, *Ananas*, *Bananas*, Melons, Pom-
 pions, Water-Melons, Cucumbers, Beans,
 Figs, *Babouas*, *Marakuja*, *Mangavas*, *A-
 rataku*, *Ape*, Cabbages, Radish, Let-
 tuce, Pursley, Parsley, Chervel, Car-
 rots, &c.

The Akajiu. Nothing is so much in request among
 the *Brasilians*, as the *Akajiu*, a kind of
 Wild Apple, which furnish them both
 with Food and Drink, being very Juicy;
 so that this Tree seems by kind Nature
 to have been Planted here for the pecu-
 liar Comfort of the Inhabitants: It
 spreads its Branches round about in a
 great compass, but does not grow to that
 height as many other Trees in this
 Country: Its Wood, which is very
 solid, is very fit for the Building of
 Ships, from whence issues a very clear
 Gum in the Summer-Season. Its Leaves
 which are red, resemble those of our
 Walnut-Trees, especially when they first
 sprout forth in the Spring, but are of a
 much finer Scent, which they never lose
 but by being Distilled. The Blossom is
 a Flower consisting of five small Leaves,
 which grow to the number of about a
 hundred in one cluster; each of these
 Flowers has a stalk, with a small head in
 the middle. At their first coming out,
 which is in *September*, they are very white,
 but turn soon after to a Rose colour;
 They are very odoriferous, and fill all
 the circumjacent Grounds with their a-
 greeable smell. This Tree bears a dou-

ble Fruit; viz. an Apple, and a Chef-
 nut: The Apple is of an oval Figure,
 very Juicy; its Pulp spongy, full of Ker-
 nels, and of a tartish Taste. The Juice
 taints Linen with a certain colour, such
 as we call Iron-Molds, which is never to
 be taken out, but returns as often as
 these Trees stand in Blossoms; It is of
 a whitish colour after it is first prest out,
 and tartish, but changes both its colour
 and taste by Fermentation, and becomes
 very strong. The Rind of the Apple,
 which is very thin, is white, mixt with
 red. The Chestnut, which grows on the
 top of the Apple in the shape of a
 Lambs Kidney, is covered with a thin
 Skin, over which grows a thick ash-col-
 our'd Shell, full of a hot, sharp, and
 burning Oil, which bites the Tongue;
 To correct which, they Roast the Chef-
 nut in the Ashes, break the Shell with a
 Hammer, and Eat the Pit or Kernel,
 which tastes better than a common Chef-
 nut, and will keep good for several years.
 The *Brasilians* are so fond of this Fruit,
 that they often fight for it; then they
 encamp among these Trees, and remove
 not till they have consumed all there-
 abouts, unless they are forced thereunto
 by the Enemy. They number the years
 of their Ages by this Tree, because it
 bears Fruit but once a year, which ripens
 towards the latter end of *December* or
 in *January*, there being none to be found
 on the Trees after *February* in *Pernam-
 buco*. About the time the Sun returns
 back from the Tropick of *Capricorn*, it
 commonly Rains in *Brasil*, which the In-
 habitants call the *Rains of Akajiu*; for, if
 the same happens to be moderate, they
 promise themselves great plenty of this
 Fruit. The Chestnuts are hot in the se-
 cond degree; if Eaten raw, with Wine
 and Salt, they taste like Walnuts; but
 if Roasted or Preserved with Sugar, they
 are of a delicious taste. The Oil which
 is taken out of the Shell, is an excellent
 Remedy against the Hair-Worm; It is
 hot in the third and fourth degree, and
 frequently applied to Cancers and other
 malignant Ulcers. The Gum, powdred
 and taken in a convenient Vehicle, opens
 the Obstructions of the Womb. The
 Juice of the Apple furnishes them with
 good Cyder.

There are many sorts of Palm-Trees
 to be met with in *Brasil*, some of which
 grow wild, some are planted and culti-
 vated by the Inhabitants. Among the
 first the Palm-Tree call'd *Pindava* by
 the *Brasilians*, which grows very tall,
 claims the preference, of which there
 are

Palm
 Tree

are whole Woods to be seen in the open Country. In the more remote and unfrequented places, grows a certain Palm-Tree, called *Karantham* and *Anachekairi* by the *Brasilians*, and by an *Arabick* word among the *Portugueses* *Tamar*, or *Date*, which this Fruit resembles. The Tree grows as high as a common Date-Tree, its Wood is Red and very solid, but of no great use. The Bark is Grey, which from the ground upwards to a certain part of the Tree is distinguished by many Scales, which are largest at the bottom, and small by degrees, till about the middle of the Tree they quite disappear; these Scales being nothing else but the remnants of the Branches, which fall off by degrees, as the Tree grows higher; and continue only towards the top, spread round about the Stemm, like the *African* Date-Tree, but much finer. Each of these Branches is about two or three Foot long, flat on two sides, and covered with small Thorns, they grow to a vast thickness. At the end of each Branch grows one single Leaf, which is very large and Green, pleated like a Fan, and about the middle divided into several other Leaves, like those of the common Date-Tree; each of these last is about two Foot long. Betwixt those Branches, on which grow the Leaves, spring forth other Branches of four or five Foot in length, and these again are full of other white Sprouts, which bear Flowers, with three pale Yellow Leaves; These produce a Fruit of the bigness of an Olive, which is Green, bitter and not eatable, but turn black when they ripen, which is in February. The *Brasilians* call this Fruit *Tiade*, and eat it raw; but our People never took any fancy to it. With the Leaves they cover their Huts, and make Baskets of them. The Palm-Tree called *Pindava* by the *Brasilians*, has instead of the Bark a white and rough Wooden substance, which contains a Spungy, Sulphurous substance, out of which the *Brasilians* prepare a strong Lee. This Tree is for the rest but of small use, being rather esteemed for Ornaments sake, by reason of its height and fine spreading Branches, which however furnish the Inhabitants with Leaves to cover their Huts, and to make Baskets of; The *Portugueses* plant them near their Walks and Arbours, and round their Churches. The Leaves of this Tree do not hang downwards like those of the Coco-Tree, but stand upright. Just by these Leaves sprout forth

certain Branches, on which hang bunches of Flowers, which produce the Fruit, resembling in shape and bigness one of our largest Hen-Eggs, being sharp at the end, and fastned to the bunch on the other like the Pine-Apple. The outside is of a Green Yellow colour, inclining to a Chestnut; being composed of a hairy substance like that of the Coco-nuts, but not near so thick, scarce exceeding in thickness two Egg-Shells. Under this Shell is an insipid Saffron Yellow Pulp, which however is used by the Negro's, who eat it with Farinha. Within this Pulp is a hard Nut, of an Oval Figure, not unlike the Coco-nut, of the same thickness, but without holes; it contains a Pith or Kernel, as white and big as a Walnut, but is not near so sweet as the Coco-nut; they are eaten both by the Natives and Strangers, who are furnished with them throughout the whole Year; and called by the *Brasilians* *Imajamiri*, i. e. the small Coco-nut. The Kernels of these Nuts furnish them likewise with a white cooling Oil, which is used instead of our Oil of Roses, and when fresh drawn mix'd among their Sallets, but when decay'd in their Lamps. The Shell affords an Oil of the same nature, but not altogether so cooling. Out of the top of the Tree flows a fine and Odoriferous Gum, used here instead of *Gum Arabick*; They also pick a certain Pith or Marrow out of the top, which has a taste like our Walnuts, and, when eaten with Bread and Salt, is accounted very nourishing.

There also grow Coco-Trees in *Brasil*, called by the Natives *Imajaguacaba*, and the Fruit *Imajaguacu*. They are very different from the just now mentioned *Pindava* Tree, their Trunk or Stem being seldom straight, but commonly crooked, sometimes from Seven to fourteen Foot thick, and Fifty Foot high; it is without Branches, having only fifteen or twenty Leaves round the top, each of Fifteen Foot long. They have also good store of the common Date-Trees both Male and Female. The vast quantity of Pisnires wherewith *Brasil* abounds, are great Enemies to all the products of their Grounds, which they endeavour to destroy by Fire and Water; it is further to be observed, that some Fruits as well as Creatures, which are accounted Venomous in *Europe*, are commonly eaten in *Brasil*, as on the other hand certain things are Poisonous there, which are not in *Europe*. For they have a kind of Frogs and some Fishes which are extremely

647. treamly Poisonous; whereas a certain fort of great Pismires and Adders, Toads, Worms and wild Rats are eaten by the Natives, without any harm.

The Food
of the
Brahlians.

The most universal Food of the *Brahlians*, is the Flour made of the *Mand.oka* Root, call'd by them *Vi*, and *Favinha de Manduoka* by the *Portugueses*, as has been shewn more at large before. They feed also upon the Flesh of several wild Beasts and Birds; Crabs, Crawfishes, Fruits, Herbage; Their Meat whether boild or roasted they eat half raw. They boil in Earthen Pots, call'd *Kaniti*, which they make themselves. Their Flesh they Roast thus: They dig a hole in the Ground, the bottom of which they cover with Leaves of Trees, and upon them lay the Meat to be roasted, which being covered with the same Leaves they throw Sand or Earth upon them. Upon this they light a good Fire, which they continue till they think it sufficiently roasted. If they hit it right, it eats very well, exceeding in goodness all other roasted Meats, they call it *Biaribi*. Their Fishes whether roasted or boiled they eat with *Inquisaya*, that is Salt and Pepper. They boil their Crabs or Crawfishes without Salt, and eat them with *Inquisaya*. Small Fishes they wrap in Leaves, and Roast them in the Ashes. They take the Flour of the *Mand.oka* Root with their three hindermost Fingers of the Right Hand, and so throw it into the Mouth; in the same manner they do with Beans and such like things; They eat often, both by Day and Night; they having no set times for their Meals, without the least noise, or any Drink, which they reserve till after they have done. They seldom use any Spoons, but instead of that their Fingers, or some Oyster-Shell or other serves their turn. The Flesh of several wild Beasts is much in esteem among the *Brahlians*; as for instance, that of the great and lesser Wild-Boars; they have a bunch like a Camel on their backs, and are very good Food, as well as the Flesh of the River Pigs, call'd *Kapiverres* by the *Portugueses*, which is of a very agreeable taste.

Their
Drink.

The most general and most wholesome Liquor used among the *Brahlians*, is their River, or Fountain-Water, which by reason of its coolness is a great refreshment to such as are tired by the Heat, or the Fatigues of other Exercises; This is chiefly to be understood of their Spring-Water, which, tho' used here in great quantities, never causes any griping

in the Guts, or other inconveniencies in the Bowels, but on the contrary occasions a good Appetite, and is soon evacuated by sweating.

The Waters of the Rivers *Paray* and *Paratybi*, are accounted a good Remedy against the Stone and Gout, which is the reason that many arrive to the Age of above 100 Years, who Drink nothing but those Waters, and are never troubled with any of those Distempers; For those who are advanced in Age, are as nice in the different tastes of those Waters, as the *Europeans* in their Wines; and they look upon those as indiscreet, who use the Waters without distinction. For, since most of their Springs arise among the high Eastern Hills, they receive no addition either from the Snows, or any Metallick bodies, and being well digested and purged from their Dregs by the heat of the Sun-beams, they are very clear and wholesome; tho' it must be confessed, that, in the Winter Months some Waters, by reason of the Rains, are not fine and cool, as during the Summer-Season. The Negro's make sometimes a nasty mixture of black Sugar and Water only, without the least fermentation, which they call *Gurapa*; This as it is very cheap, so both Men and Women sit at it for 24 Hours together, spending their time in Drinking, Singing and Dancing, but seldom Quarrel, unless they have conceived some jealousy of one another. Sometimes they add to it some Leaves of the *Akaja*-Tree, which by reason of their hot quality make it the more heady. The *Portugueses* and *Dutch* frequently make a kind of Sorbette of Water, Sugar and Limons. Others pour Water upon certain Herbs, others put a Limon only in Water. But besides these, the *Brahlians* know how to make Wines or Cyder out of several Roots and Fruits, which they Drink at their Merry meetings; especially of the *Bakovas*, *Ananas*, *Mangaba*, *Janiaba*, *Karaguata*, &c. For tho' the Vines here bear Grapes three times a Year, nevertheless are they not sufficient to furnish them with Wine. They make a kind of Cyder, call'd by them *Kooi*, of the Apple *Akaju*; These they Stamp in a Wooden Mortar, and squeeze the Juice out with their Hands, which, after it is settled, they strain; it appears at first like Milk, but turns to a pale colour in a few Days; its taste is tartish, and apt to seize the Head, if drunk in any quantity; after some time it turns sower, and makes very good Vinegar. The Wine

1647. Wine or Liquor call'd by the *Brasilians* *Apy*, is made two different ways: First, the Slices of the Root *Apimakakava* (a kind of *Madioka*) are chaw'd by Old Women; till they are as fluid as a Pap; which they call *Karaku*; This they put in a Pot, and boil it with a good quantity of Water, stirring it continually till they think it fit for expression, which done, they call it *Kaviaraku*, and drink it luke-warm. Or else they take the same Root purged and sliced in thin pieces, which they stamp and boil with Water as before, which produces a whitish Liquor, not unlike our Butter-Milk or Whey; They drink it likewise warm, its taste being agreeable enough; they call it *Kacimakaxera*; tho' both kinds are generally comprehended under the name of *Apy*. The Liquor call'd *Pakoby* is made out of the Fruit of the Tree *Pakobere*. What the *Portugueses* call *Vinho da M'lo*, is a Liquor call'd *Abaty* by the *Brasilians* and made of Barley or Turkey Wheat, call'd *Muz* by the *Indians*; The Liquor *Nandi* has also derived its name from that excellent Fruit call'd *Nana* of *Ananas*, being the strongest of all their Wines or Cyders. There is another sort of Liquor call'd *Vinho da Batatas* by the *Portugueses*, because it is made of the Root *Batatas*: The Natives call it *Jeticu*. Thus the Liquors call'd *Beatingui* and *Tipiaci* are both made out of the *Farinha* of the *Madioka*-Root; viz. of the *Beju* and *Tepioja*.

The *Brasilians* are also great admirers of *French* or *Rhenish* Brandy, call'd by them *Kacutata*, and swallow it very greedily as often as they can come at it. They are no less fond of Tobacco, the Herb of which they call *Petuma*, and the Leaves *Petimaoba*. After they have dried the Leaves in the Air, they lay them before the Fire, to render them the more fit for cutting. They Smoak in Pipes made of the Shell of the Nut *Pindaba*, or of the *Urukuruba*, *Jocara*, *Aqua* or such like; to wit, they cut a hole in one end of the Shell, take out the Kernel, and after they have polish'd them, put a Wooden Pipe, or a piece of Reed in the hole. The *Tapoyers* use very large Pipes made of Stone, Wood, or Clay, the holes of which are so big that they contain a handful of Tobacco at a time. Sometimes the *Brasilians* make use of our *European* Pipes, call'd by them *Amurupenbubaba*, and *Broken Katunbaba* by the *Portugueses*, and *Katgebouw* by the *Dutch*. Whenever the *Tapoyers* (especially those inhabiting the

Villages, descended from the *Tapoyers* call'd *Karivi*) prepare the Liquors *Akavi* and *Apy*, it is done at the same time; Then a Day being appointed for a general merry meeting, they meet early in the Morning at the first House of the Village they belong to, where they consume most of the Liquor, and make themselves merry with Dancing; This done they go to the next House, where they play the same Game, and so from House to House, till nothing be left or they can Drink no longer. When they find themselves overcharged with Liquor, they Spew, and fall to drinking again, and thus he who can Spew and Drink most, is accounted the bravest Fellow of the Company.

On the Coast of *Brasil*.

On the North-West Coast of *Brasil*, *Salt-Pits* are several considerable Salt-Pits: That near the House, called the *Desert* is about three or four Leagues distant from the River *Aguarama*, of which one Branch extends to the East, and discharges its Water in this Salt-Pit with a Spring-tide, which is here commonly with the New Moon. It is about 550 Paces from the Sea-shore, and receives no other Water but from the River *Aguarama*. There is no Bay or Harbour near it, but only a flat sandy bottom for about half a League distance from the Shore, where you may Anchor at three Fathom deep. The Land-Wind which constantly blows on this Coast, commonly ceases towards evening, so that the Vessels take the opportunity of the night to Load Salt. This Salt-Pit produces every month a certain quantity of Salt, provided they be careful to shut their Sluces as soon as the same is fill'd with Water, for else they are in danger of losing what they had got before, by the next high-Tide. To the East of this Salt-Pit are the famous Rocks call'd *Baxor*, which at low Water may be seen from thence; they extend about three Leagues deep in the Sea, but don't begin till about a League from the Shoar, betwixt which and the Rocks, there is a passage, where you have ten foot depth at low Water. It Ebbs here with the lowest Tide about eight Foot, and a West-South-West-Wind raises the Water to the highest.

About five or six Leagues to the West of the House call'd the *Desert*, is the great Salt-Pit *Karwaratama*, which receiving its Water from the Sea, and being detained by Sluices, produces very good Salt in three Weeks time. Five Leagues further to the West is the River

1647. *Maritona*, the second in rank in those Western Parts, but has not above twelve Foot Water at high Tide. On its East point, not above half a League within the Mouth, is a very convenient Salt-Pit: These Salt-Pits are computed to be manageable with the assistance only of 10 or 12 Negroes, 10 Christians, and about 30 *Brasilians*, and to afford 2000 Tuns of Salt *per Annum*, which may be transported from thence into the other Parts of the *Dutch Brasil*, in small Barks, during the Summer season. About half way betwixt *Rio Grande* and *Saara*, as likewise in *Saara*, near the River *Honion*, are likewise several *Salinas* or Salt-Pits.

The chief
of
Brasil.

The chief Traffick of *Brasil* consists in Sugar, *Brasil-Wood*, and such like; as also in Tobacco, Hides, *Picesives*, *Ginger*, and Cotton, which grows Wild here; Some Indigo was likewise planted there before my departure; but among these, the Sugar and *Brasil-Wood* are Staple Commodities. For since the Tobacco began to be transported into *Holland* from the *American* Islands, the Planting of it was neglected in *Brasil*, where Labourers Wages being excessive high, they could draw much more profit from the Sugar, of which, according to computation, betwixt 20000 and 25000 Chests were yearly made only in the Sugar-Mills of the *Dutch Brasil*, if the Harvest proves very good.

The
planting of
Brasil.

The Inhabitants of *Brasil* may at present be divided into Free-born Subjects and Slaves; and these again consist of divers Nations, both Natives and Foreigners. The Free Inhabitants of *Brasil* were the *Dutch*, *Portugueses*, and *Brasilians*, the last the Natives of the Country. But the *Portugueses* did not only surpass all the rest, at least ten to one in number, during my abode in *Brasil*, but also were in possession of all the Sugar-Mills and Lands, except what was possess'd by a very few *Dutch*, who had applied themselves to Sugar Planting, but were for the most part ruin'd by the intestine War, being forced to leave all behind them in the Country: Besides those of the Free Inhabitants, who made it their Business to Manure the Grounds, there were many Merchants, Factors, and Handycrafts Men: The Merchants sold their Commodities generally with vast profit, and would have questionless been Rich Men, had they not vented their Goods upon Credit to the *Portugueses*, who were resolved never to Pay them, as the event has sufficiently shewn.

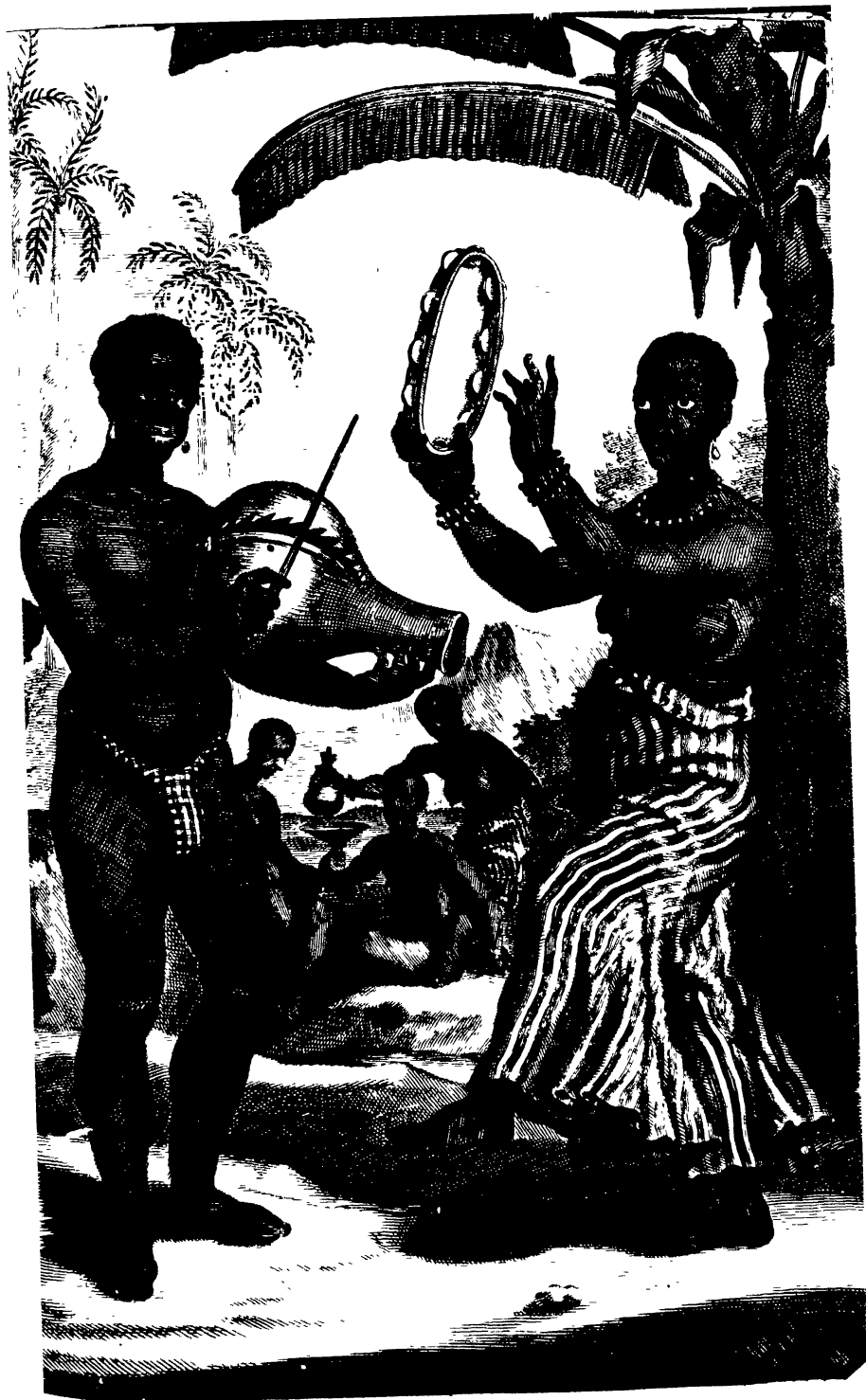
The Inha-
bitants of
Brasil.

164. The Handicrafts Men were able to get three, four, five, nay six Gilders a day, so that many return'd very rich to *Holland*. Those that kept Publick Houses and Chandlers Shops were likewise great Gainers here, and carried off abundance of ready Money. The Officers in the Company's Service, whether Civil or Military, were likewise punctually paid, which made many who had lived in the Country, before the beginning of the Civil War, and had served the Company before, take Service again, who were all entertained according to their respective Qualities, and former Stations.

Among the Free-Inhabitants of *Brasil* that were not in the Companies Service, The Jews were the most considerable in number, who had transplanted themselves thither from *Holland*. They had a vast Traffick, beyond all the rest, they purchased Sugar-Mills, and built stately Houses in the *Recess*. They were all Traders, which would have been of great Consequence to the *Dutch Brasil*, had they kept themselves within the due Bounds of Traffick.

The Slaves of *Dutch Brasil* were either The Slaves of Negroes or Natives of the Country; the last of which were either bought in *Maranbaon*, being Prisoners of War, or from the *Tapoyars*, who likewise had made them Captives, and otherwise, according to their Custom, would have put them to Death. For, it being resolved immediately, at the first Entrance of the *Dutch* in *Brasil*, that none of the Natives should be made Slaves, (except they were either Bought from the *Tapoyars*, or brought from *Maranbaon*) the *Brasilians* were settled in certain Villages to enjoy their own Liberty, under certain Limitations, and Permission was given them, to assist the *Portugueses* in the Management of their Mills and Grounds, for certain Wages appointed for that purpose; by which means many *Alibas* or Villages were fill'd with *Brasilians* in *Parayba*, and *Rio Grande*, who during the time of our Government enjoyed the Sweets of a perfect liberty.

Vast Numbers of Negroes of divers Nations were entertained in the *Recess*, and the open Country, for the Manuring of the Ground, and Working in the Sugar-Mills of the *Portugueses*, which could not be done without them, by reason of the extremity of the Heat of the Climate, and the incredible Toils they are fain to undergo; so that in my time near 40000 Negroes were employed in the Sugar-Mills betwixt *Rio Grande* and *St. Francisco*. Most of these Negroes are



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are brought hither from the Kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Guinea*; A black shining Skin, flat Nose, thick Lips, and short curl'd Hair, is their chief Beauty. The lustiest and most laborious used in time of good Trade, to be Sold in *Brasil* for 70, 80, or 100 pieces of Eight, nay sometimes for 1400 or 1500 Gilders, but these understood something more than ordinary: But when Trade began to decay, they were Sold for 40 pieces of Eight. There was scarce a *Hollander* of any Substance, but what had several of these Slaves. They are most miserably and beastly treated by the *Portugueses*, tho' at the same time it must be confess'd that it is absolutely necessary, they should be kept under a strict Discipline: For they are full of Rogueries, Superstitious to the highest Degree, and Sorcerers, they would often pretend to tell us what Ships were at Sea from *Holland* bound for *Brasil*, tho' they were yet on the other side of the Line, and how to recover stolen Goods. I remember, I happened once to be at a Friends House of mine, when I saw an old Negro enter the Kitchen, who came thither to Cure a Negro Slave of his Illness, which he told us was occasioned by Witchcraft. He made the Patient rise from his Chair, and taking a piece of Wood from the Fire-Hearth, he ordered him to lick three times with his Tongue, that end which was burning Hot with the glowing Coals. The same end of the Wood he afterwards extinguish'd in a Basin of Water, and rubb'd the Coals in it, till it turn'd as black as Ink. This he ordered the Sick Negro to drink off at a Draught, which he did accordingly, and was immediately seized with a slight Griping in the Guts. This done he rubbed both his sides, and taking hold with his Hand of a piece of Flesh and Fat above the Hip, he made an Incision there, with a Knife, he pull'd out of his Pocket, of two Inches deep, out of which he drew a Bundle of Hair and Rags, with a little of the black Water that was left, he washed the Wound, which soon after was healed, and the Patient Cured. They are very dextrous at Swimming and Diving, and will fetch a single piece of Eight from the bottom of the Sea, where it is very deep. They are also excellent Fishermen, and get a great deal of Money by it. They tie three or four great pieces of Wood together, this they manage with one Oar, and upon it go a good way into the Sea, where they catch great quantities of Fish

1647

with their Hooks, and so return. * It happened in my time, that a certain Negro, who was very expert in Fishing, was Sold three times, in a little while; This he took so much to Heart, that the next time he went thus out a Fishing, he tied a Stone to his Leg and drowned himself. Another Negro having conceived a hatred against his Master, cut his Throat, cut out his Tongue, and made a House-of-Office of his Mouth; according to his own Confession; he was broken alive upon the Wheel, which he endured with an incredible obstinacy. A Negro Woman was brought to Bed in my time, of a Child, the Hair and Skin of which were not black, but Red. I saw also a Young Lad, Born from Negro Parents, whose Skin was white, and his Hair and Eye-brows the like, but curl'd, with a flat Nose, like the other Negro's. Sometimes I have seen Old Negro's with long Grey Beards, and Hair, which looks very fine.

The *Brasil*-
ians.

The Natives of *Brasil* consist of divers Nations, distinguished by their Proper Names, to wit; The *Tubinambos*, *Tobajaras*, *Petiquaras* and *Tapujas*, or *Tapuyers*, or *Tapoyers*. The three first use one and the same Language, and differ only in the Dialect; but the last are subdivided into several Nations, differing both in manners and Tongue. The *Brasilian*-Men, which lived among us and the *Portugueses*, are middle-sized, strong and well made, with broad Shoulders. They have black Eyes, a wide Mouth, with black curl'd Hair, and a flat Nose; the last of which is not natural to them, but the Parents, looking upon it as a great Beauty, squeeze their Childrens Noses flat, whilst they are very Young. They Paint their Bodies, and some likewise their Faces with divers Colours, they have generally no Hair about the Mouth; tho' some have black Beards. Their Women are likewise of a middle Stature, well Limb'd, and not ill featur'd; they have likewise a black Hair, but are not Born black, but by the heat of the Sun-beams, acquire by degrees, a Yellow Brown Colour. The *Brasilians* come soon to maturity, and arrive to a great Age, and that without Distempers; they also seldom become Grey; which is likewise observable in many *European* Inhabitants here, who come to the Age of 100 or 120 Years. This must be chiefly attributed to the temperature of the Climate, which is such, that in former times many *Spaniards* that laboured under some ling-

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ring Distemper, whether in *Spain* or the *East-Indies*, used to come to *Brasil* to partake of the benefit of that excellent Air and Water; 'Tis true, most of the Children of Foreigners are troubled with lingering Sickneses, so that scarce one in three arrives to a state of Manhood; but this must not be attributed to the Air, but rather to the bad nourishment. Few Criples or crooked People are to be met with among the *Brasilians*, they being generally very straight and nimble, which is the more admirable; because they never do their Children up in Swathing Cloaths, except their Feet, looking upon it as unwholesome.

Before the *Dutch* got footing in *Brasil*, the *Portugueses* had made all the Natives their Slaves, and look'd upon it as the greatest piece of Policy, quite to extirpate them; which they did so effectually, that whereas about 100 Years ago the Captain ships of *Rio Grande* alone, could raise 10000 Fighting Men, scarce 300 were to be met with in 1645, and 1646. which had created a mortal hatred in the *Brasilians* against the *Portugueses*; tho' it must also be confess'd that the late War, and some Epidemical Distempers, did sweep away many of the Natives. The remainders of them liv'd in certain *Indians* or Villages, assigned them for that purpose, where they had their Plantations; besides which they served the *Portugueses* in their Sugar-Mills, for a certain Monthly Pay, which furnished them with Clothes and other Necessaries. Their Huts are made only of Wooden Stalks, covered with Palm-Tree Leaves. They can't endure the Yoak of Slavery, nor any toil, especially the *Tapoyers*; They live very quietly among one another, unless they get Drunk, when they sometimes Sing and Dance Day and Night. Drunkenness is a Vice belonging to both Sexes here, of which they are so fond, as to be past remedy; tho' this occasions often Quarrels and other enormous Vices among them. They are likewise much addicted to Dancing, which they call *Guan*; they have several ways of Dancing, one of which is call'd *Urunkapi*; they commonly Sing whilst they are Dancing. The Children divert themselves with divers sorts of Games, one is call'd *Kurupirara*, another *Guaibipair*, and a third *Guaibiguabibukn*. They will Sleep sometimes a whole Day and Night, and would not stir then, if they did not want Victuals. Near their Hammocks they

keep a Fire Day and Night, in the Day to dress their Victuals, in the Night, to allay the rawness of the Air, which here is colder than in most parts of *Europe*, because Day and Night is almost of an equal length here, throughout the Year.

The Inland *Brasilians* of both Sexes, ^{Their} go quite naked without the least covering. ^{Class} But those inhabiting nearer to the Sea-shoar, who converse with the *Dutch* and *Portugueses*, wear only a Shirt of Linnen or Callico; tho' in my time, some of the chiefest among them, began to take a Pride to Cloath themselves after the *European* manner. The Wife constantly follows her Husband, wherever he goes, even in the War. He carries nothing but his Arms, but the poor Woman is loaden like a Mule or Sumpter-Horse. For, besides a great Basket which is tied to her back, (call'd by them *Parigua*) she has another upon her Head, with all the Household Stuff in it; or a great Basket with Flour; besides which several other smaller Vessels hang on both sides, wherewith they take up Water for their Drinking. The Child is carried in a piece of Callico, which is fastned to her, and hangs down from her Right Shoulder. It lies there with its Legs wide open, one being stretch'd cross the Mothers Belly, the other over her Shoulder. After all this she carries a Parrot or Ape in one Hand, and leads a Dog in a String with the other. Thus they proceed on their Journey, without any further Provision, except a small quantity of *Farinha*; The Hedge or open Fields serve instead of Inns, which furnish them with necessary Food, as the Rivers and Springs with Drink; and so does the Tree call'd *Karagata*, which contains always some Rain-water within the hallowness of its Leaves, to the great Relief of Travellers, who in some barren places, do often not meet with a River or Spring for twelve Leagues together. Towards Night they hang their Hammocks on Trees, or else fasten them to Stalks; Neatly they make a Fire to Dress their Victuals, and against the Rain defend themselves with Palm-Tree Leaves: When they are at home, the Husband goes commonly in the Morning abroad, with his Bow and Arrow, to Shoot some Wild-Beast or catch Birds, or else to the Sea-side or next River a Fishing, whilst the Women are employed in the Plantations; some Women go abroad with their Husbands and carry home the Prey. The Wild-Beasts are caught by



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by them in a different maner ; some they Kill with Arrows, others they catch in Pits dug for that purpose, and covered with the Leaves of Trees, under which is hidden some Carrion, the scent of which draws them to the Pit ; This they call *Petaku*. They make also certain Wooden Traps, and use divers other ways of catching the Wild-Beasts, each of which they distinguish by their proper names. To catch Birds they use three sorts of Snares or Nets ; call'd by them *Jukana* ; The first sort catches the Birds by the Feet, this they call *Jukanapirava* ; The second entangles them by the Neck ; which they call *Jukanajuprava* ; The third ensnares their Bodies, call'd by them *Jukanapitereba*. They kill the Fishes with Arrows, or catch them with Fishing-Hooks, their baits being commonly Worms, Crabs or some small Fishes. They bait the Water where they intend to Fish, with the Leaves of *Japikau*, or with *Timotsana*, *Tingny*, or with *Tinguir* ; sometimes with the Fruit call'd *Kurukape*, the Root *Magui*, or the Bark of the Tree *Anda*, which make the Fish swim on the surface of the Water, like dead, when they take them with a kind of a Sieve, call'd by them *Urupema*,

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made of Cane, or Reed, which they call *Uruguiboandipa*. Their Sea-Fish they catch with Iron Hooks, the bait being some Carrion ; they go a good way into the Sea, only upon three pieces of Wood, fastened together, which they call *Igapeda*, and the Portuguese *Jangada* ; The Wood is commonly of the Tree *Apiba*.

The *Brazilians* are not burthened with much Household-Stuff ; Their Hammocks being their chiefest care in this kind ; they call them *Iai*, are wrought of Cotton, like Net-work, of about six or seven Foot long and four broad. When they are going to Sleep, they fasten them either to two Beams of their Huts, or else in the open Air, to two Trees, and some distance from the Ground, for fear of some obnoxious Creatures, and to avoid the pestiferous exhalations of the Earth. The *Tupoyers*, call'd *Kawiri* have very large Hammocks, of twelve or fourteen Foot long, which contain four Persons at a time. The Portuguese Women make some very fine Hammocks, wrought with divers Figures in them. In lieu of Dishes and Cups they use the *Kalabeshek*, cut in the middle, which are painted without, with a certain Red colour, call'd

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call'd *Uruku*, and within with black. Their Cans, Cups and Mugs, are likewise *Kalabasses* of divers kinds called *Kute*, *Jaroba*, and *Kribuka*. One of the biggest of these *Kalabasses* hold 30 or 35 Quarts; this the *Brasilians* call *Kuyaba*; but when cut through the middle, it is called *Kuipaba*. The poorer sort make certain *Kuives*, they call *Iruque*, of Stone, as also of Cane, which they call *Taquaguaia*; but the better sort use *Dutch* Knives. Their Baskets they make of Palm-Tree Leaves, they call them *Patigua*; they have also some made of Reed or Cane, these are with one general Name call'd *Karangmoo*. They make also large broad Baskets of Reeds and Branches twisted together: These they call *Panaku*, and are chiefly used for the carrying of the *Mandioku* Root. In their Journeys they always make use of the *Patigua*, but the *Panaku* is used by the Slaves and Negroes in the *Receif*, for the conveniency of Carriage.

ir Wea-
The Arms of the *Brasilians* are only
Bows, Arrows, and Wooden Clubs. Their Bows, which they call *Gurapara* and *Virapara*, are made of very hard Wood, called *Guraparaba* and *Virapariba*: The Bow-strings are made of Cotton twisted, and by them call'd *Gurapakuma*; The Darts they call *Uba*, and are made of Wild-Cane. The Points of these Darts are either of Wood hardened, or of Fish Teeth call'd *Jacru*, or of Bones or Cane well sharpened; some have several Points, others but one.

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Being not in the least acquainted with Arithmetick, they compute the number of their Years and Age by the Chestnuts which grow on the Fruit *Akaju*, which Chestnuts they call *Akaguakaya*, as likewise *Akajuti* and *Iimabara*, of which they lay one by every year, this Tree producing Fruit but once each Season, viz. in *December* and *January*. They begin the Computation of their Years with the Rise of a certain Star, call'd by them *Taku*, or the *Rain-Star*, which is always there in *May*; they also call the Year by the same Name.

ir Re-
ion.
The most barbarous of the *Brasilians* inhabiting the Inland Countries, scarce know any thing of Religion, or an Almighty Being. They have some Knowledge remaining of a general Deluge, it being their Opinion, That the whole Race of Mankind were extirpated by a general Deluge, except one Man and his own Sister, who being with Child before, they by degrees repopled the World. They know not what God is,

they have no Word expressing the same, unless it be *Tuba*, which signifies as much as something most Excellent above the rest; Thus they call the Thunder *Tubakununga*, i. e. A noise made by the Supream Excellency; for *Akununga* implies as much as a Noise. They are unacquainted with Heaven or Hell, tho' they have a Tradition among them, That the Souls don't Die with the Bodies, but that they are either transplanted into Devils or Spirits, or else enjoy a great deal of Pleasure with Dancing and Singing, in some pleasant Fields, which they say are behind the Mountains. These Fields are enjoyed, by all the brave Men and Women, who have kill'd and eaten many of their Enemies; but such as have been Idle, and never did any thing of moment, are tortured by the Devil, unto whom they give many Names, viz. *Anhanga*, *Jurupari*, *Kurupari*, *Taguaba*, *Temoti*, *Taubimama*. They have however some sort of Priests among them, whose Business is to Sacrifice, and to foretell things to come, these are especially consulted when they are to undertake a War or Journey: They call them *Paye* and *Pey*. They dread Spirits to the highest degree; they call them, *Kuripira*, *Taguai*, *Macachara*, *Anhanga*, *Jurupari*, and *Marangigona*, tho' under different Significations: For *Kuripari* implies as much as the God of the Mind or Heart. *Macachara* the God or Patron of Travellers; *Jurupari* and *Anhanga*, signify the Devil; *Marangigona* implies as much as the *Manes* or Remains of the Soul after Death; which are so much dreaded by the *Brasilians*, that some of them upon an imaginary Apparition of them, have been struck with sudden Death. They don't perform any Worship or Ceremony to those Spirits, except that some pretend to appease their Wrath by certain Presents they fasten to certain Stakes fixt in the Ground for that purpose. Some of the *Brasilians* acknowledge the Thunder for the Supream Being, others the *Lesser Bear* in the Firmament, others some other Stars. The *Potiguaras*, a Nation among the *Brasilians*, are accounted such Sorcerers, that they Bewitch their Enemies even to Death: They call this manner of Witchcraft *Anbanomiskob*. The *Brasilians* that lived among the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, did in some measure follow the Christian Doctrine, but so coldly, that few, when they come to an advanced Age, shew much Zeal for it; because the Fundamental Articles of our Faith, are not easily imprinted in them, unless.

unless in their tender years, and when
 4647. they are remote from their Parents.
 However several of the *Dutch* Ministers,
viz. Mr. *Dorelaer*, and after him Mr. *Thom-
 mas Kemp*, have had good success in con-
 verting many of the *Brasilians* in the *Al-
 deas* or Villages, where they Preached,
 the last of these two being well versed
 in the *Brasilian* Tongue. Neither were
Dionysius Biskaretta, an honest old *Casti-
 lian*, and *Johannes Apricius*, less remiss in
 performing their Duty, to instruct these
 Infidels. There were likewise three
Dutch Schoolmasters among them, who
 taught their young People to Read and
 to Write, but these were forced to leave
 their *Aldeas* or Villages during the last
 intestine Commotions raised by the *Por-
 tugueses*.

Their Dis-
 tempers
 and Reme-
 dies.

Many Distempers which are common
 in *Europe* are unknown in *Brasil*: They
 use nothing but simple Remedies, and
 laugh at our Compositions. They are
 very dextrous in applying their Reme-
 dies, especially their Antidotes: They
 draw Blood by Suction with Horn Cups,
 by Scarification, or opening a Vein; in-
 stead of a Lancet, they use the Tooth of
 a Lamprey, call'd by them *Kakaon*; with-
 out which no body stirs abroad. So soon
 as any one of their Acquaintance is falln
 ill, they all meet, each offering his Re-
 medy, which he has found good by his
 own Experience: Then they begin to
 cut and slice the most musculous Parts
 of the Body, either with the Thorns of
 the Tree *Karnaiba*, or with Fishes Teeth,
 till they have drawn as much Blood as
 they think fit; and for that purpose
 suck the Wounds with their Mouths, by
 which means they pretend to draw all ill
 Humours from the affected part. Vom-
 iting they procure by means of the
 Leaves *Karnaiba*, which being twisted
 together, they force down the Patients
 Throat. When all these pretended Re-
 medies prove ineffectual, they proceed
 to no others; but after some Consulta-
 tions, quite despairing of his recovery,
 knock him on the Head with their Clubs,
 looking upon it more glorious, to be
 thus bravely delivered from their Mi-
 sery, than to expect Death till the last
 gasp. They Exercise as much Barbarity
 upon the Dead Carcasses of their Friends
 as of their Enemies; upon the first out
 of Love, against the last out of Revenge;
 for, they tear them to pieces with their
 Teeth, and Eat the Flesh like a dainty
 Bit.

The *Brasilian* Women are extremely
 Fruitful, have very easie Labours, and

rarely Miscarry: For no sooner is a Wo-
 man delivered, but up she gets to the
 next River, and without any further
 help, Washes her self there: In the
 mean while the Husband keeps the Bed
 for the first 24 Hours, and is made as
 much of as if he had been lately brought
 to Bed. The Mothers lament the Death
 of their Infants, with Howling and Cry-
 ing for three or four days.

They receive their Friends after a long
 Journey with open Arms and Tears, and
 beating their Foreheads against their
 Breasts, in remembrance of the Misfor-
 tunes they have undergone during their
 absence. Tho' the *Brasilians* were always
 supposed to be descended from the Race
 of Men-Eaters, yet by their Conversa-
 tion with us, and other Nations, many
 of them have laid aside their Barbarity,
 and are become as affable and civilized as
 most of the *European* Nations.

Their
 Child-
 bearing.

How they
 welcome
 their
 Friends.

The *Tapuyars* inhabit the Inland Coun-
 try of *Brasil* to the West of these Coun-
 tries in the possession of the *Portugueses*
 and *Dutch*, betwixt *Rio Grande*, and the
 River *Siará*, as far as *Rio St. Francisco*.
 They are divided into several Nations,
 distinguished both by their Language
 and Names: For the *Taoyars* bordering
 upon the utmost Confines of *Pernambuco*,
 are called *Kariri*, under their King *Ceri-
 oukejou*; the next to them the *Karirvauju*,
 whose King was *Karapoto*; then the
Kariryon, and so further the *Tararyon*;
 the last of which were best known unto
 us, *Janduy* or *John Dwy* being their
 King; tho' some of them lived under
 the Jurisdiction of one *Karakara*. Di-
 vers were govern'd by other Kings,
viz. *Priyaba*, *Arigpayen*, *Wahafewajag*,
Tsering, and *Dremenge*. Those under
 King *John Dwy* inhabit to the West be-
 yond *Rio Grande*, but change their Hab-
 itations pretty often: About *November*,
December, and *January*, when the Fruit
Kajou's begins to ripen, to come towards
 the Seaside, because little of it is to be
 met with in the Inland Countries. The
Tapuyars are very tall and strong of Bo-
 dy, exceeding both the *Brasilians* and
Dutch both in Strength, and Tallness by
 the Head and Shoulders. They are of
 a dark brown colour, black Hair, which
 hangs all over their Shoulders, they on-
 ly Shaving it on the Forehead as far as
 to the Ears. Some are Shaved according
 to the *European* Fashion; the rest of their
 Bodies they keep without Hair, even
 without Eye-brows. Their Kings and
 great Men are distinguished from the
 vulgar by the Hair of their Heads, and
 their

The Ta-
 puyars.

47. **their Nails**; the first their Kings wear Shaved in the shape of a Crown, and have very long Nails on their Thumbs; but the Kings Relations or other Officers of Note, wear long Nails on all their Fingers, except the Thumbs; for long Nails is accounted a peculiar Ornament among them. The *Tapoyars* are very strong; Prince *Maurice* being one time in a Humour to try their Strength and Skill in Fighting with a Wild Bull, caused one to be brought within his outward Court, which was surrounded with Palisadoes, in order to engage two *Tapoyars* appointed for that purpose. There was a great Concourse of People to see this Spectacle, when on a sudden two *Tapoyars* (the rest with their Wives being only Spectators) came in stark-naked, without any other Arms but their Bows and Arrows. The Bull saw them no sooner

enter, but he made towards them, who being extremely nimble, avoided the strokes he made at them with great dexterity, and in the mean while so gall'd his Flanks with their Arrows, that the Beast roar'd most terribly, and being all in a Foam, set upon them with all his vigour; which they avoided by retiring every foot behind a Tree that stood in the middle of the Court, and from thence continued to pierce his sides with their Darts, till finding the Beast begin to languish by the loss of Blood, one of the *Tapoyars* got upon his Back, and laying hold of his Horns, threw him upon the Ground; and being seconded by his Comrade, they both kill'd the Bull, roasted him under-ground, with a Fire above it, according to their Custom, and feasted upon the Meat, with the other *Tapoyars* there present

The habit of 2 Tapoyars



^{thing.} The *Tapoyars* of both Sexes, from the King to the common Fellow, go quite naked; only that the Men hide their Privities, by tying the Yard in a little Bag or Net made of the Bark of Trees; This they close up with a small Ribon, call'd *Takogynhaa*; when they want to Piss they untie it, and are more Cautious in exposing their Privities, than some of

the *Europeans*: In the same manner do the rest of the *Brasilians* inhabiting the Inland Countries. The Women of the *Tapoyars* cover their Privities only with a handful of Herbs, or a small Branch of a Tree with the Leaves on them: This they thrust barely under a small Cord or Rope which is fastned round their middle like Girdles: In the same manner they

they cover their Backsides, but so carelessly, that both before and behind, great part of both is exposed to view; they change it every day. The Men wear also a kind of Garland made of the Feathers of the Bird *Ghuara* or *Kaninde*, upon their Heads, from which certain Feathers of the Tail of the Bird *Arara*, or *Kamid*, hang down behind upon the Back; Some only tie a Cotton string round their Hands, in which some red or blue Feathers are fastened behind; this they call *Akanbuaaba*. They have also Cloaks made of Cotton-Thread, and Woven like a Net; in each of the holes they stick a red Feather of the Bird *Ghuara*, and intermix them with black, green, and yellow Feathers of the Birds *Aukukaru*, *Kazinde*, and *Arara*, which lie as close together as Fish Scales: There is a kind of Cap on the inside of this Cloak, which with the rest covers the Head, Shoulders, and the Body, somewhat below the middle; so that it is worn both for Ornament and Conveniencies sake, it being proof against the Rain; they call these Cloaks in their Tongue, *Ghuara Abuku*. They also fasten certain Combs of Birds, with Wild Honey, to their Foreheads; these they call *Aguana*.

If their Fathers or Mothers die, they pull every Hair out of their Heads; They have holes in their Ears, so big, that you may thrust a Finger into them; in this they wear either a Bone of an Ape, call'd *Nambipaya*, or else a piece of Wood, wrapt up in Cotton-Thread. The Men have holes in their under Lips, in which they wear either a Crystal, Smaragd or Jasper of the bigness of a Hazel-Nut: This Stone they call *Metara*, and if it be green or blue, *Metarobi*; but they are most fond of the green ones: They have also holes in their Cheeks on each side of the Mouth; in these the Married Men wear a piece of Wood of the bigness and thickness of a good Goose-Quill: Sometimes they wear a Stone in it, called *Tembekeareta*: In the holes of their Nostrils, some have also such like sticks of Wood, which they call *Apiyati*: Their Bodies are all over painted with a certain Juice of brown colour, squeezed out of the Apple *Janipapa*; this is even used among the Women and Children. Besides this, they stick Feathers of divers colours, with Wild-Honey or Mastick, to the Skin of their Bodies, which make them appear at a distance like large Birds; this they call *Akamongui*. Thus they adorn their Arms with Garlands made of red and yellow Feathers of several Birds,

call'd *Aguamiranga*; sometimes they mix Corals among them, which they call *A-rakoaya*. They make also a kind of Bracelets of the Rind of the Fruit *Aguay*, these they wear round their Legs, and make a noise when they are a Dancing. Their Shoes are made of the Bark *Kuragua*, and call them *Miapakabas*. Some Nations of the *Tapoyars* use no Bows or Arrows, but throw their Darts with their hands, but the *Kariri* have Bows. Their Clubs are made of very hard Wood, are broad on the top, and full of Teeth or Bones, well sharpened at the end. Round the handle they wind a piece of Callicoe, or some other Stuff, and at the end a bush of Feathers of the Tail of the Bird *Arara*; such another bush is fastened round the middle; they call them *Airabebe*, and *Jairabebe*. Their Trumpets, which they call *Kanguenka*, are made of Mens Bones; but those called *Noumbugaku*, which are much larger, are of Horn; they have also another sort made of Cane, called *Meumbrapara*. The *Tapoyars* are not so good Soldiers as the rest of the *Brazilians*, for upon any smart Encounter, they trust to their Feet, and run away with much ease. They neither Sow much as the *Mandioka*, nor much Food being Fry and Wild-Beasts, and which they eat.

Among all of them they are fond of a certain kind of wild *Mandioka*-Root, which rises up to the height of a small Tree, its Stem and Leaves resemble the other *Mandioka*-Root, but it is not near so good; The *Indian* *Brazilians* call it *Cugacurama*, but those living near the Seashore call it *Cugacurama*.

They eat also Mens Flesh; for if a Woman happens to miscarry they eat the Child immediately, alledging, that they cannot bestow a better Grave upon it, than the Belly, from whence it came. The *Tapoyars* lead a kind of Yagabond Life, like some of the *Arabians*; though they always remain within their certain bounds, within the compass of which they change their Habitations according to the different Seasons of the Year; they dwell for the most part among the Woods, and live upon Hunting, in which perhaps they excel all other Nations; for they will Shoot a Bird flying with their Arrows. So soon as a Woman has Conceived, she abstains from her Husband; after she is brought to Bed, she goes into the next Wood, where she cuts the Childs Navil-string, with

1647. with a Shell, boils it afterwards with the After-burthen, and eats them both. She washes her self and the Child every Morning and Evening, neither does her Husband keep her Company, as long as she gives Suck, unless he has but one Wife. If a Woman be discovered to have had an unlawful commerce with another Man, her Husband turns her away, but if they are catch'd in the act, he may kill them both. The Mothers take extraordinary care, that the Nuptials of their Daughters are not consummated till after they have had their Monthly times, which they give notice of to their Physicians, and these to the King, who then gives them License to go to Bed with the Bridegroom, who pays his acknowledgment to her Mother, for the care she has taken of her Daughter. If a Young Maiden be Marriageable, and yet not courted by any, the Mother Paints her with some red Colour about the Eyes, and thus carries her to the King, who orders her to sit down near him upon a Carpet, and blows the Smoak of Tobacco in her Face. After which he thrusts his Yard into the Womens Privities, and if any Blood comes forth, he licks it up, which is esteem'd a singular Honour among them. For the rest of the *Tapoyers*, are the worst of all the other *Brasilians*, being ignorant of any thing that relates to God or Religion; neither will they receive any Instruction of that kind. They have certain Priests or rather Sorcerers, who pretend to foretel things to come, and to raise Spirits, which they say appear to them in the shape of a Flye, or any such like Insect: When these Spirits disappear, the Women make most horrible cries and lamentations, in which consists the main point of their Devotion. They avoid Night journeys, for fear of Serpents and other Venomous Creatures, neither will they set on a Journey till the Dew be dried up by the Sun-beams. Several Nations of the *Tapoyers*, especially those under King *John Dumy*, liv'd always in a good correspondence with the *Dutch*, unto whom they afforded at divers times considerable Assistance; tho' they did not submit to their Jurisdiction, but were governed by their own Kings. King *John Dumy* had Sixty Children by Fifty Wives, tho' sometimes he had not above Fourteen Wives at a time; These *Tapoyers* having a mortal hatred to the *Portugueses*, used to kill them wherever they could meet with them. And thus much may suffice concerning the Manners, way of Living,

Cloaths, &c. of the Natives of *Brasil*; I will now proceed to give you an account of my Voyage back into *Holland*.

Being sensible, as I told you before, that things grew worse and worse every Day with us, here, I with much ado got leave to depart, and accordingly the 23d of July, 1649. I went aboard the Ship call'd the *Union*, Mann'd with 80 Sailors, under the Command of Captain *Albert James*, a Native of *Groningen*. We set Sail the same Day in Company of the *Blue Eagle*, and a Yacht call'd the *Braslian*. We left the City of *Olinda* to the South-West in the evening; the 25th we were under three Degrees six Min. with a North-North-East Course, we sail'd that Day about 28 Leagues. The next Day we pass'd the Line, with very fair Weather and Wind; we continued our course without any remarkable accident till the first of August, when about Noon, we found our selves under 9 Deg. 13 Min. having sail'd 29 Leagues in the last 24 Hours. The same Evening we saw the first time the North-Pole-Star, after we had pass'd the Line. The 2d of August we sail'd 23 Leagues with a fresh gale, and found our selves under the 11th Deg. 13 Min. We continued this our course with a fair Wind, till the 16th of August when we were becalmed, we did not advance above 60 Leagues that Day, being under the 26 Degr. we found it exceeding hot. The 20th of August we had but a slender South-East-Wind, we found our selves under 29 Degr. 45 Min. we were much troubled with heat, for want of the cool Land Winds, that the Knives in the Cabin were so hot, that no body could hold them in his bare Hands, nor any one could touch the Deck of the Ship with his Hands or Feet. We continued our course thus till the 29th, when being under 38 Degr. 46 Min. we made about Eight Leagues that Day. The 3d of Sept. being under the 40th Degr. 18. Min. we espied a Sail which we found to be a Vessel bound for *Virginia*. Towards Evening we were forced to stay sometime for the *Braslian* Yacht, she having lost one of her Masts. The next following Day in the Morning we discovered the Island of *Corfu*, whither we directed our Course.

Corfu and *Floris* are two of the Nine Islands, the *Dutch* commonly call the *Flemming Islands*. The biggest is *Tercera*, being about 16 Leagues in compass. It is very Rocky, but fruitful, producing a considerable quantity of Oxen, and abounding in Canary and other Birds. Here is a Spring that turns Wood into Stone, and

69. and several Hot-Springs, in which you may boil an Egg. The Ground seems to be full of Concavities, which is the reason of the many Earthquakes here, which overturn and destroy Houses, Men and Beasts. The Island call'd the *Peake*, has a Rock, which reaches to the very Clouds, and which as some suppose, may be parallel'd for its height to the *Peake* of the *Canary Island* it self. Betwixt the Coast of *Brasil* and the said Islands the Compass bears due South and North. We were gone Eight degrees further to the West, than we intended. About Noon, we found our selves under 40 Deg. and 34 Min. We continued our course without any remarkable accident, till the 16th of Sept. when we supposed our selves to be not far from Land, which we discovered the same Evening to the North, North-East of us. The 17th we were becalmed, and catch'd more Fish than we were able to eat. The 18th we discovered the Isle of *Wight* to the North of us, whereabouts one of our Ships was separated from us; not long after we saw the Point of *Dover*. The 19th we pass'd by *Dunkerck* and *Ostend* with a brisk gale, and about Noon safely arrived in the Road of *Flussingen*. I got immediately ashore, and after having refresh'd my self for five Days, I went to *Middleburgh*, where I likewise continued five Days. From thence I continued my Journey over *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft*, and *Harlem* to the famous City of *Amsterdam*, from whence I undertook this *West-Ind. a Voyage* 1640. From *Amsterdam* I went to *Zwell*, the Birth-place of my Father *John Nieuhoff*; and so to *Benthem*, my Native Country, where I met with my Parents in good health, after so many fatigues of a tedious Voyage; whilst I was at *Benthem* my Father Died 1651. the 15th of May, in the 85th Year of his Age, being lamented by all, by reason of his good Qualifications.

Some troublesome People laid the loss of the *Dutch Brasil* at the door of the Members of the *Great Council*, viz. *Henry Hamel*, *Adrian Bullestrate*, and *Peter Jande Bai*, who left *Brasil* 1647. It was alleged that the before mentioned Contracts made with the *Portugueses* had given them great opportunity of a Revolt; for which it was said the said Members had received great Sums of Money; but it being evident, that the succeeding Members of the *Great Council* having taken Cognizance of that Affair before their departure, Nov. 6. 1646. and in March 1647. they were fully cleared of these Accusations, the same

having been transacted by special Orders of the Council of XIX. in *Holland*; besides, that the Revolts which were about the same time in agitation, in *Angola*, *Africa*, and the Island of *Ceylon* in the *East-Indies*, where no such Contracts were made, do sufficiently testify that the foundation of this intestine War, was laid in *Portugal*, long before the Contracts were set on foot. What is more surprizing, is, how the *Portugueses*, considering we were pretty well provided with Forts and Garrisons, durst think of such an Attempt; but the reason is plain, for what they wanted in strength or otherwise, they were supplied with from the *Babia*.

The Motives that induced the *Portugueses* to this Revolt, were the recovery of their Liberty, the difference of their Language and Manners from ours; but especially of Religion, which, our People endeavour'd to establish in *Brasil*; these with some other concurring circumstances, such as our present weakness, and the disposition the States were in at that time, to be fairly rid of *Brasil*, gave them sufficient encouragement for this attempt. It has been the opinion of some that the first sparks of this Rebellion might soon have been quench'd by seizing some of the heads of the *Portuguese* Faction; but it being apparent from the Records, that nothing was left unattempted upon that account, tho' without any considerable success, the same cannot be imputed to the neglect of the Government; The true reasons of the loss of *Brasil* were the slender Garrison, and the inconsiderable number of *Dutch* inhabiting there; nothing being more obvious, that a conquered Country must be maintained, either by a sufficient Military Force, or strong Colonies; the last of which was the constant practice of the Ancient *Romans*, who besides this back them with good Armies to keep the conquered Nations in Obedience. Another way of establishing themselves in a conquered Country, tho' a very Barbarous one, was introduced by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* in *America*, who by destroying the Ancient Inhabitants, and planting Colonies of their own, saved themselves the charge of keeping many Forts and Garrisons for their Defence. Neither of these was sufficiently observed by the *Dutch* after their Conquest of the *Dutch Brasil*; For, according to their Agreement made with the *Portuguese*, the last were left in the entire and quiet possession of all the Sugar-Mills, Plantations, and

1649.

What induced the Portugueses to Rebel.

Reasons why Brasil was not sufficiently Peopled by the Dutch.

be Arrived at Flussingen

he arrives at Benthem

1649. and Grounds thereunto belonging, whereby the *Dutch* Subjects were in a manner excluded from getting any considerable footing in the open Country, especially, since such of the Sugar-Mills as happened to fall into the Companies hands, by Forfeitures or otherwise, were Sold promiscuously to both Nations, and commonly at such excessive Rates, that the *Dutch* durst seldom venture upon them; The Taxes laid upon every thing belonging to the Sugar-Mills, and upon the Sugar it self, being so great, that little profit was to be reapt from thence, unless the Sugar sold at a very dear Rate; whereas on the contrary, we ought after the Example of the *Spaniards*, to have endeavoured to draw our Subjects into *Brasil*, by the granting of considerable Immunities of Honour and other Advantages. The Military force of the *Dutch* in *Brasil*, was likewise not duly regarded; for whereas according to a just Estimate made in 1641. by Count *Maurice*, 7076 Men were absolutely requisite to maintain the *Dutch* Garrisons there, the States of *Holland* instead of following his Directions, did after the Conclusion of the ten years Truce with *Portugal*, order the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil*, to reduce their Forces there to 18 Companies of 150 Men each; and tho' several Remonstrances were made upon that head to the contrary, the truth of which was verified by the event; yet the Succours sent from *Holland* arrived so slowly, that after my departure things grew worse and worse every Day, and the *Dutch* had lost all their strong holds, 1654. For the *Portugueses* began to blow up the *Recess* by Sea, with Sixteen Ships, and to besiege it by Land, 1653, in *December* with such success, that our People being constrained by Hunger, and the Garrison refusing to Fight, were forced to surrender the place with all its circumjacent Forts to the Enemy; since which time the *Portugueses* have remained in the entire Possession of *Brasil*; the same being confirmed to them by the Peace made the 6th of *Aug.* 1660, betwixt *Portugal* and the States of the United Provinces, in which, among others these following Points were agreed upon.

That the Crown of *Portugal* shall be obliged to pay to the States the Sum of Eighty Tuns of Gold, either in ready Money, or Sugar, Tobacco or Salt, or else Assign the said Money upon the *Portuguese* Customs.

That the places taken on each side, should remain to those, who were then in Possession of them.

And that a free Trade should be allowed to the *Dutch* in *Portugal*, *Africa* and *Brasil*; without paying any more Customs than the Native *Portugueses*.

Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF's

REMARKABLE

Voyages and Travels

TO THE

EAST-INDIES.

1653.

The Author's departure to the East-Indies.

AFTER a short stay in my Native Country, I resolv'd to take a view of the *East-Indies*; and accordingly Embarked at *Amsterdam*, on Board the Ship call'd the *Calf*; carrying 24 Guns, under the Command of *Cornelius Juss*. The 23d of *August* 1653. we set Sail from the *Texel*, in Company of four Ships more, viz. The *Peace*, the *Lamb*, the *Golden Drake*, and the *Naerden*, Steering our Course towards the North of *Ireland*, not thinking it safe to pass thro' the Channel of *England*. The 24th we Steer'd our Course North by West, under 54 deg. 56 min. towards Evening we cast Anchor at 12 and in the Night found 17 Fathom Water. We continued the same Coast the 25th, under 55 deg. 59 min. 23 Fathoms Water; and from thence further till the 29th, under 28 deg. 24 min. Then we took a North East Course with a brisk Gale. The 30th with break of day, we discover'd at about 6 Leagues distance *Hetland* lying at the Northern Point of *Scotland*, and found our selves about Noon under 60 deg. 3 min. Latitude, and 18 deg. 49 min. Longitude. The 1st of *September* we were under the Latitude of 62 deg. 40 min. and 19 deg. 2 min. Longitude: We Steer'd our Course with a brisk Gale to South West by West, betwixt the *Fairo* Islands and *Hetland*. The 4th, being overtaken by a violent Storm, we lost sight of one of our Ships call'd the *Lamb*, under 60 deg. 11 min. We continued the same Coast till next day, when about Noon we discover'd the Isle of *Kilda*, under 59 deg. at 6 Leagues distance to the South West of us, the Island lying to the West of *Scotland*. Thus we pursued our Voyage, for the most part with stormy Weather till the 13th, when we lost our small Sail at the Prow of the Ship: We found our

The Isle of Kilda.

selves about Noon, under 50 deg. 1 min. the Weather continuing very Stormy, but on the 17th under 46 deg. 27 min. all our Rigging was torn to pieces by a violent Storm, in which we got out of sight of all our Company. The 19th we descried two Sail which we guess'd to be our own, as one of them prov'd afterwards to be the *Lamb*. The 20th we continued our Course with a brisk Wind to the South West, and under 43 deg. 25 min. discovered the *Cabo Finis terre*, or the point of the Lands end of *Spain*; at about 5 Leagues distance, as we supposed. The same Evening we met with the Ship the *Lamb*, which as the Master inform'd us, had lost sight of the Ship the *Peace*, in the last Storm; and had her Main-mast and all her Sails brought by the Board. Thus we Sailed forward with a strong Gale till the 30th, when we found our selves under the 30 deg. 20 min. and discover'd the *African* Coast about five Leagues to the South-West of us, with a variable Wind. The second of *October*, we continued the same Course under the 28 deg. 51 min. of Latitude, and 57 deg. of Longitude; all a-long the Isle of *Lancrotta* one of the *Canary* Islands, we descri'd a Ship, but were not near enough to see what she was. The next day we found our selves about 40 Leagues to the North North-East of the Islands *Fretaventuræ* or *Fortercentum* under 27 deg. 45 min. and sail'd thus in 24 hours, 40 Leagues among the *Canary* Islands. The 7th a brisk North Wind carried us near 20 Leagues forwards to the 19 deg. 14 min. In the Evening we found but 14 Fathoms Water, and a small Bird settled upon our Ship, tho' we judg'd our selves above 100 Leagues from Land. The 9th we were under 17 deg. 41 min. and towards Evening saw Land to the South-West of us. The 10th with break of day, we discover'd

1653.

A a a the

the Isle of *St. Vincent*, one of the Salt Islands, about 5 Leagues to the South-West; we Steering our Course South-West, betwixt this Island and that of *St. Anthony*. About Noon we cast Anchor in the Bay of *St. Vincent* at four Fathom Water, in a Sandy Bottom; and provided our selves the same day with a whole Boat full of fresh Water and 7 Goats; I went in another Boat to the Isle of *St. Anthony*, to fetch some fresh Provisions, but could get none. The 15th our Ships Crew catch'd 10 Tortoises, and those of the *Drake* as many. The 18th I was sent a Shoar to Complement the Governour of *St. Vincent*, who received us very kindly, and furnish'd us with an Afs to carry us back to the Harbour. All this while we catch'd abundance of Fish; and the 20th sent some on Shoar with some Toys, which they ex-

changed with the Inhabitants of *St. Vincent*, for Oranges, Limons, Bakora's and Pom-pions. The same day the Ship the *Refe* bound for *Brazil*, came to an Anchor in the same Bay. Mr. *Wilschut* the Elder Com-mander in Chief of the Land Forces came on Board us, being much surpris'd to meet with me there. Being by this time provid-ed with as many necessaries as we were able to get, we were ready to set Sail, but were detain'd by contrary Winds till the 25th. The Isle of *St. Vincent* is a Rocky and Bar-ren Island, affording nothing but a little Grats for the sustenance of wild Goats. It is about 5 Leagues in Circuit, under the Command of a *Portuguese* Governour, who was then a *Mulat*, one born of a Christi-an Father and a Negro Mother.



The Inhabitants here are Negros, trans-planted hither from several Parts to catch wild Goats, the Skins of which they send to *Portugal*, and the Flesh they can't consume they throw away. They lead a wretched Life without Women. All their Water is brackish, and of a rust-like Salt-peter, ex-cept what they gather at the Foot of the highest Rock in Bags of Goat-skins, which

being always covered with Clouds on the top, sends a considerable quantity of Rain Water down to the bottom by small natural Channels. The Governours Residence is on the other side of the great Rock, not far from the Sea shoar, near 3 Leagues from the Harbour. His Officers live in Huts covered with Tortoise-shells, among Trees, the shadow of which defends them against the



1653

Violent
Scurvy.

great dissatisfaction, being so disabled by sickness, and especially the Scurvy, that we had scarce hands enough left to manage our Ship; Our Surgeon was a *German* by birth, a very able Person, but never used to the Sea before, was so much surpris'd at it, that he confess'd he never had seen the like, and that few of them would recover; but I told him, that in Case we could make the Cape, he would find a remarkable alteration in a weeks time, as soon as they touch'd the Land, and received suitable refreshment, which accordingly proved true. The 20th and 30th it was very tempestuous weather, when we lost sight again of the *Drake*; we were forced to keep the open Sea till the 2d of February; when we found our selves under 34 deg. 39 min. Southern Latitude, and 36 deg. 32 min. Longitude. The 3d being overtaken by a storm from the South-East, we were forced to leave the shoar again, which continued the next day with such violence that we lost our Main-sail. The 4th we pursued our Course with a brisk Gale under 33 deg. 40 min. when we again discovered Land at about 6 or 7 Leagues distance. Towards Evening we came within a League of *Dassen* (*Doc Island*) at 60 Fathoms depth, but were forced to put to Sea again, the shoar being all a-long very Rocky here: Thus we made To and From the shoar till the 8th, when we saw the *Table Mountain* about 9 Leagues to the South-West of us, and the Isle of *Dassen* 2 or 3 Leagues to the N. W. we found hereabouts 30, 36 and 40 Fathoms water, about half a League from the shoar in a Sandy bottom; we did all we could to make the *Robben Island* (*Rabbit Island*) but being becalmed, were fain to put to Sea again. The 9th we were not above 2 or 3 Leagues from the *Table Mountain*, and about Noon being favoured with a brisk S. W. Wind got happily into the *Table Bay*, where we cast Anchor at 5 Fathoms depth in a Sandy bottom. Here we met with the Galliot the *Fox*, *John Zymmer* Master. *Mr. Rietbeck*, Dutch Governour of the *Cape of good Hope*, sent us immediately a Chaloop with Fish on Board, and a Pilot to conduct us into the Harbour. We had lost 8 of our Ships Crew in this Voyage, and had about 40 sick, besides which the rest were so much afflicted with the Scurvy, that unless we had received some seasonable refreshments, we could scarce have held it out much longer. I went immediately a shoar in Company of the Captain *Cornelius Just*, and brought back good store of Mustard-leaves which were dress'd for the Ship's Crew. Much about the same time the Fiscal came a-board us, to forbid all Commerce with the *Hottentotes* or Natives, and to tarry a

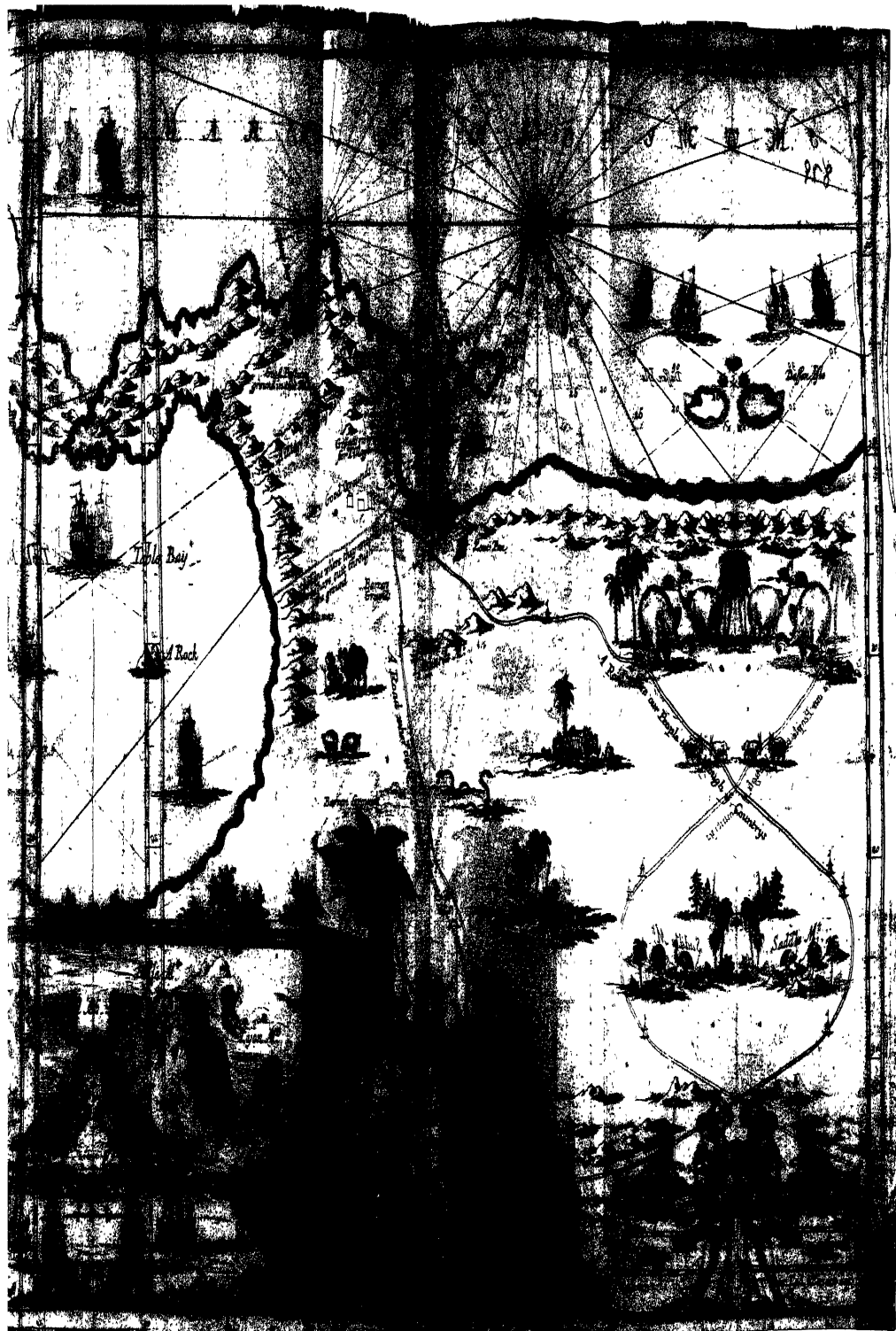
shoar, without special leave from the Governour; we were also supply'd with more fresh water, which is very good and easie to be got thereabouts. The 12th we saw the Ship the *Drake* making the Bay, but was forced to cast Anchor behind the *Robben Island*, by reason of the violence of the Wind; we were then busie in fishing, but the Wind blowing hard from the Land side, could catch none. The 14th the Tempest being somewhat allay'd, we approach'd as near the shoar as we could; when we got sight of the Top of the *Table Mountain*, which is very often covered with small Clouds, a certain presage of Tempestuous weather. The same day we went to our former Employment of fishing, and catch'd as much in one draught as the Chaloop was able to carry, the Governour having 14 Wheelbarrows full for his share. They were for the most part Mulletts, which swim in shoals along the shoar of this Bay. It was not till the 16th the *Drake* came into the Harbour, having lost 20 of her Crew and 50 sick, and the rest being so much disabled by the Scurvy, that according to their own confession, if it had lasted thus 14 days longer, they must have left the Ship to the mercy of the Wind and Sea: we were all this while very busie in fishing as often as the Weather would permit; but the 19th it blew so hard, that we were forced to make use of all our Anchors. The 22d we spent in providing our selves with fresh Water and fewel, the last of which our Carpenters cut down near the banks of the Salt River. The 23d. I in Company of some others went cross the *Table Mountain* as far as the *Fresh River*, to see whether we could meet with some Wild-fowl, we saw some Negros with about 300 head of Cattel, but at the first sight of us they retired. The Fields hereabouts were all covered with white Lillies and Tulips; we saw also abundance of Partridges. Being informed that a *Rhinoceros* was fallen into the Bogs, the Governour *Rietbeck* sent some Fuzileers thither to kill him, but the Musquet ball no being able to penetrate his thick hide, they were forced to cut a hole in it first, and then to shoot it to death; the Horn is preserved there to this day, and sometimes used instead of a Cup. The 1st of March we had very fair Weather, notwithstanding which, few of our Ship's Crew were fond to go on shoar, every thing being there at an excessive rate; as for instance, a quartern of *Arack* was sold for Six pence; of Brandy for Twelve pence; a Water-melon about the bigness of a *Coco-Nutt* for half a Crown. The next day being informed that a Whale was got on shoar in the *Salt River*, the Governour and his Lady, our Master of the Ship and I, went

The Ship
the Drake
enters
the Bay

They
Company
Count

A Rhinoceros
kill'd

They Arrive in the
Table Bay.



thither to see it, it was a very large one; we got upon the back of it whilst the Trumpet sounded merrily, and the Negros were busied in cutting great pieces of the Flesh which they buried in the Sand in order to eat them. The 6th the Governour sent some of his Soldiers to the *Hottentots*, to endeavour to exchange some of their Cattel for Copper, Tobacco-pipes and such like baubles, but they retired at first sight. The 9th it was very calm and fair Weather, which made most of our Crew go on shoar to wash their Linen, having received orders to be ready to sail the next day; for which reason also good store of Cabbage and two Sheep were brought a Board, a slender Provision for such a number of Men, but it was impossible to get more for that time. During our stay here, we fetch'd daily two sacks full of Cabbage and Mustard-leaves, which being boiled with Bacon, was served twice a day, this being the best refreshment we were able to get. The *Cape of Good Hope* is situate under 34 deg 20 min. Southern Latitude, which jettis out into the Sea like a Demi-Island being to the North joined to the Continent by a strait neck of Land, with a Bay on each side, very convenient for Anchorage. The *Table Bay*, which has borrow'd its Name from the *Table Mountain*; is about 4 Leagues in compass, so that a whole Fleet of Ships may safely enter, or go out with any Wind, except the North-West Wind. Near the shoar of this Bay upon the Banks of the *Fresh River*, the *Dutch East-India Company* has erected a Quadrangular Fort, call'd the *Good Hope*, well provided with Artillery and a good Garrison, in which, at this time Mr. *Rierbeck* was Commander in chief; and had his Habitation there, with a well-planted Garden of about 15 Acres round about it. Upon the banks of the *Salt River* is likewise a small Redoubt. Behind the Port of *Good Hope*, all a-long the banks of the River, are many fine Plantations or Gardens, which produce Cabbages and such-like Herbage, being cultivated by certain *Hollanders* who have settled there, and pay only a small annual acknowledgment to the Governour for the use of their Grounds, which are for the most part Clay, and consequently fruitful, tho' in some parts they are likewise Rocky and Sandy. Near the Sea shoar is great store of small Wood, tho' the Natives assure us, that deeper in the Country they have Trees of a vast bigness. Their Gardens produce likewise Olives, Oranges, Apricocks, and Peaches; the Fields Grains and some Herbs and Flowers; nay, they would bear very good Wheat, Rye, Rice, and Barly were they manur'd as they ought to be. Their Field herbs are great and small,

some with knotty roots, Houfleck and some other Pot-herbs, besides Tulips and White-lilies, &c. They have also here a certain Root which the *Hottentots* roast and eat instead of Bread, and sometimes make Flower of them; some taste like our Potatos or Chestnuts, tho' they have others that are much sweeter, not unlike our Anniseed. The *Dutch* have planted many Thousand of Vines on a Hill adjacent to the Fort, they bear very plentifully, but the Wine is of a Crab-like taste. The worst of all is, That the Winds which arise from the Clouds in the Mountains, blow in the Summer, especially about July, with such violence, that they tear up all by the Roots, at which time it is very dangerous Landing at the Cape. For the rest the Air is very wholesome here, being always clear, and neither too hot nor too cold. Their Winter is in June and July, when it Freeze, sometimes, that you may see ice of the thickness of the back of a large Knife. In October, November and December, there blows always a South Wind, which produces a cool Air, as the North Wind does in *Holland*; and in this Season they are troubled with violent Rains, which however renders their Ground very Fruitful.

This Country likewise abounds in all sorts of Wild and Tame Creatures: They have here Birds they call *Pinguyns*, *Flamingos*, *Antenays*, *Alkatraces*, *Faysons*, *Gavoytyns*, *Garagians*, &c. The *Pinguyns* are short legged and may soon be taken, but are not to be forced from their Nest without a good stick, because they will bite and defend themselves there to the utmost. They abound also in Partridges and Pheasants, Geese, Quails, Crows, Sparrows of divers kinds; Rock-ducks with yellow necks, Teal, Wood and Water Snipes, and a kind of Demi-Ducks, there is also a sort of black Birds here of the bigness of a small Goose or large Duck, call'd by us Cormorants, wild Peacocks, blew, white and black Cranes. The white ones are indifferently large, the black ones of the bigness of our Sea Gulls, living for the most part in the Marshes; they have a kind of reed Birds with red necks and legs, Monkey's, Hawks of divers kinds, Ravens, Magpies and very large Ostriches, which can reach with their long necks a man on Horse-back. They are gray, and run with their Wings spread as swift as a Horse; they live upon herbs, but sometime devour likewise Stones, Copper and Iron. They have likewise certain Birds not unlike our Geese, which lay eggs without yelks, as big as a common Goose egg. They are so full, and taste so much like Fish, that they are not eatable. Another kind of Geese they have somewhat less than ours, tho' their legs

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The Din-
guwys.

are larger, with gray spots all over their Bodies; they are not to be tam'd, because they kill any other Bird that comes within their reach.

Formerly the Sea-shoar used to abound with certain Birds call'd *Pinguyns* both black and white; their skin is very hard and are of the bigness of an ordinary Goose. They live both upon Land and in the Water; they have a fin on each Foot, which makes them swim very twifly after their Prey the small Fish, which is the reason their Flesh is of a rank taste, and scarce eatable, unless it be seven times boil'd in fresh Water and afterwards fry'd with butter, they make their nest and lay their eggs in hallow places in the Sand.

The Fla-
mingos.

The *Flamingos* is a very fine Bird, resembling a Crane, but with a Crooked bill. They are pale red, tho' some of their Feathers are half white and half black, but the uppermost Feathers which cover the rest, are of a Rosy colour.

Their Oxen are very fat and thick set, with long crooked horns, tho' some have their horns bent back close to the neck; others have no horns at all, they are generally a foot and a half taller than our Oxen. Among other Creatures they have here those they call *Sea Cows*, being much bulkier than an *European Ox*. They are without Horns, but have long ears and round eyes, with a short tail, thick legs and feet like an Elephant. They have no hair upon their Bodies, but prodigious large Teeth. They feed upon Grass, which they find in the Marshes near the Lakes, where they duck under Water as long as they please; so that they are seldom to be seen or catch'd. The flesh is like other Beef, but somewhat Courser, when it is salted, it appears and keeps like the ordinary *Dutch* salted Beef.

They have likewise here what they commonly call *Iron Piggs*, with long spikes, which by drawing the skin together, can shoot at those that come too near them, with such force, as to wound them Mortally. A dead Lyon was once found here, with such a spike sticking in the breast, which had questionless caused his death. The skin is hung up, and to be seen in the Fort to this day. They abound also in Hares, Wild-Goats and Rabbits; and deeper into the Country they have Tygers, Lyons, Wolves, Leopards, Rhinoceros's, Deer, Cows, Calves and Rock-Does. They have plenty of Sheep which the Inhabitants exchange for Copper, Tobacco-pipes, and such-like Baubles. They bear no wool, but hair like our Goats; their legs are long and the Tail consists of one long and thick piece of fat which weighs sometimes 20 pound and above.

On this Cape is also a certain Creature call'd a *Jackal*, being betwixt a Fox and a Dog, with gray hair; it roars frightfully in the night time, being very greedy after men's flesh, so that it will digg some times ten foot deep to come at a dead Carcass: it is said to be the most quick-scented of all Creatures, and by its scent to discover any Carri- on that is near at hand to the Lyon. Among others they have likewise a certain wild Beast in shape and bigness like an Elephant, but with two horns on the top of the nose; its tail is likewise like that of an Elephant, but has a bush of black hair on the head where it joins to the neck, with two straight and round horns, with short Moule-coloured hair all over the Body. On the top of the *Lyon Mountain*, (so call'd from its resemblance to a sleeping Lyon) are great numbers of Baboons, which are so unlucky, that they will sometimes with stones, force those who ascend the Mountain, to turn back. However most of your ravenous beasts, such as Lyons, Leopards, Wolves, Jackalls and Tygers, are but rarely to be met with near the Sea-shoar, where they are almost rooted out by the Inhabitants; a certain reward being set for every one that kills any of these beasts, of which several skins hang up in a Gallery of the Fort. They have also Sea and Land Tortoises in great quantities, and the Woods furnish them with plenty of Honey, which the Bees hide in the deepest hollows of the Trees. Neither are they without Dogs, which are commonly of a red Colour, and have short tails.

There is here a certain kind of Fish call'd *The Hot- tentor's Fish*, because the *Hot- tentors* are very dextrous in taking them. They are very fine Fishes and taste like our Codds. Formerly they used to catch abundance of Seals, but now most of their Fishes are unknown to us. In the *Table Bay* are also Whales in abundance, but they are too lean to afford any considerable quantity of Oyl. Near the Sea-shoar you meet with the Fish call'd by the *Latines* *Torpedo*, by the *Greeks* in the same sense *Narces*, by the *Spaniards* *Hugia*, and by the *Dutch* *Kreck Fish* or *Lazie Fish*; not because of its laziness in swimming, but of its hidden qualities, which as its reported, consists in this, that when it finds it self in distress, it sends forth a certain juice, which seizes the Fisherman with a Cramp in all their Limbs. The Inhabitants here are call'd *Hottentors* by the *Dutch*, by reason of their stammering.

The men here appear for the most part *The Hot- tentors* naked, having only a kind of a Cloak made of Doe, Sheep, or Rabbit skins sew'd together, hanging from their shoulders, to their buttocks, fastned under the chi

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The Jack-

The Hot-
tentor's
fish.

The fish
torpedo

The Hot-
tentors
and their

a ribbon, with the rough side outward in the Summer, and the same turn'd inside in the Winter. When they are Travelling they wear over this another Cloak with the rough side outwards. Their shoes are made of Rhinoceros skin without any heels, tyed together on the middle of the feet with two leather straps. In the night time, or in rainy weather, they wear Caps of Lamb skins with the woolly side inwards. Their Privities they cover with a piece of Tygers skin or such like, which is ty'd behind with two leather strings. In their hair, which is shaved in some places of the head, they twist small Copper plates, Horns, and pieces of Coral. The Women wear Cloaks of Lamb skins like the Men, with the rough side inwards, but somewhat longer; besides which they cover their Bellies and Buttocks, as also their Privities with another four-square skin. On their heads they wear Caps of Doe, Sheep, and Rabbit skins, ty'd round about with a broad Sheep skin strap. Their shoes are the same with the Men. Such Men or Women as are rich in Cattel, grease not only their Bodies and Faces, but likewise their Cloaks and Caps with Suet, but the Poor wear no Cloaks at all, so that greasiness is among them both an Ornament, and a token of Riches. In both cases they wear strings of Coral, each weighing commonly four Ounces; about their Necks Copper-Beads, round the Arms they wear an Ivory ring, and a straight Copper ring about their Wrists. When the Women go a-broad, they commonly have an empty leather bagg hanging down from their shoulders, in which are only some baubles, but if they have a young Child it is carried in this bagg. They wear stinking guts twisted twice or thrice round their legs for an Ornament, or else dry'd guts, which serve them as a defence against pricking of Thorns, and make a rattling noise when they are dancing and merry making. The Men wear them likewise about the neck, and hang their Tobacco-pipes and other Toys in them.

The Arms chiefly used among the *Hottentots* are Javelins, being sticks of 3, 4, or 5 foot long, pointed at the end with a sharp broad piece of Iron; these they make themselves, and use them with great dexterity. They have also some Bows and Arrows, but are as yet quite ignorant of the use of fire Arms. When they go abroad they carry this javelin, call'd by them *Affagaye* in one, and an Ostrich Feather, or a small stick with a wild Cat's tail on the end, in the other hand, wherewith they defend themselves against the Gnats and other Insects.

The *Hottentots* are very nasty and awkward eating; for they are ignorant of any thing that relates to Cookery, but devour raw pieces

of flesh or carrion, as greedy as dogs. The guts themselves they swallow down without washing or dressing, after they have only squeezed them a little. For want of carrion they eat dead stinking Fish, such as they meet with near the Sea side, Mussels and such like. They kill no Cattle except it be rendered useless by Sickness or Age, except it be a sheep against a Wedding Dinner. The flesh of Sea-dogs or Rabbits is a dainty with them, which they devour either quite raw without cleaning, or sometimes broil it a little upon Coals. They cut and eat the Bacon of dead Whales which happen to be cast a shoar with great eagerness, nay they drink the Oyl which is drawn from thence by the heat of the Sun, like Water. Some bury pieces of this Bacon in the Sand for their future use. However their best and daily food are certain roots, not unlike our large Potatoes, which the Women digg up near the Rivers and in some other places, those they eat either broil'd or boil'd. They are very eager after our Wheat or Rice bread which is baked there, and willingly exchange it for Cattle.

Their chief drink is Water, or Milk which their Cattle affords them. 'Tis incredible how fond they are of Brandy or Spanish Wine, but a small quantity makes them drunk, when they baul out fearfully and are very unruly.

Those Inhabitants near the Cape are of a brown Olive Colour, like the *Mulatts*, which however is not their natural Complexion, but acquired by Art, for they boil certain herbs with grease, wherewith they besmear their bodies and faces, to make them swarthy, it having been found by experience, that a Girl, which was carried into the Fort immediately after she was born and brought up there, proved of the same Complexion with the best of our *European* Women. They are of Opinion, that in case they don't frequently besmear themselves thus from that time of their birth, they shall be subject to the Dropsie, a distemper to which many of the *Africans* are most subject, as the *Abyssines* have one thigh swell'd twice as thick as the other. Upon the arrival of our Ships on the Cape, they get into the Cooks room, and with the fat and black of the Kettle, besmear their hair and faces to make them shine the better; this being look'd upon as a great piece of Beauty among them, tho' it makes them smell very rank, especially if they put grease into the gasbes which they make in their skin for that purpose, when you may smell them at 100 yards distance.

They are generally lean, short and ugly; yet they have black quick eyes and very good white Teeth. Their Noses are somewhat flat.

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Their Drink.

Their Complexion.

Their Situation and Habit of Body.

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flat, tho' not always, and the Lips, especially the uppermost, very thick. Their Foreheads are broad, but wrinkled; and the hair of the Men is curl'd and short like Lambs wool, but very natly and grealy. The Women have thicker hair than the men, the last of which pull out all their hair upon their chin. The Men have very well made Legs, but slender Calfs, and are so nimble as to be able to out-run a strong Bull, and stop him in his full career. The Women especially have very fine and small feet, with flat Bellies and round Buttocks; their hands are very well shaped, but their fingers and nails very long. The Mens Privities or Yards are very large, but have only one stone; for so soon as a Male Child is born, the Mother cuts out the right stone to make it the more fit for running, and afterwards gives it some Sea water and Tobacco. The Women, especially those that are married, have long breasts which are always bare, and when they are suckling their Infants, hang backwards over their shoulders. The inside of the Womens Privities are so relaxed, that they hang out. Their chiefest Riches consist in their Cattle, which they never kill, but when forced thereunto, either by sickness or age of the Beast.

Their Tongue.

Their Stupidity.

They stammer much in their speech, and bluster out their words like a Turkey-Cock; they make use of no letters, neither do they know what writing and reading is; some however have been taught to speak, read and write Dutch, which shews them to be apprehensive enough. For the rest of the *Hottentots* are so very stupid, that they are not able to form to themselves the least Idea of attacking or defending a strong hold, a House of Brick, such as is proof against fire, being as profitable against them as the best Fort, for if you enclose them in a House, and only shut the doors and windows fast, they are as safe here as in the strongest Prison, having not the least sense to open them for their deliverance; in which they are inferior to Beasts, which commonly endeavour to deliver themselves from Bondage. Notwithstanding the *Hottentots* are so stupid, and in my Judgment, the most wretched Nation upon Earth, there are some among them, that want not cunning, especially if they are brought up to it; an instance of which we saw in our time, in two young fellows, who being carried from hence to *Baravia*, where they were instructed in speaking, reading and writing of Dutch. One of them was employed as a Servant by the General Director, *John Maet Zuicker*, and after some time was sent back to the Cape to serve as an Interpreter there. I met with him at my first return from the *East-Indies*, among

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the *Hottentots*, and ask'd him whether he would not rather be with us where he lived much better? he told me, he would rather be with his own Country men. I understood afterwards, that this fellow had proved the occasion of great mischief and differences among the *Hottentots*, and that several had been kill'd in the Quarrel on both sides. At last he fell again into the hands of the Commander of the Cape, who banish'd him to the *Robben Island*, where he dyed. Theft they punish with a Bastinado, and to they do Murther, not out of any regard to God Almighty, but for customs sake. They talk of one *Honumma*, who has the disposal of Raas and Fair Weather, but they pay no adoration to him.

Marriage is in pretty good esteem among them, tho' a Man Marries as many Wives as he pleases. The Maid as soon as she is betrothed performs the Oath of Fidelity in the following manner. The Mother cuts off the first joint of her Daughters little finger, which is tied to her future Husband's finger, this they bury, and afterwards kill a Cow for their Wedding dinner. The Maids are distinguish'd from the Married Women, by green twiggs which are twisted round their leggs; these are taken off at the Wedding day, and instead of them the dry'd guts of the Cow kill'd for the Wedding dinner, put on; these when they Dance make a noise, which seem very agreeable to them.

'Tis true, the *Hottentots* are the most Barbarous upon Earth; notwithstanding which, I can't agree with those that will not allow of any religious Worship among them; it being the opinion of all Learned men, that no Nation is so Barbarous, but what has something of Religion, be it True or False. For they adore the Moon with unusual outcries, and it is not improbable but that they pay the same devotion to the Sun, because they follow its Course as much as is possible, by changing the Pasture of their Cattle; for when the Sun comes to the Tropick of *Cancer*; it has been observed that they feed their Cattle on the South-East side of the Rivulet, but when the Sun returns to the Tropick of *Cancer*, they go to the North side, if it happens to rain very hard, they shelter themselves in their Huts, seem to be fearful, and don't creep out till it be fair weather. Then they begin to be very merry, lifting up their heads and eyes to Heaven, which is Interpreted by us as a kind of thanksgiving; for, when they are asked why they hide themselves during the rain; they answer, That the Great Captain being incensed against them, does punish them with this element, which he knows to be contrary to their Nature. By this Great Captain

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questionless understand the *Supream Being*; for if you speak to them of *God*, they are unwilling to hear it, and Punish such among them as make use of it; alledging that it is not sufficient to express the Glory of the *Supream Being*. If you talk of the Devil, they point to the Ground. Concerning the Resurrection, they are of opinion, that those that die near the Cape, shall a-rise again behind the Mountains: But perhaps all this they may have learned from the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*. They frequently skirmish with one another, commonly for the conveniency of Pastorage, so that sometimes 6 or 7 are left dead upon the spot.

Divers Nations of the Hot-tentots.

The *Hottentots* are divided into several Nations, known by different Names. Those Inhabiting near our Fort, are by the *Dutch* call'd *Capemen*; but in their own Tongue *Chouriequa*, they are the most cunning of all the rest, by their frequent Commerce with the *Dutch* and other *Europeans*, they live for the most part upon Roots, Fish and Mussels. Somewhat deeper in the Country live those, commonly call'd *Tobacco Thieves*, because they used to steal the Tobacco out of the Fields, which is the reason the *Dutch* plant no more Tobacco there; in their own Tongue they are call'd *Korrochbauken*. There is another fort call'd *Chemakwa*, much more Potent and Richer than the *Capemen*, yet don't approach in Power to the *Kochukwa*, who living still deeper in the Country, are accounted many thousand strong, and have vast herds of Cows and Sheep; they were then under the jurisdiction of two Captains, the first call'd *Odosoy*, the other *Monomana*. The first of these two had Married the Sister of our Interpreter's Wife in the Fort; and being invited thither by Mr. *Riesbeck*, the Governour, he at last, after much inquiry concerning his Quality, for fear of demeaning himself, gave him a visit. They rid out together a Hunting, when *Odosoy* had the misfortune to be set upon by a fierce Lion, who certainly would have torn him to pieces, had not his followers kill'd the Lion with their Javelins; however he did not escape without being sorely wounded on the neck, the flesh was all torn from one of his shoulder blades, and his face all miserably maul'd: Being judg'd past recovery, the Governour offered him his own Surgeon, but he would not accept of him, trusting more to those of his own Nation; though the Skill of these Surgeons among the *Hottentots* reaches no farther than to cure a green wound, which they scarce ever perform without leaving a great dent or seam. They carry their remedies about them, and commonly have a Parrot or some such Creature (unlike our Mountebanks) a-long with

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them. Their herbs they keep in Tortoise-shells, but the roots, claws, teeth, and horns of Beasts (these being the Ingredients of their Physical Preparations) are fastned to a string which they in the same manner as our Tooth-drawers hang about the neck.

There is another Nation of the *Hottentots* call'd by the *Dutch* *Sardinia-men* or *Saldan-las* (from a Bay of that Name) the Natives call them *Krijegoekwa*. Some of the *Hottentots* relate, that to the North-East of those call'd *Kochukas*, there is a Potent Nation dwelling in stone-houses, that they are not as black, and governed by the same Laws we are. Some suppose them to be a People inhabiting the Mountains of the Moon, but considering they are said to understand Gold and Silver, and to agree in many other things with the *Europeans*, our People judge them to be a Colony of the *Portugueses* that have Transplanted themselves thither from *Mozambique*. The *Dutch* have several times attempted to find out a passage thither by Land, but without Success, having always been forc'd to turn back for want of Water. They also talk much of two other Nations call'd *Heukumqua* and *Groeman*. The *Hottentots* or Inhabitants here are not subject to one Head, and what reverence they pay to their Captains, is more out of custom than any sense of Duty, they have no fixt Habitations, but lead a vagabond life like the ancient *Schytes* and *Arabians*, carrying their Wives and Children a-long with them. They are not very desirous of Gold and Silver, unless some few that converse with the *Dutch*, and know the conveniency of buying from them what they stand in need of; for otherwise Copper is in greatest esteem with them. Boats they have none, being extremely fearful of Water, and therefore venture seldom further than to their knees. They are of a very lazy temper; most of their Traffick consists in Cows and Sheep, which they exchange for Copper and Corals; but after the bargain is struck, they expect an additional Present of Tobacco, Pipes and Brandy, which has been introduced among them by Foreigners. The Sea-men do also sometimes swap with them for Ostrich Feathers, and small Tortoise-shells, call'd *Haege*. It is to be admired how they should make so much account of Copper, which they daily tread under their feet, it being certain that very good Copper-Mines are to be found hereabouts. The *Dutch* have at divers times attempted several Land Journeys into the Country; as for instance, in the Year 1660 when they discovered two new Nations, viz. The *Illunba* and *Namakkwa*; they supposed to have not been very far from the *Portugueses*, because they thought to have heard

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a Cannon-shot at a distance. The Inland Country swarms with wild Fowl, such as wild Geese, Ducks and Teal, but they are so shy, as not to come within reach of a Gun, which is the reason that the Governor's Hunts-man sets up small Huts of green boughs, from whence he shoots them; this being the only way to come at them. Among the Mountains are abundance of Rocks, and some of them contain Fresh water in their Concavities. Several of our People as they were going one day up the Mountains to take a view of the circumjacent Country, found a Certain Rock-stone of 4 Fathom long, and one and a half Broad, being hollow in the middle, of the depth of a quarter of a Yard, where they met with good store of fine fresh Water. Here are Oltriches of an extraordinary bigness; they are so swift as to out-run a Horse when they set up their Wings, and thus by the help of the Wind are forced forward, no otherwise than a Ship under sail. Their large legs and feet are a great addition to them, by the help of which they trot on with such a force and nimbleness that like a Horse running down a Hill, they are scarce to be stoppt. The same way of setting up their wings, has been observed in the tame Swans. But before we leave this Cape, I will give you a short account of the *Lions Mountain*, the *Table Mountain* and *Table Bay*, as likewise of the *Robben Isle*.

The Table Mountain.

There are two very high Mountains near this Cape, viz. The *Table Mountain* and the *Lions Mountain*. The first is so call'd from its flatness on the top like a Table, being about two Leagues high, but small in Circumference, and for that reason of very difficult access. It is divided from another adjacent Mountain, call'd the *Devil's Mountain* by a vast Cliff. Towards the Sea side it is bare, without any Grass or Trees, but on the Land side you see very agreeable Woods, with many tall straight Trees fit for Building; and towards the foot abundance of lesser Trees for Fuel. Among the rest are great store of wild Almond-Trees, but the Fruit is very bitter; and if we may believe the *Hottentots*, Poisonous; wild Pine-Trees are here likewise in abundance, they grow very tall, but bear nothing but a husk.

Table Bay.

The *Table Bay* is situate under 34 deg. and some min. about 5 Leagues more to North, this being the most Southern Point of Africa. It is a very fine Bay, tho' on the South side of the *Robben Island* are some rocks call'd the *Whale*; a large Ship may Anchor in this Bay, from 9 to 7 Fathom Water, but Yachts at 4 or 5 Fathom in a good Sandy Ground. There

is however no trusting to a single Anchor, by reason of the blustering South-East Winds which blow often here.

At the entrance of the *Table Bay* you see the *Robben Island*, thus call'd from the va quantity of *Sea Rabbits* (*Sea Rabbits*) which are found here. It is not very high, and about two Leagues in Circumference. In the Towns some Rabbits have been put by the Inhabitants which thrive very well. The ground produces a certain herb in great plenty; it has yellow leaves almost like Cowslips which fatten the sheep exceedingly.

To the North-East of the *Robben Island* lies the *Dassen Island*, under 34 deg. 33 mi. It has got its name from the vast numbers *Dassen* (*Does*) which formerly were found there but are of late Years much diminish'd. It is about a League in Compass, and produces likewise many *Sea Rabbits* and *Pinguwys*. It is Inhabited by four Families only with their Slaves, whose chief employment it is, to bread Piggs and Poultry, and to draw Oil from the *Sea Rabbits*, which they sell to the Inhabitants living in and near the *Fort*. Before the Bay of *Saldanha* are several small Islands, where those of the *Dassen Island* have their liberty of Fishing and Hunting; they catch vast quantities of Partridges, Mulletts and other Fish. The two chief Rivers of this Cape, are the *Salt* and *Fresh Rivers*. Besides these, there is another Rivulet which arising from among a Neighbouring wood, exonerates it self in the *Salt River*. It is not above 12 or 14 foot broad, but very deep. Not far from the Source of this, arises another Rivulet among the Marshes near the *Wood Bay*. It runs South-East thro' the Downs, (which extend as far as *Cabo falso*) and discharges it self into the Sea.

No place in the World is more subject to the *Cape* storms than the *Cape of good Hope*, so that it would be impossible for Ships to abide here, had not Nature provided against these inconveniences by the several commodious Bays that are here. Among those the Bay of *Saldanha*, commonly call'd *Sardinia* is none of the least Consequence, where Ships may ride safely at Anchor without the least danger, and were it not for the want of fresh Water, it might claim the preference before the *Table Bay* it self. The Winds blow generally throughout the Year very hard here; but especially the South-East Wind which blows from October to April (call'd the *South-East Monzon*) and tears so terribly thro' the Cliff, (betwixt the *Table* and the *Devil's Mountain*) that except the Country and Ground were very smooth and hard here, it would be impossible for any Ship to ride it out; From April until October, the North-West Wind blows with not much less violence, (ca

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Robben Island.

Dassen Island.

the North-West Monsoon) but yet not altogether so fierce as the South-East Wind, there its violence is more observable on the Land-side of the Cliff. The main difference betwixt these two Winds here, is, that the South-East Wind always produces dry weather; whereas the North-West Wind brings rains which are very pernicious to the Fruit.

So soon as you come near the sight of the Cape, under the 34 deg. of Southern Latitude, you meet with certain Signs and Tokens, by which you may discover whether you are far from Land or not. I don't much wonder that some of the Ancient Authors who have given us an account of the *Indies*, affirm, that when they were at a loss to find out whether they were near Land or no; they used to let fly some Birds, and according to their flight, to direct their Course. Tho' this is out of date now, yet certain it is that the Birds are the best guide as to those who sail to the East-Indies: For at a great distance from the Cape, whilst you are yet in the open Sea; you meet with a peculiar kind of small Sea-Gulls, which foretel you your approach to this Cape. But as these come a-broad sometimes above 100 Leagues or more at Sea, they are but uncertain forerunners, but when you see another kind of large spotted Sea-Gulls appear, by those that are acquainted in these Seas call'd *Cape-Birds*, with speckled wings, you may hope to see Land in a very short time, and if you meet with some Turtle Doves, this puts it beyond all doubt. If you find Anchorage at 40 or 50 Fathoms depth, in a white Sandy Ground mixt with red, you may conclude your self to be upon the Sand-ridge of the Cape d'*Aguillas*, tho' you see no Land. If you come to the West of the Cape of good Hope, you will find, besides the aforementioned *Cape Birds*, certain hollow roots growing among the Rocks in the Sea, the leaves of which swim upon the Water; the *Portugueses* call them *Tombas*, and they are to be met with in vast quantities in the Table Bay, just under the Fort, which the *Challopers* and Boats are very careful to avoid, they being so entangled together, that there is no breaking thro' them with oars: it is likewise found in the Seas of Japan and in great esteem among the Inhabitants, who make Pickles of these leaves, and use them as the Europeans do Cucumbers, or the Indians their *Attgar*.

The *Hottentots*, a barbarous Generation, were so ill-natur'd at that time, that they would not exchange an Ox or any other sort of fresh Provisions with us, nay they made the spring or places where we used to fetch our Water, muddy; we fell rough upon all of them, but they being much stronger

than we, pelted us with stones, and made us retire; I was at that time with a Gun upon the Table Mountain, but could not come time enough to their assistance; but the next day several of us went well arm'd to give them another visit, and to fire at them in case they pretended to make any opposition, but they no sooner discovered our Arms, but fled with Wife, Children and their Cattle.

After we had stay'd there about three days a-shoar, we set sail the 13th. of March from the Cape, steering our Course West-ward, in hopes to get sight of the Ship the *Drake*; but not meeting with her, we chose the open Sea, and advanced about 60 Leagues from the Table-Bay, under 34 deg. 20 min. Southern Latitude: We continued our Voyage with pretty good success till the 18th. when about Noon we found our selves under 38 deg. 26 min. Southern Latitude, and 33 deg. 27 min. Longitude. The Com-pas shew'd due South and North. The two next following days proved very rainy and blustry, and the 27th. it Thundred and Lightened very hard, with strong Winds and much Rain, which ending at last in a violent storm, oblig'd us to take in all our Sails, under 39 deg. 20 min. Southern Latitude: The 1st of April we found our selves far to the North, being forced by the stream, and the weather continued windy and rainy, as it had been ever since the 27th of March, we found our selves then under 39 deg. 21 min. of Latitude, and 95 deg. 30 min. of Longitude, and had sail'd 36 Leagues in the last 24 hours. The same Night the Winds began to rise to that degree, that we were fain to take in our main sail, which continued to the 3d. when the Compas was changed to 15 deg. N. W. The 7th we sail'd 44 Leagues with a moderate Gale, under 38 deg. 13 min: The Rains and strong Winds continued till the 13th in the morning, when it began to clear up, and sail'd that day and night 46 Leagues under 36 deg. 30 min. Latitude, and 98 deg. 42 min. Longitude. Then it began to be blustry weather again. The 15th we found the Rising of the Sun at 24 deg. N. W. this being the first time since the 4th of the last Month, by reason of the strong weather. About Noon we were under 35 deg. 14 min. of Latitude, and 104 deg. 40 min. Longitude; having sail'd 34 Leagues in 24 hours. Towards Evening it began to be calm, but continued not long, the Winds and Rains infesting us by turns, till the 1st of May, when we found our selves under 12 deg. 18 min. Latitude, and 124 deg. 46 min. Longitude: We then proceeded in our Voyage with a good brisk Gale till the 3d, when

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They get
sight of
Sumatra.

in the night we were overtaken with a violent Travano with Thunder and Lightning which continued till the next following day. The 6th of May, early in the Morning, we descri'd the Coast of the Isle of Sumatra, about 4 or 5 Leagues from us, and to the Leeward, a sail under 5 deg. 22 min. In the night the Wind blowing from the Land side we were forced to take our Course to the South. By the 9th we had not advanc'd above 6 or 7 Leagues a-long the Coast of Sumatra, being continually pelted with Travado's, Thunder and Lightning; all our endeavours were to get above the flat point of the Straights of Sunda. The 12th we had pretty fair Wind and Weather, and about Noon found our selves under 6 deg. 5 min. in the Afternoon we sail'd forward with a moderate Gale, within a League and half of the forementioned Point to the N. N. E. where we found 16 Fathom Water. The next day we found our selves about the same distance from the said Point.

The Imperial
Island.

The 14th we arriv'd at the Imperial Island, at about three Leagues distance, and the next following day we steer'd to the South East to East, and were 6 Leagues from us, the Princess Islands under 60 deg. 45 min. where we were arriv'd all the rest of the day. The 15th we found our selves under 17 degrees, and in the Evening saw the utmost point of Land of the Isle Java, at 4 or 5 Leagues distance. The 18th we were becom'd more and more sail wing day advanc'd, and by the 21st we were of the point of Java; and by the 22d we were of the Princess Islands.

The Princess
Islands.

We endeavour'd to have pass'd betwixt them, but were prevented by a Travano from the East. The 20th being under 60 deg. 41 min. we were at 6 Leagues distance from the said Islands, and kept in sight of them the 21st and 22d, with an intent to pass by them on the 23d; but being becom'd came to an Anchor the same night at 30 Fathoms depth; the stream did run here very strong to the S. W. The 24th we were directly opposite N. N. E. to the Isle of Java, and the same Evening, a Boat with all sorts of refreshments came a-board us from thence, which was very welcome to us, after so tedious a Voyage. We came soon after to an Anchor at 30 Fathoms Water, the stream running so strong here, that we were forc'd to remain here this and the next following day, during which time several other Boat with fresh Provisions came a-board us. The 26th we set sail again, but by reason of the violence of the stream could not advance far, so that we were forced to cast Anchor again, at 25 Fathoms depth, where we continued all the next day.

The 28th we set up our sails again; but were forced soon after to cast Anchor, having the Iulo (the Isle) Bely to the N. E. Great Pulomod to the E. and the Lesser Pulomod to the South of us. Towards Evening we set sail again, but whatever we did could not reach the road of the so long sail'd for City of Batavia, being forced to come to an Anchor about half a League from the Isle of Rotterdam at 11 Fathoms Water. the 30th we put up our Sails once more, but with no better success, being oblig'd to cast Anchor again; which put us in mind of what befel us lately on the Cape of good Hope, where we met with the same ill success before we could double the Cape. However, the Wind turning fair in the Afternoon, we arriv'd the same Afternoon about 4 a Clock, (after a very tedious Voyage in which we had many sick) before the City of Batavia, where we cast Anchor at 4 Fathoms and a half depth. The next day I went ashore, and took up my lodgings in that famous City, at one Mr. Gerard Uffens, till further Orders. In the mean time I was very curious in taking an exact view of this City and the circumjacent Country: Whilst I carried at Batavia, an Embassy was sent from the General Director John Maetzius, and the other Directors of the East-India Company, to the Chan of Tartary, who some few Years before, had Conquered the most Potent Empire of China, to treat about a free Commerce betwixt the two Nations, which had several times before, been attempted and sought for by the Dutch, but was as often refused by the Chinese. Jacob de Kessler and Peter de Goyer being appointed Ambassadors, two Yachts, viz. the Kanker and Bloemendael, Man'd with 90 men, and provided with several fine Presents for the Emperor were got ready for their Transport, and I was ordered to go a-board the Bloemendael in the quality of Steward.

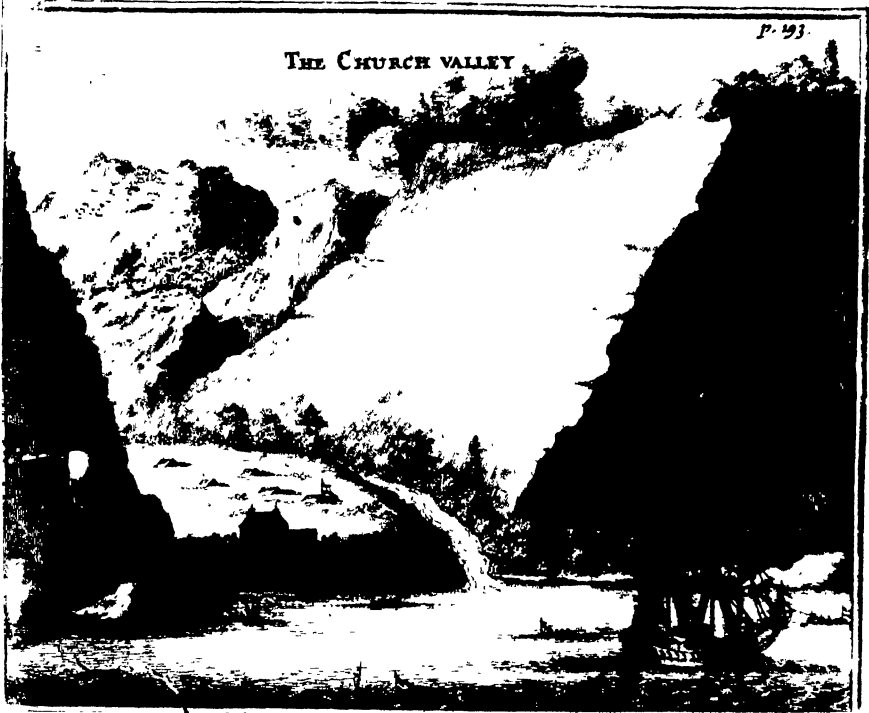
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The Ambassadors Embark'd the 14th of May 1655, and set sail the same day from the Road of Batavia. The 24th of September to Ch they arriv'd in the City of Kanton, and the 4th of May 1656, in the City of Nanking and the 16th of July at Peking. After some stay there, they returned the 21st of November to Nanking, to Kanton the 28th of February 1657, and came into the Road of Batavia the 21st of March, where they gave an account of their Negotiation to the Dutch Council of the Indies. Of all which I have given you an ample account in my Chinese Voyage, Publish'd first in Low-Dutch, and since Translated into several other Languages, and Printed at Amsterdam for Jacob Meurs, with many Cutts and Draughts of Places, living Creature, Fruits and other Remarkable things.

After my Return from thence, eight Ships were ordered to be equip'd and loaden for *Holland*, viz. The *Pearl*, *Prince William*, the *Orange*, the *Crowned Lion*, *Achilles*, *Malacca*, the *Ulysses* and *Hector*. The Command in Chief of this Fleet was conferred upon Mr *Koenes*, then first Director of the Council of the *Indies*, who Embark'd a-board the *Pearl* of 700 Tuns, man'd with 180 Men, and provided with 26 Guns. At his

request I went a-board a-long with him in the *Pearl*, which carried the Flag, in order to my return into *Holland*, tho' my appointed time was not expired here. We set off the 22d of December; and the last day of March 1658, arrived safely without any remarkable accident, (except that we met with some *Travellers*, which foundly tost our Ship) at the Isle of *St. Helens*.

1658
Here return
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Arrival at
St. Helens



The Isle of *St. Helens* is situate under 16 deg. 15 min. of Southern Latitude, at a great distance from the Continent; lying at least 350 Leagues from *Augusta*, the next place of all. It is very surprizing to conceive so small an Island at so vast a distance at Sea, round about which there is scarce any Anchorage, by reason of the vast depth of the Seas. It is about 7 Leagues in Circumference, covered all over with rocky Hills, which in a clear day may be seen 14 Leagues at Sea; the Valleys being stor'd with all sorts of Trees: so that tho' this Island is not very large in its compass, yet it comprehends a large tract of Ground by reason of the Hills. It has many fine Valleys, such the *Church-Valley* and the *Apple-Val.*

Valley are the most remarkable. In the *Church-Valley*, you see to this day the ruins of a Chappel, formerly belonging to the *Portugueses*, the whole Valleys are Planted with Lemons, Oranges, and Pomegranate-trees. At that time the Island was destitute of Inhabitants, but since the *English* have made a settlement there. After the *Portugueses* left it, a certain Hermit, under pretence of devotion, used to kill great numbers of wild Goats here, and sell their skins, which the *Portugueses* having got notice of, they removed him from thence. At another time certain Negroes with two Female Slaves were got into the Mountains, where they increased to the number 20, till they at last were likewise forc'd from thence. The Valleys are

Did excel

1658. excessive hot, but on the Hills it is cool enough; tho' the Heat is much tempered by the Winds and frequent Rain showers, which fall sometimes several times in a day; which, with the heat of the Sun-beams, renders the Soil very Fruitful. It abounds in fine and cool Springs, which fall down from the tops of the Hills, the Water being as clear as Crystal, and exonerating it felt at last into the Sea, it is very pleasant to behold the Sea men at their arrival here, to drink, wash and bath themselves in these Spring Waters. Most of the Fruits and Beasts which are produced here in great plenty, have been first brought hither by the *Portugueses*, as for instance, Orange-trees, (of which you may see the whole Woods) Pomegranate-trees and others, which bear Fruit throughout the whole Year. Here are likewise Mustard-leaves, Parsly, Sorrel, Purslain, Wintercresses and other such-like herbs, which are very good against the Scurvy; neither is this Island destitute of Trees, but such as are not fit for Timber, but only for Fuel. It abounds likewise in Beasts; wild Goats are here in vast numbers, but very difficult to be taken, by reason of the many Rocks. Tame Hogs were brought hither by the *Portugueses*, which have Multiply'd to Admiration, and are degenerated into wild ones, and are not easie to be kill'd for the aforementioned reason. Thus it is with the Partridges, wild Pigeons and Peacocks, which are here in vast Plenty, but are so shy, that to soon as they see any one Approach, they fly from one Hill to another cross the Valleys, so that you must be an hour before you can come at them again, which when you have done, you are in danger of losing your labour, for they return commonly from whence they came. The only way to catch the, is to go a-broad with a good Company. It produces no ravenous or Poisonous Creatures, except large Spiders and Flies. All about the Island you see vast Multitudes of Sea-Gulls, which feed on the Fishes in which the Sea abounds. Here you meet likewise with several Colours fit for Dyers, especially with a most excellent red Colour, and with very fine white Salt, made out of the Sea-water, by the heat of the Sun-beams. By reason of its great distance from the Continent, the Seas hereabouts are covered with Fishes, such as Mackarel, Carps, &c. They are not to be catch'd with Nets by reason of the vast depth, but with a Hook, or only an Iron Nail bent, you may catch as many as you please; Craw-fish, Crabs, Oysters, and Mussels are likewise to be found in vast quantities near the Sea shoar. After we had sufficiently refresh'd our selves here, and provided what necessaries we thought fit, or

could get, we left this Island the last day of May. We continued our former Course, and without any remarkable accident, came in sight of *Holland*, and the 6th of July, 1658 arrived happily at *Amsterdam*. I took up my Lodgings at my Brother *Henry Nieuhoff's*, whom as well as most of my other Friends, I had the good fortune to find in good health. Many of the most curious Persons of that place came daily to see me, to take a view of the *Chinese* Characters, and other draughts I had brought a-long with me.

After I had tarried for three Months in *Holland*, and dispatch'd my business both here and in *Zeland*, I delivered the Journal of my late Voyage into *China* to my Brother, in order to have it review'd and Printed, at the request of several Persons of Quality; with an intention to take a second Voyage to the *East-Indies*, with the first fair opportunity, which was soon after offered me by the Directors of the *East-India* Company. 5 Ships lay then ready for the *East-Indies*, under the Command of Mr. *Adrian Aelmonde*, viz the *Amsterdam*, burthen 500 Tuns, with 40 Guns and 430 Men, *John Tomeniz* Master; the second the *Pearl* and three Yachts; I was ordered a-board the first. We set sail all together from the *Vice* the 22d of Dec. 1658. The Ship the *Amsterdam* at her entrance into the Sea, struck upon the Sands and was in some danger of being stave'd, and another ship run foul upon her, by which she lost part of her Gallery, but by God's singular Mercy, we got clear again the next high Tide, and continued our Voyage with the rest.

The 16th of March 1659, we arrived safely at the Cape of good Hope, where we cast our Anchor. The 22d, the *Pearl* with the other three Yachts came likewise to Anchor in the same Bay. The first thing we did was to take care of our Sick, of which we had not very many, but 12 died in the Voyage, we went every day a-shoar to fetch fresh Water, Fuel, and what Provisions we were able to get, sometimes we catch'd good store of Fishes. One day several of us went a-shoar to shoot some wild Fowl, but advancing pretty high up the *Table Mountain*, we unawares spy'd a sleeping Lyon, at no great distance from us, which made me soon retreat, telling my Companions it was dangerous to awake a sleeping Lyon, who were glad as well as I, to make the best of their way backwards.

After a stay of 14 days at the Cape, we set sail again, and with a much more prosperous Gale, than I had in my last Voyage, arrived safely on the Coast of *St. George* where just as we got sight of that Ill-
Mr. *Adrian Aelmonde* died, to our great g-

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his Corps was carried to *Batavia*, where it was honourably inter'd.

The 18th of July 1659, we came to an Anchor before the City of *Batavia*, after a Voyage of about 7 Months, during which, there hapned Scarce any thing worth taking notice of. After I had deliver'd up the Marchandises under my charge, and my accounts. I took a turn to the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, viz to *Jambe* and *Padane*, which produce abundance of Pepper, some Gold, and Salt-Peter, and return'd the 10th of December to *Batavia*.

Not long after, I was order'd on Board the Ship *Hemicetta* to sail bound for *Ambaina*, Gerard *Gerraffson* a Native of *Huffingen* Master, laden with Rice and Provisions We set sail from *Batavia* the 23d of Dec. 1659, and in a Month after got among the Rocks near the Point of *Binae*, being forced thither by a Whirlpool, which turn'd our Ship within the Comps of three times the length of the Ship, as swift as the nimblest Horse could run; we were within a few Yards of having been struck against a Rock, but had the good fortune to escape without much damage, and after some *Travado's* at last got into the Road of *Ambaina* not without great difficulty, by reason of the swiftness of the stream there, and cast Anchor at 36 Fathoms depth. We were very kindly received by Mr. *Jacob Hufhard* the Governour of *Ambaina* a man of singular Probity and Conduct. After the Ship was unladen, and I had deliver'd my Cargo, the Governour and I resolv'd to take a *Tower* in the small Circumjacent Islands. Among the rest we visited the Island of *Buero*, where the Inhabitants made us heartily welcome after their way, and drunk to us merrily in Cups made of the leaves of Trees.

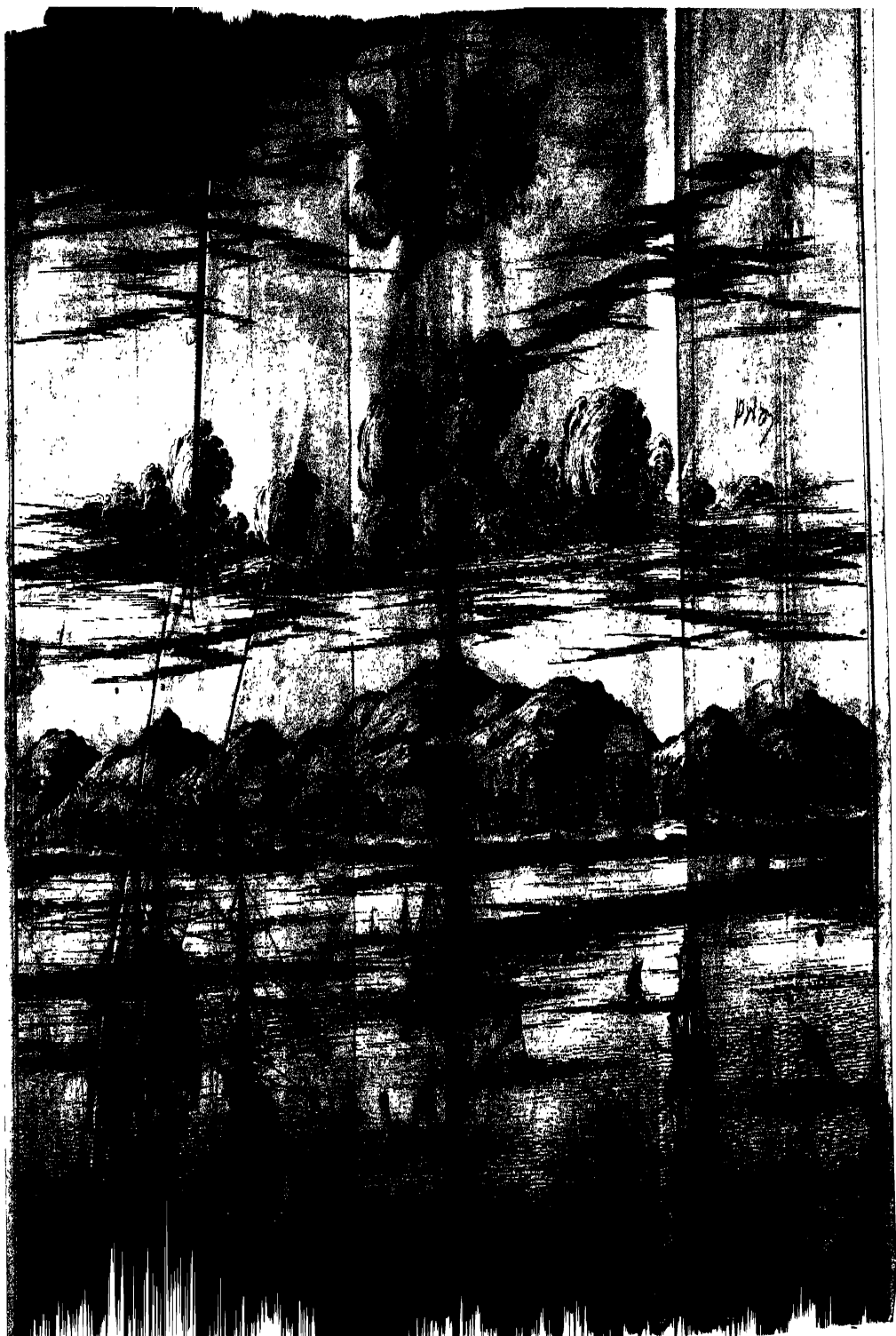
The Isle of *Buero* or *Buete*, is sinuate about 24 Leagues off *Ambaina*, being near 30 League in Comps. The Sea especially on the South side, of a vast depth, from whence the Shoar rises by degrees, and surrounds the whole Island like a steep Wall. The South Wind produces both high and low Water here. In the Island of *Buero* are Mountains which reach to the very skys: Near the Bay of *Tamahoo* are high Mountains of the same Name, the Blue tops of which, Penetrate thro' the Clouds, and may be seen at 28 Leagues distance at Sea; tho' it be very difficult to distinguish them from the Clouds. The Bay of *Tamahoo* is surrounded with these Mountains. Hereabouts you see neither Houses, Huts, nor Inhabitants, but only Woods and Wildernesses. A small River exonerates itself into this Bay; the Banks of which are on both sides full of Trees. On the North East side of the

Isle *Buero* in another Bay, called the Bay of *Kayelles*, which in some Places is two Leagues broad. The Sea-shoar of the Bay is a flat or, by reason of the many Woods and Wildernesses Here you see great store of green Ebony Wood-trees, but the Wood is somewhat scanty, within the Marshy Grounds adjacent to the middle of the Bay, is a whole Wood of Trees as hard as Iron, and of a reddish Colour, the Dutch call them *Lany-trees*.

The Island *Buero* is very fertile and abounding in Trees near the Sea shoar. It produces Cocoa-nuts, Pine-apples, Prunes, green Ebony Wood-trees, Potatoes, Beans, *Katjang* (a certain kind of Peas), *Millet*, or *Indian-Wheat*, Tobacco, Indoesrees, and divers sorts of herbs. In the Mountain are Civet-Cats, and the Inhabitants have a peculiar easie way of taking the Civet from them which they sell very cheap. In short the whole Country is full of Fertile Ground, and Pleasant Woods, and is watered with many fresh Water Rivers, the worst of all is, that it is much subject to Earthquakes.

In the Isle of *Buero* lives among other beasts a Certain strange Creature, which by the *Indians* is counted among the number of Monsters. It is of the bigness of a large Dog, or of a Roe-buck, of a dark brown and gray colour, the hair like our Gray-hounds. The Head and Mouth like a Dog, with small Eyes and Ears, the Tail curls twice or thrice, and the Legs and Claws like those of a Roe-buck. The flesh is both by the Inhabitants and Strangers look'd upon as a dainty, and as good as Venison. The Circumference of its Mouth and Jaws is as big as a large Calfs Head, with very strong Jaw-bones; on both sides backwards to the Throat, are about 12 Teeth, but in the fore-part of the undermost Jaw-bone, 6 Teeth and 2 large ones in the upper part, which are covered by the Mouth. From the middle part of the undermost Jaw-bones issue forth two large Teeth which pierce the Mouth. They are a Foot long each, about an Inch thick, and somewhat crooked like those of the wild Boar. Out of the upper Jaw-bones sprink forth two Horns, on each side one, of an Inch thick, a quarter of a Yard long, smooth like Teeth, and turn'd like a hook at the end, which makes it appear at first sight, as if it were Armed with 4 Horns.

On the North-East of the Isle of *Buero* are the following Villages *Wassierga*, *Fis*, *Wainite*, *Tamalon*, *Palmatter*, *Hekerima*, *Baia*, *Licela*, *Wassamma*, *Itat* and *Romeste*; The eight first of these Villages were in 1653, burn'd to the Ground by the Dutch, with all their Boats, the Inhabitants having revolted against them. This Island is under





659. the Jurisdiction of the King of *Ternate*. In the Year 1666, the *Dutch* built a Fort with four small Bastions, provided with convenient habitations for the use of the Garrison in this Island, to keep out those of *Makassar*. It was nam'd *Mandajhaa* after the then King of *Ternate*. The Natives of *Buero* are pursuant to their Capitulation made with the *Dutch*, obliged to inhabit round about the Bay of *Kac...* where they are posses'd of about 14 Village under the *Dutch* Protection: Their Houses are neatly built of Cane, and some have convenient Apartments; and for the improvement of the adjacent Grounds, are oblig'd to cut down and burn the Trees and Woods, and to turn them into Fields, Gardens and Orchards. Before that time, they lived only in wretched Huts built along the Sea-shore among the Woods. They are very black, and like most of the Inhabitants of the other Neighbouring Islands, almost naked both Men and Women, having only a piece of stur to cover their Nakedness, from the Waist down to the Knees; but Girls and boys till they are Twelve Years old, go quite Naked. A young fellow that has a mind to Marry a certain Maid, may

soon obtain her, by making a small Present of catables, or any other thing of no value to her Parents. As soon as a Woman is brought to Bed, she goes straight to the next River, where she washes both her self and the Child, and so returns to her usual employments, in the mean while the Husband is attended and made much of in the Wives stead. They bemoan their dead Neighbours and Friends with Lamentable gut-crys, but after the Corps is buried, they Dance, Sing, Feast and make Merry. Their Graves are made of Brick-work, with Stones and Clay, to preserve them against the Wild-Beasts. The common food of the Natives is *Zagow*, Millet, Rice, and dry'd Fish. They are for the most part Mahometans, tho' some retain much of Paganism, and adore the Crocodiles. In the Year 1650 one *Madira* Governour for the King of *Ternate* in the Isle of *Ambone*, having taken up Arms against the *Dutch* in *Ambone*, the Inhabitants of *Buero*, as well those under the Kings as *Dutch* subjection, join'd with *Madira* with so much obstinacy, that they chose rather to die than to leave *Madira*; and in 1652 kill'd four Sea men belonging to a Vessel c

the *Goose*, who ventured too far into the Woods. Mr. *Arnold Fleming van Ousborn* being 1652, sent with a strong Squadron of Ships to *Batavia*, and from thence to *Amboina* and *Buru* to bring the Inhabitants to Reason; having understood their Barbarous proceedings, burnt all their Boats, and the before mentioned Villages. The King *Mandashan* came a-long with him in Person, having before concluded a Peace with the *East-India Company* at *Batavia*.

After we had taken a full view of this Island, we returned to *Amboina*, where the Governour gave a Splendid Entertainment to the chiefest Officers of the Company, and some of the Courtiers belonging to the Kings of *Amboina*. After dinner we play'd together, and they seem'd to well satisfied, that it might easily be seen there was a good Correspondence betwixt them and the Company at that time. In the mean while my Ship having been laden with sixteen Tuns of Cloves and some other Commodities, I took my leave from Mr. *Husford* the Governour, and the 3d of May, directed my Course back towards *Batavia*. Under the Government of this Mr. *Husford* were at that time all the *Molucco* Islands, whose Business it is to keep a strict eye over them, for fear they should export Cloves. But before I quite leave the Isle of *Amboina*, I will give you a description of its Situation, and what else is worth our Observation there.

The Isle of *Amboina* or *Amboino* is by some numbered among the *Molucco* Islands, because it produces great store of Cloves like the *Molucco* Islands. It is Situate under 3 deg. Southern Latitude, about 24 League from the Isle of *Banda*, and consequently nearer the Coast of *Molucco*, than any of the *Molucco* Islands. It is 24 Leagues in Circumference, being divided almost in two Parts, by a vast Bay, or rather Gulph. It has a very fine Bay where Ships may ride safely at Anchor near the Shoar, about two Leagues within this Bay, is the *Dutch Fort* call'd *Victoria*. It appears like two Islands joined together by a neck of Land. About 60 or 70 Year ago, there were 57 goodly Villages or great Plantations, inhabited by *Indians* and *Christians*, some of which were of good strength, but many of them have been laid desolate, or at least are much decay'd by the intestine Wars.

Among the rest *Har* was a very fine Plantation on the North side of the Island, half a League from the Sea-shoar, built upon a Rock, and defended by a good Breast-work; notwithstanding which, it was 1630 surpris'd by one *Kimelana*, the Inhabitants were *Christians*. Near this Village are abundance of Clove and *Sague*-trees, and all a-long the

Sea-shoar are several other Plantations of less note, all well provided with Clove and *Sague*-trees. The Village of *Har* has this convenience, that it is well provided with fresh Springs, a thing of the utmost consequence in those hot Countries.

The Village *Nussanire* was situate upon a River on the West side under the Cannon of the Fort *Victoria*, being divided into three Plantations. The Country thereabouts abounds in Clove-trees; the Plantations of which extend as far as to the utmost Point of the Western Cape, and on the other side, as far as *Dyer Kaboulia*: The King or Captain of this District used to be formerly President of the Council of *Amboina*.

The Village of *Hitte* is very ancient, and built near the Sea side, under the Redoubt belonging to the *Dutch Company*, being the Capital of the whole District of *Hitte*.

Hawami the head Village of all, lies above a League from the Sea-shoar, upon a Hill near an *Egg* 1/2 Mile high, unto which leads but one Passage, which in the midst is defended by strong *Pahado's*, and the top of the Hill (which is of an Oval Figure) by a stone Wall. Betwixt the Hill and the Fort slides a-long a pretty River. Formerly this was a noted Place of retreat for the Inhabitants, who used to shelter themselves here.

The Village *Moufala* is built upon a Mountain about a League and a half high, being so strong by Nature, as to be counted impregnable; notwithstanding which, it has been reduced by the Victorious Arms of the *Dutch East-India Company*, under whose jurisdiction they now live.

The following Plantations or Villages, were in 1630, under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch East-India Company*.

The District of *Rosfenire* which comprehends *Rosfenire*, *Amavosce*, and *Hattoe*. *Rosfenire* had in 1630, one *Anasce Rosfenire* for their King or Captain; *Amavosce* one *Domingos Gista Makgake*, *Peca*, and *Hattoe*, one *Lessenisse*. These Villages were better Inhabited than most of the rest, the inhabitants making Profession of the *Christian Religion*, yet not without some mixture of *Mahometanism*, except those of *Amavosce*, whose Captain was a good Christian, and lived much better than the rest; which shews that the chief defect lay in their Kings, for *Andrew Rosfenire* was none of the best livers, tho' he could very artificially play the Hypocrite; he had no Wife but many Concubines; and tho' he was often admonish'd to marry, he continued obstinate in the same course, which gave great scandal as well to the Inhabitants as to the other Kings and Captains. The common People of this Town were all

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Wawami.

Moufala.

Rosfenire

be Au-
tor's de-
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the Isle of
Amboina.

ways more ready for the Service of the Company than those of the other Villages. For the Villages *Ressive*, *Amaloesue* and *Hattoe* are obliged to supply and manage one half of the Governours *Korrakore*, (or small Vessels of War) as the Villages of *Kielang*, *Nakko* and *Hattela* are bound to supply the other half.

Kielang. *Kielang* was one of the most considerable Villages on the South side of the Mountain of *Laytime*, not far distant from the Sea shoar, but of no great strength. Near it are very good Springs and great store of Clove-trees. Under the District of *Kielang* are the Villages of *Kielang*, *Nakko* and *Hattela*. In the Year 1630, *Manuel de Silva* was King or Captain of *Kielang*, but surrendered the Government to his eldest Son; he was a very good natur'd honest Man, and had the second Place in the Dutch Council. *Anthony Pays* was Captain of *Nakko*, and *Anthony Lopes* of *Hattela*, they were all three very good Christians.

Under the District of *Ena* are the Villages *Ockerille*, *Lewary*, and *Routon Lafary*; *Manuel* was Captain of *Ockerille*, *Simau* of *Ena*, and one *Anthony Routon* of *Lafary*. These are obliged to furnish a *Korrakore* of four *Nadjos* for the Service of the Company. They are very honest and faithful, and profess themselves of the Tribe of *Oliymas*, except *Routon Lafary*, which belongs to the Tribe of the *Oliwas*.

To the District of *Soya* belong the Villages of *Aboesen*, *Ovirettoc* and *Amanettoc*. These are obliged to find a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*, are pretty ready in the Service, and profess all Christianity, and so does the King with all his *Orangkays*. They are of the Tribe of the *Oliwas*. *Laurence de Sylva* is King of *Soya*, *Anthony Aboesen* of *Aboesen*, and *Jeronymo Tibolope* of *Ovirettoc*, and *Amanettoc*.

Under *Hattoe* belong the Villages *Taviery*, *Hukkenaloe* and *Mardykka*. They furnish'd *Korrakore* with 4 *Nadjos*. They are good Soldiers and Christians, and their Heads come frequently to the Communion. Their chief Heads are *Leuence Marcus* Captain of *Hattoe*, *Pedo Antikenjo* of *Taviery*, *Laurence Mendor*, Chieftain of *Hukkenaloe* and *Mardykka*. The Inhabitants of *Mardykka* are the remnants of the *Portugueses*, and some other Slaves set at Liberty: 1630 they consisted of 100, or 120 Men fit to bear Arms, who did considerable Service to the State of *Amboina*; they were very good Christians and Faithful, and furnish'd an extraordinary *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*; they accounted themselves to be of the Tribe of the *Oliwas*, their Chieftain was then *Antoum de Costa*.

To *Hauon* belongs the Village *Hattoe-Kijchelti*, they are pretty well Peopled, and

Christians, and furnish a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*; *Diego Paty* was Captain of *Hattoe*, and *Adam Marano* of *Hattoe-Kijchelti*.

Ponta has only two small Villages belonging to it, viz. *Kapa* and *Chery*; their Captains were *Stephen Tersera* of *Ponta*; *Manuel Lopes* of *Kapa*, and *Andrey Parida* of *Chery*.

The Inhabitants of *Oettomary* did revolt three times, but were in 1626, reduced to obedience by the then Governour Mr. *Gorkum*, they were then under the tuition of *Don Pedro de Oettomary* their Captain, who was a very honest Person, and ever since that time they have adhered faithfully to the Company. They are generally stout Soldiers and good Christians, for they frequent the Christian Congregations, and add more Children to our Schools than the other Villages do. They furnish a *Korrakore* with 4 *Nadjos*, and are of the *Oliwas*. The four Villages of *Ouriem*, *Larik*, *Wakkasoe*, and *Affelou* stand likewise under the Jurisdiction of the Company; they are all Blacks and stout fellows; they belong to the *Oliwas*, and acknowledge *Hittoc* for their Captain, yet under the Protection of the Company. They furnish a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*. Thus the two Villages of *Alang* and *Lillebay* belong to the Company: The Inhabitants are Christians except 3 or 4 Families at *Alang*. Of the last, one *Salvador* was Captain, and of *Lillebay*, *Bastien Kestango*. The Inhabitants are likewise of the Tribe of the *Oliwas*.

These six Villages are obliged to the Dutch East-India Company with a quantity of Cloves; to wit 300 *Babar* per Annum: vast numbers of Clove-trees having been Planted hereabouts, about 1630, which are come to full Perfection since, and produce vast store of Fruit. Thus 1636, the Planting of Clove-trees was so far encouraged on the South side of this Island, that each Family was obliged to Plant at least ten Trees every Year, the Ground being very fit hereabouts for this purpose; they were also not negligent in Planting *Coco* and other Fruit-trees. *Kamariay*, *Seriwawan* and *Kayrato*, are three Villages near the Sea shoar; the Inhabitants are absolutely devoted to the Service of the Company, and appear sometimes with an *Orangkay* at the head of them at the Fort. They adhere to those of *Mardykka*, and belong to the *Oliwas*.

Near the Point of the Bay are four Villages, *Quelipapoery*, *Amasse*, *Marykque*, and *Savoukque*. The first furnishes a *Korrakore* with 3 *Nadjos*; the three last a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*. In the Village of *Amasse* lived at that time two young Lads, Sons of the *Orangkays*, who formerly had been Hostages with the Dutch Governours for seven years,

CUTTING



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Mountains
in Amboi-
na.

years, but now were got into the Government of these Villages, and seem'd well inclin'd to the Company's Interest.

The Isle of *Amboina* has many high and steep Mountains, call'd *Gounen* by the Natives, which have several fair Villages built on the tops, and are irrigated with very clear and fresh Water-springs. The Valleys serve for Walking Places, by reason of the many fine Trees that are planted there, as the Mountains serve the Inhabitants for a shelter against their Enemies in time of War, being for the most part inaccessible. There is a certain Rock here call'd the *Elephants Rock*, from its shape and bigness, from whence issues forth a Rivulet as clear as Chrystal, which slides gently thro' the adjacent verdant Plain, whence is a very pleasant walk up to the Rock.

The Air of
Amboina.

However the Air of *Amboina* is none of the wholesomest. There rages in this and the rest of the *Molucco* Islands, a certain distemper, both among the Natives and Strangers, which by its Symptoms resembles altogether the *French Pox*, (for which reason the *Dutch* call it the *Pox of Amboina*) except that this is communicated without any carnal conjunction. In the Face, Arms and Legs, may all over the Body appear certain crusty Boils, which either turn Schirous, or if they come to a Suppuration, a slimy tough but sharp matter issues from thence, resembling in all its circumstances the *French Pox*, except that they are not so Painful neither corrode the Bones. This Disease is attributed to a peculiar constitution of the Climate and the Air, and the excessive use of Sea-fishes, and *Coco Nuts* call'd *Sago*, and of the Liquor call'd *Saguweer*. At first this distemper is easie enough to be cured, but if it takes root, not without great difficulty. They commonly apply the same remedies, as we do in the *French Pox*, in the Spleen and Dropsie; to wit, The Decoctions of *China*, *Sassa-parilla*, and *Guaiacum*, and Purge them soundly betwixt while.

The Isle of *Amboina* is pretty fertile, it produces Miller, Tobacco, *Coco-Nuts*, Potatoes, *Pinang*, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Sugar, Bamboo Canes, and several other Fruits. Some Places here afford likewise Nutmegs, but in no great quantity, neither have they so good as those in the Isle of *Banda*, neither do they grow wild here, but the Trees are planted in Orchards. Neither are they destitute of divers sorts of Beasts, especially Roe-bucks and Hogs, and have a great store of Fishes; but the chief Products of *Amboina* are Cloves which grow wild here. They are call'd *Nagelen* (Nails) by the *Dutch*, from their shape, being flat on the top, and sharp at the end: They call them also *Ge-*

roffel nagelen, perhaps from the Greek *Karyophyllon*. In the *Molucco* Islands they call the Cloves *Caampe* or *Champe*; in the Isle of *Java* *Sianke*, and in *Malacca*, *Synken* or *Thinka*; the *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Turks* and most of the *Indians* call them *Kalafur*.

The Clove-tree grows up in form of a *Pyramid*, its Branches sprouting forth close together. This tree is of the bigness of our Cherry-trees, but in the whole resembling most to a large *Lawrel-tree*, the Leaves being very near of the same shape; the Bark on the Stem is of a grayish colour like that of the *Olive-tree*. In the midst of each leaf is a large vein which sends forth many lesser Branches; these leaves grow on long stalks, sometimes single, but for the most part in clusters; those that grow near the extremities of the Branches, are of a Purple colour, but the rest dark Green, if they are rubbed betwixt your hands they scent as strong as the Cloves themselves, and so do the Branches.

On the extremities of these Branches grow certain sprouts which produce certain Buds, and those again Flowers, sometimes 10 or 20 in a knott, which at last produce the Fruit, which are tough whilst they are growing, but hard when come to maturity. At first they are Green, then appear of a pale Red colour, as if the Trees were covered with Scarlet, affording a very agreeable sight to the beholders, because there is often more Fruit than Leaves on the Trees. The Blossom is white at first, not unlike our Cherry blossom, each leaf of the Flower having three small streaks; then they turn Green, afterwards Red, and last of all dark Yellow inclining to Black. They resemble in shape a Nail, with a small hollowness in the head, in which remains a thin skin which falls off as soon as it is touched. The Cloves are very hard of substance: When they see more Blossoms than Leaves they foretel great plenty of Fruit. The Blossom smells much finer and stronger in dry, than in rainy weather, and the first is look'd upon as the most Fruitful, it being common in a dry Season, to see more Blossoms than Leaves; tho' even in such a Season the Clove-trees don't hit always alike, for every third or fourth Year, it is observed that they don't bear so plentifully as otherwise, just as if the Tree at that time did remit its vigour, spent the preceeding Years. The Cloves are gathered once a Year, viz. From the middle of September or beginning of October, till February, this being the best Summer Season here. Some are gathered, the rest beat down with Canes like Flails; but this last way is not so safe as the other, for unless they be very careful they bruise the tender spriggs of the Tree, which renders it the less fruitful the

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next following year, tho' the Season be never so good. Before they begin to gather, the ground under the Tree is cleared of weeds, that they may not lose part of the Fruit. What Cloves are left upon the Trees, grow very large, as they ripen, much bigger than the rest, but are not so fit for Use. The next following Year they drop from the Tree, and tho' they are not so Aromatick as the others, they are used for Seed, and produce new Trees, for which reason they are call'd the Mother-Cloves; for after they are dropt upon the Ground, they will take Root, and in 8 or 9 Years time it will come to the perfection of a good Tree, and prove as fruitfull as the rest; But if these Sprouts be Transplanted once in two or three Years, they will bear more and better Fruit. They say the Clove-Tree, will hold good 100 Years; the Fruit immediately after gathering is dark Yellow inclining to Black, but if dry'd, turns quite Black, and if they dip them first in Sea-water, it preserves them from being worm-eaten. Thus prepared they are laid up in Store-houses, and are Transported to other Places, where they are pick'd and the stalks taken from them, which are sold separately. The Dutch call these stalks *Nageiguis*, (the Rubbish of Cloves) and the Portuguese *Baston*. Cloves are hot and dry, of a bitterish biting tast, but especially when they are dry'd. They seem to consist of a Gumous Sulphurous substance, with a strong drying and attractive quality, as for instance; when the Indians are to deliver a certain quantity of Cloves, they put in the Ware-house where they are, a Tub full of Water, which is in a short time attracted by the Cloves, to the no small Benefit of the Seller; it being observable that the Cloves weigh as much the heavier, as the Water that was put there weighed before. The Dutch put this likewise often in Practice. Some are of Opinion, that the Cloves by their extraordinary drying and attractive quality, draw all the moisture of the ground round about the Tree to that degree, that no Weeds or Grass can grow there; but this is a vulgar error, the bareness of these spots of ground being not to be attributed to the Cloves, but to the owners themselves who weed and keep them clear, thereby to afford the more nourishment to the Trees, and not to lose part of the Fruit when they are gathering or beating them from the Trees.

'Tis true, the Clove-trees are planted for the Fruit sake, nevertheless the Blossoms, Leaves, Sprigs, nay the Gum it self that issues from the Tree, are not destitute of an aromatick virtue, and afford very good Medicines; The Indian and Portuguese Women Distil

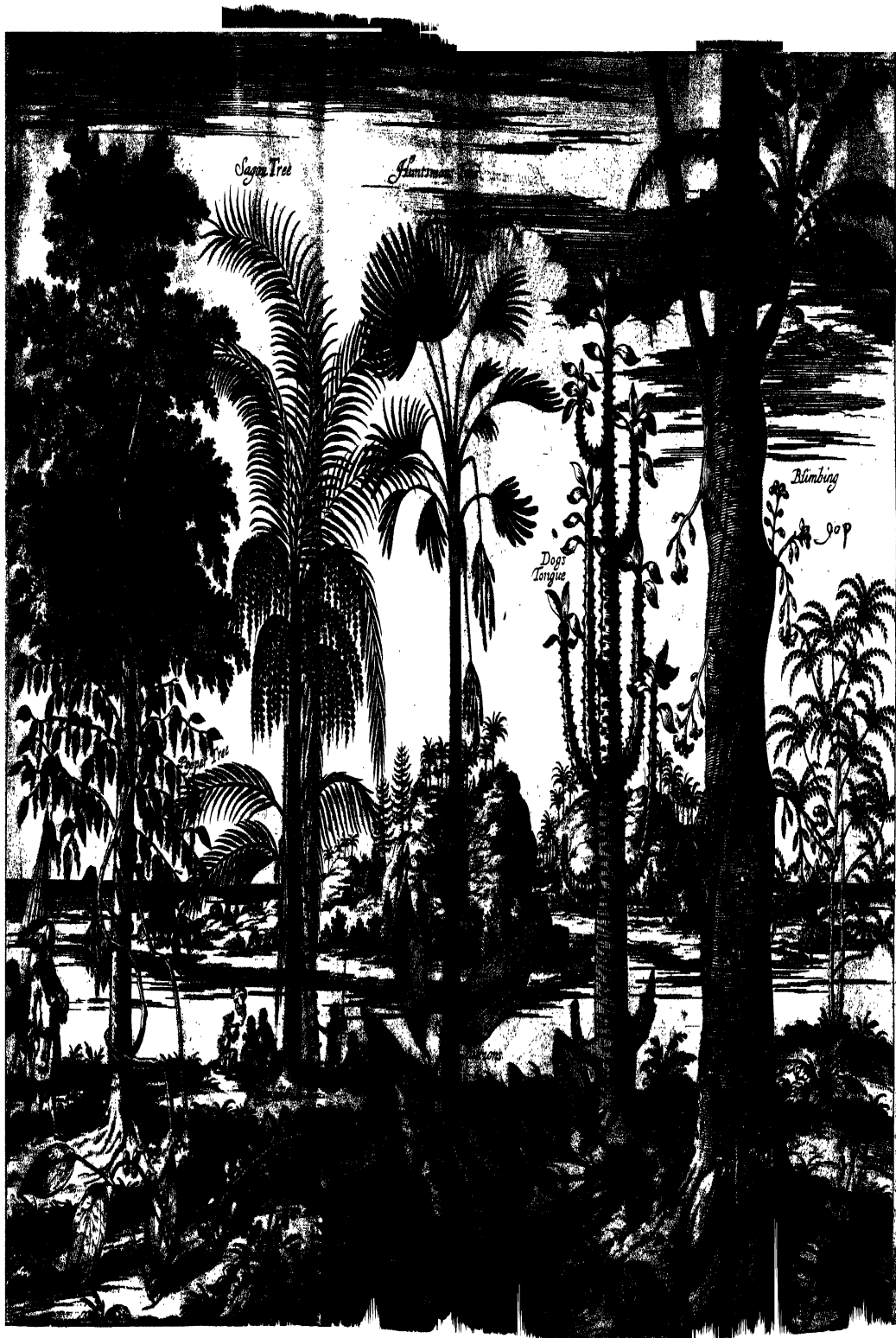
out of the green Cloves and Leaves, a Water and a Spirit, which is very Odoriferous and Cephalick; and an excellent Remedy against the Pally, call'd by the Natives *Berberry*. Against the same distemper, they preserve also the Cloves with Sugar, and draw an Oil both of Cloves and Leaves. Cloves boil'd in Milk are accounted a great provocative, they are very Cordial, and if chew'd, take away a stinking Breath. They make a pickle of the green Cloves, which are not so hot as the rest, and provoke the Appetite. Persons of Quality put green Cloves in Vinegar, which is a great strengthener of the Stomach. The Indians call the Vinegar *Atjar*.

There is another kind of Cloves but not commonly known, being very scarce and dear. The Indians call them *Trinka Papoba*, or curl'd Cloves, tho' they might rather be call'd Ear-Cloves, because they sprout forth like the Corn-Ears. The Dutch call them *Royal Cloves*, because they are in such high esteem among the Kings of the *Molucco Islands*, not so much for their excellent tast and scent (in which they surpass all others) but for their scarcity's sake; for, if we may believe them, no more than two such Clove-trees are as yet found out, and that in the Isle of *Makjan* only: One of these two Trees exceeds the other in bigness, but both are like the common Clove-trees, except that they are much Taller, and the Cloves bigger and of a different shape from the common Clove, as may be seen by the draught.

In the Island of *Ceylon* are likewise abundance of wild Clove-trees, but bear no Fruit. It is credibly affirmed, that in former times the Inhabitants of the *Molucco Islands* were ignorant as to the Use of the Cloves, till some *Chineses* coming that Way found out their goodness, and from thence Transported them to *China*, and so farther to the *Indies*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and other Parts. The Islands *Ternate*, *Makjan*, *Misser* and *Barsjan* did likewise in former days abound in Clove-trees; but pursuant to an agreement made with the Kings of the Islands some Years ago, the same have been rooted out.

In the Isle of *Ambonia*, grows likewise the wild Palm, or *Zagou*-tree, otherwise call'd *Papedo*. This Tree resembles the other Palm or Coco-trees, the Leaves hanging downwards on the Branches, the lowermost of which Perish commonly: This Tree bears but one Fruit, which is of no Use. The Inhabitants make Bread of the Pith of the young Trees; for on the top of the Tree grows a certain head like a Cabbage, in which is inclosed a certain white Flower, call'd *Zagou*, and the Bread made of this Flower, *Zagou manda*. This Flower they mix with Water, and

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Sago Tree

Plantain

Banana

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Dog's
Tongue

Sago Tree

and let it rise a little, then they put it in Earthen Pots, put burning Coals all round about it, and so bake it. This Bread whilst it is new, tastes very Sweet, and is of a very agreeable Scent, but soon grows dry, and is Brittle and Shriveled like Glass. They also mix this with water, and boil it like pap, into which they Squeeze one or two Limons, and so stir it about with a stick; it is very cooling, and of an agreeable taste. They eat it with a stick, which they put into the pap, and turn it round, till a sufficient quantity of the pap, which is very glutinous, almost like Turpentine, adheres to the stick; and so put it into the Mouth. Out of these young Trees they draw, like out of the Coco-trees, a Liquor; they cut one of the Branches near the top, and in a hole made for that purpose, put a piece of hollow Bamboo Cane, (which in these parts are used instead of Tubes, Pails and Mugs) thro' which in a short time, issues forth a great quantity of Liquor as sweet as Honey, call'd by the Natives *Zagouwee* or *Zageweet*, but is somewhat harsher than the Liquor drawn from the true Coco-tree.

In the Isle of *Amboina* they put a certain bitter Root, call'd by a general name *Oubat* into this Liquor, which preserves it for some time, for else this *Zagouwee* turns quickly as fowre as Vinegar, and is then used for such. They destill also a certain Liquor of it call'd *Arak*. This *Zagouwee* is the common drink and sold in Publick Houses for a Farthing a Glass, but used in great quantity, proves very obnoxious to the Nerves, especially whilst you are hot, when it must be taken with great precaution, else it will infallibly cause the Gripes in the Guts and Pally's, call'd by the Natives *Beriters*, which leaves a paleness in Peoples Faces for ever after. Sometimes they can draw 30 Quarts of this Liquor in 24 Hours, out of one single Tree. In the Isle of *Java*, there are likewise some of these *Zagou*-trees; but the Liquor, is, as far as I know, not valued at *Batavia*. They draw the Liquor out of these Trees till they die, and I was told that there was some of these Trees in the Woods of *Amboina*, which will give as much Liquor in 24 hours, as a Man is able to carry away upon his shoulders. Some other Islands belong to the Isle of *Amboina*, to wit, the adjacent large Country of *Ceram*; the Isles of *Manipa*, *Quelang*, and *Ambiau*.

The Isle of *Amboina* is divided into two parts; one of which is under the jurisdiction of the Dutch East-India Company; the other under the King of Ternate. Unto the Company belongs the Country of *Laitimor*, where is the Fort of *Victoria*, and the Wood-
Fort *Wantrou*, and on the Pass of *Bagoale*,

the Redoubt call'd *Middleburgh*. The three Islands *Homa*, *Honoma*, and *Nausalaut*, which produce great quantities of Cloves: The whole Coast of *Hittoe* with the Redoubts; the *Amsterdam* at *Hila*, the *Rotterdam* at *Larike*, and the *Leoden* at *Hittoe* and *Lanina*; and several small Wooden Forts at *Ouicun*, *Lebelebu*, *Ceir*, and *Way*. Under the Kings jurisdiction are the Country and Coast of *Ceram*, the Isles *Ambiau*, *Manipa*, *Bouca*, and some others.

The Fort *Victoria*, (the staple of the Company here) lies five Leagues deep in the Country, being defended by four Bulworks, a good Ditch, and a considerable Garrison, with suitable Provisions and Ammunition. During my stay here, there was a large Crocodile in the Ditch, which did vast mischief to the wild Fowl belonging to Mr. *Hustard* the Governour, who took great delight in them. Some Soldiers and others were ordered to place themselves whereabouts they supposed the Crocodile had his lurking Place, but could not meet with it; till at last the Crocodile on a sudden leaped towards the Secretary of the Governour, whom he had certainly devoured, had not the rest that were near at hand, with sticks and half Pikes kill'd the Beast, which was extraordinary large, immediately. Round about the Castle live several Dutch, Chinese and other Nations. Within and without the Fort is a Church, where Divine Service is held both in the Dutch and Malacca Tongue.

The Men wear large Whiskers, but little hair upon their chin; they only cover themselves with a slight piece of stuff round the Buttocks and Belly. The Women tie their hair up in many knots: He that intends to marry a young Maid, buys her from her Father for Money; but if she proves Barren, the Marriage is null and void: In former Ages the Natives were a most barbarous People, Men-eaters and Pagans. Now a-days they are for the most part Mahometans, the rest are Christians, some *Roman Catholicicks*, such as were converted by the *Portugueses*, others professing the Protestant Religion, which was first introduced there in 1647. The Dutch have erected Schools in all the Villages, to instruct the Youth in Reading, and Writing, and in the fundamentals of the Christian Religion. The Natives are generally brave, but very Deceitfull and Treacherous; they are naturally addicted to Laziness, and are so obstinate that they choose rather to die, than to leave their Ancient Customs. They make use of certain small Vessels, in time of war. They are very swift in their motion and managed by *Pagagen*, or Oars. They call these Vessels *Korakore* and are shaped like a Dragon, the Head representing the fore-castle and the Tail the
F f f

1659. Siém. They have also some lesser Boats call'd *Paros*. Their Houses are built of Bamboe Canes and *Zagou-trees*; They sleep likewise in Bedsteads made of Bamboe Canes, or sometimes upon Mats only.

Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, Half-Pikes, Javelins, Cymeters, Targets, and Firelocks, all which they manage with great Dexterity; as well as the Darts. They have also a kind of hollow Pipes, out of which they shoot great Numbers of small poyson'd Arrows; the Wounds made with them prove commonly mortal, unless the Poision be removed immediately by cutting it out.

The Women of *Amboina* are very Lascivious, and extremely desirous of the Christians; If they find themselves disappointed in their Expectation, or that they are left by their Gallants, they have a way of infecting them with a certain Poyson, the Operation of which is so slow, that they die a lingering Death, neither can they cohabit with any other Woman, unless they receive proper Antidotes from the same Woman that poisoned them. Many *Chinefs* live in *Amboina*, tho' for the most part among the *Mahometans* at *Hittoe*, *Lochoe* and in *Ceram*. In the Year 1636. at the Request of King *Hittoe*, three or four *Chinefs* were permitted to settle under him, with this Limitation however, that they should pay the usual Taxes to the Dutch Receiver General of *Amboina*; afterwards one *Chinefs* was allow'd to live in each Village, to provide them with distill'd *Arak*. About the Year 1636. the Slaves belonging to the Dutch had got a Custom to run away from their Masters, and to shelter themselves among the *Mahometans*, but several being punished with Death, pursuant to a Proclamation published for that purpose, the rest were so terrified thereat, that no such thing was heard of for a great while after. Certain Negro Christians dwell likewise in *Amboina*, commonly call'd *Mardijkers*.

There are three Courts or Councils belonging to the Dutch in *Amboina*; First the Court Martial; Secondly, the Civil Court of Justice, and thirdly, the Great Council, or Council of State.

The Court Martial used to meet every Monday and Thursday, Composed of the Governor, the Head Factor, and Under Factor of the Company, a Captain, a Lieutenant, one of the Eldest Serjeants, and a Secretary; These took Cognizance of all Matters relating to the Soldiers and Garri- sons.

The Civil Court of Judicature was kept in the Town, consisting of four Officers of the Company, of four of the chief Inha-

bitants, and of four or five *Orangkays* of the Council of State; Besides which they had two Clerks, one a *Dutclman*, and the other a Native of *Amboina*; and two Attendants. The Head Factor in the Castle was President here; they took Cognizance of, and gave Sentence with the Governor's Appliation, in all civil and criminal Cases, neither had the Villages any right of exercising of Justice without them.

The Council of State or the *Orangkays* of the Chamber, who in Conjunction with the Governor, and his Councillors were to deliberate concerning all publick Affairs, such as the Equipping of *Korrakoren*, or the Management of a War against an Enemy; had their Seats appointed thus.

Andrea King of *Resseive*.

Manuel the old King of *Kiebang*.

Laurence de *Sylea* King of *Soya*.

Simao *Ema* Captain of *Ema*.

Laurenzo *Marcus* Captain of *Uative*.

Diego *Pari* *Halloe* Captain of *Halloe*.

Anthony *da Costa* Captain of the *Mandijkers*,

Don Pedro Captain of *Vetmoercy*.

Salvador *Pary* *Along* Captain of *Along*.

Simon *Baguata* Captain of *Baguata*.

John *Barkabessier* Captain of *Way*.

Stephen *Tercera* Captain of *Ponta*.

Pedro *Antonio* Captain of *Tacieri*.

Fernando *Latochalat* Captain of *Resseive*.

In former Ages the Island of *Amboina* was subject to its own Kings, till it was reduced under the Obedience of the Kings of *Ternate*, which, according to the Relation of the Inhabitants happened thus:

Many Years ago reign'd a King in *Ternate* call'd *Babou*, Son of *Chieroen* *Diamclou*, who having been the first that introduced *Mahometism* there, was in great Esteem with the *Mahometan* Priests, who to this Day pay a great Veneration to his Memory. In the mean while some Differences being arisen betwixt the Villages of *Warnalete* and *Makaris*, belonging to the District of *Warnoele*, and the last being unable to cope with those of *Warnalete*, they underhand sought for Aid by King *Babou*; who having granted their Request, sent a good Fleet of *Korrakoren* under the Command of his Councillor *Samarou*, to the Cape of *Saragi*, betwixt *Erang* and *Lissidy* where they came to an Anchor; The Inhabitants of *Cambello*, who as well as those of *Erang* and *Lissidy* had submitted to King *Babou* against those of *Makaris*, advised the Inhabitants of *Warnalete* to go to meet *Samarou*, and to purchase his Favour by some Presents, which being done accordingly, they all attackt in Conjunction with *Samarou* those of *Makaris*, and

How *Amboina* was under *Ternate*.

and forced them to Submission; but *Samarou* not thus satisfied, reduced all the circumjacent Islands under his Kings Obedience; so that this Island owed the Loss of Liberty to the intestine Divisions of its inhabitants; *Samarou* returning home Victorious, was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Affection by King *Sabou*, who, in Reward of his Service honour'd his Son *Robobongy* with the Title and Dignity of *Salahakkum* or Stadtholder of these conquer'd Countries; having before been dignified with the Title of *Kimelala*, which his Successors in the Stadtholdership have retained ever since, tho' it be certain, that not *Kimelala* but *Salahakkum* signifies a Stadtholder in their Tongue. After the Death of *Robobongy* his Eldest Son *Adja* Succeeded him in the Stadtholdership, who was Succeeded by his Brother *Bassi Frangi*. After him came *Frangi*, who for his Treachery was Behcadged by *Sabadiin* of *Louhou* his Brothers Son. *Leliatte* Son to *Bassi Frangi* then thrusts himself into the Government without Consent of the King, and following the Footsteps of his Predecessor, receiv'd the same Reward. He was Succeeded in the Stadtholdership by *Madira* Son of *Sabadiin* the seventh in Order, our Company having made use of all their Interest with *Hamsia*, King of *Ternate*, to procure him that Dignity, in Consideration of the singular Kindnesses they had receiv'd from his Father. But they soon found themselves mistaken in their choice; for this *Madira* of the antient Race of the *Tomogolo's*, of which *Samarou* was the first, rebell'd 1650. against the King, and with the Assistance of the Inhabitants made himself Master of several strong Holds; to wit: *Amblau*, *Manipa*, *Liffily*, *Hatua* the lesser, *Affakoudy*, *Laala* and *Nouffatelo* plunder'd all that oppos'd him, and kill'd about 80. Persons belonging to the Dutch Company. The *John Pays* Captain of *Hatume*, *Tawiro* and *Houkenalo*, living near the Fort of *Amboina*, was shrewdly suspected to have had a hand in this Conspiracy, which *Simon Kos* (who commanded in the Absence of *Arnold-Outshoorn*, at *Amboina*) having got notice of, secured him in the Fort, till the Arrival of Mr. *Outshoorn*, when the War broke out with great Violence on both sides.

The Portuguese made themselves Masters of *Amboina*, 1546. in the following manner: At the time when *Anthony Galvan* was Governor of *Ternate*, a great Fleet of small Vessels belonging to the Island of *Java*, *Banda*, *Macassar* and *Amboina* was sent to the *Molucces* Islands to fetch Cloves; *Galvan* being advertis'd thereof, and fearing lest they should by this means spoil the Spice Trade, of the Portuguese, carried about

25 *Korakoren* with 40 Portuguese, and 400 Auxiliaries; These, under the Command of *Jacob Supi Agevedi* Admiral of the Sea, *Melukf*, steer'd their Course towards *Amboina*, where meeting with the Indian Fleet, they Attack'd and Routed them, taking many of their Ships with good store of great Cannon, and a considerable Summ of ready Money; *Agevedi* willing to improve this Opportunity, Landed in *Amboina*, the Inhabitants of which being terrifi'd at their last Defeat, did for the most part submit to the Portuguese, and receiv'd such Laws as they thought fit to prescribe to them; which done, *Agevedi* loaden with Glory and Spoils, return'd as a Conqueror to *Ternate*. After that time the Portuguese us'd always in their Voyages from *Malacca* to the *Molucces* Islands, and in their Return from thence, to provide themselves with fresh Water at *Amboina*, till 1603. this Isle was taken by the Dutch from the Portuguese, who got a vast Booty there; tho' the Dutch are not very fond of living in *Amboina*, being a place of no great Plenty.

We set Sail, as I told you before, the 3d. of May from *Amboina*, and with a brisk and prosperous Gale arriv'd the 29th. before *Batavia*.

No sooner was our Ship unloaden, but I received Orders to go a-board the Ship *Atchilles*, *John Vander Werve* Master to *Japan*. Every thing being got in readiness for our intended Voyage, I took my leave from the Directors of the Company, and the 28. of Jul. set Sail with 15 Ships more, Mr. *John Vander Laen* being Commadore, with Orders to Sail to *Teyman*, to Attack the City *Makao*, (a populous place, and Defended by a Garrison of 600 Men) and to observe *Coxingas*. But scarce were we come within sight of the Isle of *Anyan*, when we were overtaken by so terrible a Tempest, that I can safely affirm, I never saw the like in my Life, and that it is past my Skill to express it; The Waves rising sometimes to that height, that the very Tops of our Masts could not be seen, the Winds sometimes falling flat upon our Ships, and pressing them down flat under the Abyss, so that we expected every Moment to be swallow'd up by this merciless Element, especially when we saw the Yacht *Gorkum* (in which was *Francois Lanfman*, formerly my Companion in our *China* Voyage) in a Moment perish before our Eyes, without the least possibility of saving one Man. At last however thro' God's infinite Mercy the Fury of the Winds began to allay, when with much ado we got with our Ships, which were much damag'd by the Storm, into the Harbour of *Teyman* the 20th. of Sept. The Season for our intended Voyage to *Japan* being past, as for-

1655.

Amast vid. tem Storm.

ced against my Will, to unload my Ship here, and the design against *Makao* being laid aside for that time, because *Koxinga* was abroad with a Powerful Force; We set sail with the whole Fleet, for the Islands call'd *Piskadores*, and came the 3d of October to an Anchor in the *Church-Bay*: here I received Orders to prepare my self for a Voyage into *Persie*, a-board the Ship the *Leerdam*, loaden with Sugar, which I did accordingly.

The Islands
of Piskado-
res or Pe-
hu.

The Islands call'd *Piskadores* or *Fisher-Islands*, and by the *Chineſes* *Pehu*, are Situate under 23 and 24 deg. Northern Latitude, about 12 and 13 Leagues from the Ile of *Teywan*. They have several good Harbours, and two commodious Bays, where Ships may ride safely at Anchor at 8 or 9 Fathoms Water. At the entrance of this Bay are the ruins of two ancient Stone Forts, one built by the *Dutch*, the other by the *Chineſes*; and betwixt both is another Fort. The Country thereabouts is not Hilly, abounds in Grails, yet pretty strong. It contains many Populous Villages; these Islands being all well stor'd with Inhabitants, with Fat Cattle, especially Cows, and Birds of all sorts, especially with an incredible Number of fine large Cocks. During the Rainy Season they gather fresh Water in Cisterns or Ponds, but in dry Weather the Water is saltish here. The Country produces likewise Potatoes, and many other Fruits in abundance, and here are always to be seen great Numbers of *Chineſe* Vessels, which come some for Fishing, some for Traffick. At the entrance of the *Church-Bay*, stands to the North side a *Chineſe* Pagode, where is very good Anchorage, and a convenient place for Shelter to those that are bound for *Teywan*, there being no other safe Harbour for great Ships hereabouts. The Islands *Piskadores* are many in Number; Two are the most Famous; one call'd the *Piskadore* or *Fisher-Island*, the second *Pehou* or *Pehu*.

The South-East side of the *Fisher Island* is so Bare, that it produces not a Tree; To the West of it is another small Island, and the Passage betwixt both so shallow, that a Yacht is not able to pass that way. To the South of this lies another Island, call'd by the *Dutch* the *Troublesome Island*, because there is no Anchorage for Ships here. About a League from thence to the West is a Rocky Island, or rather two small Rocky Islands, divided by so many Rocks, that there is no Passage or Anchorage near them.

After we had dispatch'd our Business here, we set Sail again for the Island of *Teywan*, Mr. *Conjest* was at that time Governor of this Ile, who having not without Reason conceiv'd a Jealousie at the vast Number of Ships and Men, the *Chineſes* had brought

together in the River of *Quincheu*, or in the Ile of *Ey* and *Queymuy*, on the Coast of *China*, I was dispatch'd thither the 31. of Oct. with the two Yachts the *Graveland* and *Mary*, with Express Orders, to demand from *Koxinga* whether he was for Peace or War; and not to tarry longer than ten Days for a Categorical Answer. I arriv'd aboard the *Nieu Vessels* to take care of them, whilst my Col-
league went to speak with *Koxinga*: Our limited time being near expiring, I went ashore in a Boat, ordering our Vessels to be upon their Guard. The Banks of the River were so crowded with People, that I had much a do to pass thro' them; by good chance I met with a *Chineſe*, who understood *Portuguese*, who was so Complaisant as to go along with me to the Place, where my Colleague and his attendants lodg'd; but they being gone abroad to see *Koxinga* muster his Forces; I was obliged to take the same way; we Address'd our selves to him, desiring a speedy and positive Answer; the time of our stay being expired, He gave us for Answer, *Koxi*
That being at present busy in Mustering his
Forces, he would give us his resolution to
Morrow, in a Letter directed to the Govern-
ment of *Teywan*, which he did accordingly:
In this Letter he told him, that he had not
the least thoughts of any War against the
Company; but that he would cultivate a
good Correspondence with them. To re-
move all occasion of jealousy, he sent several
Merchant Ships to *Teywan*, which how-
ever did not remove the suspicion they had
conceived of him there; especially after we
on the 22d of December gave a verbal Ac-
count of his vast preparations in the Fort of
Teywan.

His Letter was as follows,

Koxinga's Letter.

Being at a great distance from you, I could not but receive your Letter with a more than ordinary Satisfaction, which I perus'd more than once, to inform my self the better of your intentions. You mention some false rumours, but at the same time seem to give Credit to them. In my Father *Yquams* time, the *Dutch* possess'd themselves of a certain Place in the Ile of *Teywan*, with his consent for the convenience of Trade, which I have not in the least interrupted, and therefore judge you to be obliged to me upon that Score. I have of late Years been so deeply involved in a War with the *Tartars*, that I have had no leisure to trouble my head with an inconsiderable Island, that produces nothing but Grass: It being not my custom to disclose my designs, but rather if I aim at the East to point to the West; how can you suppose to be inform'd of them by Rumours? The reason why

Why so few of our Ships come to that Island; is, because they cannot Trade thither with any profit, the Customs being so heavy. It was but this Year the Tartars made a strong Invasion into the low Lands of China, in hopes to put an End to the War with one blow; but they were so bravely received, that they were forced to Retreat, with the loss of 100 of their Commanders, and a great number of their Men; we then retired into the Islands of Ey and Queymuy, in hopes to draw them thither, and so to catch them in the Trap. Concerning your complaints of having been treated in an hostile manner in the Island of Piskadores, if it be really so, it has been done without our Knowledge. I sent back an immediate Answer, together with your Presents, to the letter sent to me from Batavia four Years ago; by which I understood that you intended us but a very slender satisfaction, for the Joncken, or Ships, and the loading and Money a-board them, detained by you, notwithstanding which, I did not think fit to urge this business any further, for fear of occasioning a Rupture betwixt us; It shall be my endeavour as soon as the Tartarian War is brought to a conclusion, to encourage Trade as much as possible may be, and don't question, but you will on the other hand contribute to it, as far as lies in your Power.

Given in the 14th Year, the 19th day of the 10th Month, of the Reign of King Indick.

After the reading of Koxinga's Letter, it was resolved by the Majority of Voices, not to engage in a War against Koxinga; most being of Opinion, that at this juncture he would not undertake any thing against the Company; tho' the Governour Mr. Conjes was of a contrary sentiment, which proved too true afterwards. Thus all the thoughts of War being laid a-side, the continuation of Commerce with him being judged, as indeed it was, to be of more present advantage to the Company, all the Ships there were ordered to their respective Places, and I among the rest, set sail aboard the Ship the *Leerdam* laden with Sugar for *Gamroa* in *Persia*.

The before mentioned Islands, *Ey* and *Queymuy*, are high Rocky Islands; The City of *Eymny* is Situate upon a high Hill, pretty deep in the Country, being surrounded with a Stone Wall, without which you see the ruins of an ancient Tower, and a *Chinese Pagode* or Temple.

The City of *Queymuy* lies upon a River at a pretty distance from the Sea, being the Capital of the Isle, from whence it has borrowed its Name. It has very large Suburbs, which begin on the River side. Not far from thence, deeper into the Country, is a strong Castle, defended by a very high Wall, for-

merly the Residence of *Koxinga*. The Country round about is Rocky and not very Fertile; except that the Valley's afford a little Grass for Cows; for the rest the Inhabitants feed most upon Fish, and some live by Traffick.

It was not long before the *Chinese* being forced by the *Tartars* to quit the Continent of *China*, and *Koxinga* strengthened with near 25000 Fugitives, and about 500 Vessels, they resolved to shelter themselves in the two before mentioned Islands of *Ey* and *Queymuy*, and finding himself in a condition to undertake something against us; he Embarked 20000 of his best men a-board a great number of *Chinese Joncken*, or Vessels, and the 30th of May 1661, appeared within a League of the Fort *Zelandia* in the Isle of *Teywan*, *Koxinga* steering his Course directly to the shoar, where his Countrymen living in that Island, were ready to receive him, with their Carts and other necessaries; and soon after Posted a considerable number of his Vessels betwixt the Fort and the Redoubt call'd the *Province*. This put our People under no small consternation, they being not provided either with Vessels or forces, to encounter so formidable a Power. However Captain *Pedel* and *Alde*, the first with 240, and the second with 200 men were sent, out to endeavour to prevent the Enemies Landing, and 4 Ships, viz. The *Hector*, the *Glaceland*, the *Finch* and the *Yacht Mary* were ordered to fall upon their Fleet, which was put in execution immediately. About 60 of the *Chinese Joncken*, each with 2 great Guns in the fore-Castle, came up with our Vessels, but were so warmly received, that two of them were sunk, and the rest so much disabled, that they were all glad to retire, except six only, which kept close together, and shot so furiously upon us, that they seem'd all to be on fire; the *Hector* took fire by an Accident, and so together with the *Joncken* that lay aboard her, blew up into the Air. The other three Ships, notwithstanding this fought it out bravely, and killed above a 1000 *Chinese* besides those wounded, in the Engagement. The *Yacht Mary*, was also set on fire, but was saved by the Indefatigable Care and Labour of the Seamen. On the Land side, Captain *Pedel*, having divided his Forces into two Bodies, and exhorted them to stand it out bravely, gave the Enemy a very warm salute, with his fire Locks, which kill'd many of them, as they were Landing; notwithstanding which, they were so far from giving ground, as we flattered our selves they would have done, that they sent whole showers of arrows among our People, and at the same time, sent a strong detachment to the Right, which taking Compass round a Hill, attack'd us in the flanks, which so terrified our Sol-

The Dutch endeavour to prevent his Landing.

Engagement betwixt the Dutch and Chinese.

The Dutch attack him.

659. diers, that they threw down their Arms, and wading thro' the water got into a Pilots boat, and so ashore; leaving the Captain with 19 men only, to the Mercy of the Enemies; upon which, immediate orders were sent, to Captain Aldorp to retire with his Forces to the Fort; The Enemy landed without any further opposition, and in 4 hours time, cut off all Communication, betwixt the Redoubt, the Province, and the Fort, and betwixt this, and the open Country; most of the Inhabitants afterwards joining with them against us. Koxinga being soon informed of our present condition, in very ignominious terms, summon'd the Fort, threatening to put all to Fire and Sword, if we did not surrender, immediately. It was then taken into consideration, whether, considering the Enemy had cut off all communication with the Redoubt the Province, and his great Strength, it were not advisable, to treat with Koxinga and to offer the surrender of one of the Forts, provided we might preserve a free trade, than to lose all; which being agreed upon, and at our request a Passport granted for that purpose, by Koxinga; we sent Thomas Tperan head Factor of the Fort, and Mr. Leonardus the Fiscal, as our Deputies to him, to salute him, in the Name of the Governour and the Council; and to wish him success, in all his undertakings, provided they were not intended against the Interest of the Company. In their Letter they told him, that they could have wish'd to have seen him in another posture here, and that they were surpris'd to find him in Arms, without the least declaration of War; That if he had any real cause of being offended, they were ready to give him Satisfaction, and to cultivate a good understanding with him. The Deputies had express orders, that in case Koxinga would not hearken, to any accommodation, without the surrender of both the Forts, they should treat no further, and tell him that the Company was in a condition to revenge this injury. With these instructions they went the 3d of May to Koxinga's Camp which was then about 12000 strong, and busie in the Siege of the Redoubt Province. They were armed with three different sorts of weapons; The first with Bows and Arrows, which they manage with great dexterity; the second with Symeters and Targets only wherewith they cover themselves and so break in upon an Enemy, when they are seconded by their Pikemen, whose arms are Backwards and Pikes of three or four foot long with broad and sharp Irons at the End.

The Deputies received into the Camp. The Deputies were at their first Entrance into the Camp, received by one of their Chief Commanders, and conducted into a spacious Tent, where they stay'd till Koxinga was at leisure to admit them to Audience.

17659. Whilst they stay'd there, several of the Enemies-Troops march'd by their Tent, and as far as they could perceive, the same at several times, to make the greater ostentation of their strength. Koxinga was in the mean while employed in combing his black shining hair, a great Ornament among the Chinese, which done, the Deputies were introduced into his Tent, which was all hung with blue, he himself seated in an Elbow Chair, behind a four square Table; round about him attended all the chief Commanders clad in long Robes without Arms, and in great silence, with a most awful Countenance. On both sides towards the door, his Life-Guards were placed in very good Order. The Deputy's address'd themselves to him in Low Dutch, and delivered their Letter, which being Translated into the Chinese, Koxinga Answered.

Koxinga's Answer.

THAT he was sensible that the good Correspondence the Dutch East-India Company had hitherto cultivated with him, as well as with all the other Indian Princes, was no longer durable than they found it consistent with their own Interest; which always ceased, as soon as they found their account in it; That it was contrary to his custom to divulge his Thoughts or Designs, yet he could not dissemble, that it was by reason of the War he was engag'd in against the Tartars, he had taken possession of this Island; which as it always belong'd to the Chinese; so it was no injustice, that now they stood in need of it themselves, they might retake it from Foreigners, who were only settled there by permission. That he was not come there to engage in a War with the Chinese, but only to take possession of his own. That he was willing they might take away all that belong'd to them, that they might demolish the Forts and carry away their Cannon; for which purpose he was ready to lend them as many of his Ships and Men as they wanted, notwithstanding they had so lately attack'd him both by Sea and Land, when he had given them sufficient proof of his strength. He told them further; That they were very proud and haughty in pretending to defend so inconsiderable a Fort, (meaning the Redoubt the Province) with so small a Force against his numerous Army, which he threatned to destroy, so as not to leave one stone upon another: He boasted, that if his Forces were united, he was able to conquer Heaven and Earth; concluding, That they must take a very short resolution.

Our Deputies gave for Answer, That since the Dutch had left the Piskadore Islands; This Isle was surrendered into their hands by Contract; but that, if he (Koxinga) had any pretensions upon the Company, they were ready to treat a

1651 *about it, and give him satisfaction.* But after several Contests, finding him quite averse to hearken to any Accommodation, unless they could surrender all; they departed, protesting that the Company would shew their resentments in due time, and so set up the red Flag.

The Deputies leave the Camp. Before their departure from the Camp, they had obtained leave of *Koxinga* to go thro' the Fort the *Province*, in their return home; Here they found things in a very indifferent Posture, and the Fort not in a condition to hold out above a Week longer, all their Powder and Ball being spent, there being not enough left to withstand an Assault: This with the weakness of the Place, induced the Deputies to consent, that they might capitulate with the Enemy, provided they could get liberty to transferr the Garrison into the Fort.

arrive at the great Ft. The Deputies arrived the same day in the great Fort, where having given an account of their Transactions, the Governour Conjer and the rest of the Commanders seeing all the Communication betwixt them and the Redoubt the *Province*, nay with the whole Island entirely cut off by the Enemy, were at a great loss what to resolve upon at such a juncture as this: After mature deliberation, the only hopes they had left, was, To defend the Fort *Zelandia* till such time they could be relieved from *Batavia*, which considering the Northern Monzon, might perhaps take up a whole twelve Months time. However it was resolved to defend this Fort to the last extremity, notwithstanding the Redoubt the *Province* had been forced to surrender, the Garrison with all the Cannon being fallen into the Enemies hands, who had made them Prisoners of War.

leave the City. To prepare themselves for a more vigorous defence, all that was able to bear Arms was taken into the Fort, and the City set on fire, which however could not be executed so speedily, but that the Enemy preserved some ware and other Houfes, by timely quenching the Flame, which served them for Places of shelter. Soon after they began to batter the Fort with 28 Pieces of Cannon, but their Cannon as well as their Men being exposed to our shot, we ply'd them so warmly with Cartrages and other such like materials, that the streets thereabouts were all covered with the dead Carcasses of the *Chineses*, and the rest were forced to shelter themselves in the By-Lanes, leaving their Cannon to our mercy, some of which were rendred unserviceable. On the other side of the Fort 6000 *Chineses* advanc'd boldly under our Cannon, and attack'd our works hand to hand, but were beaten back with great loss, to an adjacent Hill; upon which the besieged made a

vigorous Sally, and nail'd up all their Cannon. It was then propos'd to make a general Sally, but considering the disproportion betwixt us and the Enemy, who were advanc'd under our Cannon, it was judg'd too dangerous, for fear, if we should miscarry, the Enemy might force their way at the same time into the Fort. The next day the besieged made another Sally, and carry'd off a six pounder into the Fort. The Enemy finding all his attacks unsuccessful, kept the Fort close block'd up, and in the mean while made the open Country feel the effects of his Rage; They made all the *Dutch* Inhabitants, especially the Ministers and School-masters Prisoners, because as they pretended, two certain Ministers had under-hand encouraged their Parishioners to kill all the *Chinese* living among them, not questioning but the rest would follow their Example; but as it commonly happens in things of this Nature where many are privy to a design, this had been discovered by some, out of fear, or hopes of reward, for which the Ringleaders suffered a most miserable death, being Crucified by the *Chineses*, and their Crosses erected in their respective Villages.

Some *Dutch* Sea-men had no better success, A *Dutch* Ship taken by the *Chineses*. for thirteen of them being taken in a *Dutch* Ship by a *Chinese* Vessel, near the *Pinkadore* Islands, these were put a-board a *Chinese* Vessel man'd with 30 men, who were to carry them to *Koxinga's* Camp. So soon as the *Dutch* Sea-men came within sight of the *Dutch* Fort, they resolv'd to fall upon the *Chineses* (not above one half of them being above deck at a time) and to lo carry off the Ship the next following night; but a *French* man belonging to our Ships Crew, whether out of fear, or hopes to recover his liberty, did betray their design to the *Chineses*, who immediately gave the signal to some other ships near them to come a-board, which being done accordingly, they made them all Prisoners and forthwith sent them to *Koxinga's* Camp, where they had their Noses, Ears, and Hands cut off, and in this miserable condition were sent into the Fort for a Terror to the rest; they were committed to the Surgeons care, who performed his part so well, that not one of them died.

Among the rest of the *Dutch* Prisoners A Message taken by the *Chineses* in the open Country, sent from *Koxinga* to the besieged. was one Mr. *Hambrocock* a Minister; this Man was sent by *Koxinga* to the Governour of the Fort to perswade him to a surrender, upon Condition, viz. That they should depart safely with all that belonged to them, and the Company; but if he refused, he might have a sufficient occasion to repent it at leisure; and that *Koxinga* would revenge himself upon the *Dutch* Prisoners: With the same

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structions Mr. Hambroock came into the Castle, being forced to leave his Wife and Children behind him as Hostages; which being a sufficient Argument to him, that in case he did not succeed in his Negotiation, they must expect nothing but death from Koxinga's hands, yet was he so far from perswading the Garrison to a Surrender, that he encouraged them to a brave defence in hopes of relief; and as a further encouragement, assured them that Koxinga had lost many of his best Ships and Souldiers, and began to be weary of the Siege, fearing lest we should hold it out till we received Succours from Batavia.

Mr. Hambroock having made an end of what he had to propose, the Council of War left it to his choice, whether he would rather stay with them, or return to the Camp, where he could expect nothing else but present death; every one entreated him to stay; He had two Daughters within the Castle, who hung about his neck overwhelmed in grief and tears to see their Father ready to go, where they were sensible he must be sacrificed to the rage of a mercile's Enemy; he represented to them, that having left his Wife and two other Children as Hostages in the Camp, nothing but present death could attend them if he returned not; and to untwisting himself from his Daughters Arms, and exhorting every body to a resolute defence, he returned to the Camp, telling them at parting, that he hoped he might prove serviceable to his poor fellow Prisoners.

Koxinga's
Messenger
returns.

He gave an account to Koxinga of his Negotiation, and that the besieged were resolved not to treat, unless they were to remain in possession of the Castle, which was not at all relishing to Koxinga, who now began to be afraid of an Uproar; the Inhabitants having slain several of the *Chinese*, which exasperated him to that degree, that having caused industriously a Rumour to be spread abroad that the Prisoners did underhand encourage the Inhabitants of Formosa to rebel; he ordered all the Dutch Male Prisoners to be slain, which was done accordingly; some being beheaded, others kill'd in a more barbarous manner. The dead Carcasses after they were striped quite naked, were to the number of 500, thus buried 50 and 60 in a Hole; of all the rest, only the Supervisor of the Country, with 25 others, were saved and carried to China, tho' they even did not spare the Women and Children, many of whom were likewise slain, tho' some of the best were preferred for the use of the Commanders, and the rest sold to the Common Soldiers: Happy was she that happened to fall to the Lot of an unmarried Man, being thereby freed from the importunities of the *Chinese* Women, who are very jealous of their Husbands. They were

however afterwards pursuant to the Capitulation, sent back to Batavia. Among the slain were Mr. Hambroock, Mr. Muir, and Menold Winsheim three Ministers, and School-Masters, who were all beheaded.

Whilst these things were transacting, the Dutch in Batavia had got notice of this Invasion, by the *Mary Yacht*, which in spite of the contrary Season, had found means to get thither, and to give them an Account how Matters stood with us. Ten Ships were immediately got ready with 700 Soldiers aboard them, which set sail in June 1661. under the Command of Jacob Kou, and not long after arrived at the Isle of Formosa. This unexpected Relief as it put the Enemy into no small Consternation, sent so to it Encouraged our Men, to make a more vigorous Defence than ever; and, tho' the Wind blew very hard, these Ships found means to Land some Men and Ammunition; But the Winds increasing more and more, were forced to choose the Main, to the no small Grief of the Besieged, and did not Return till about a Month after; when the Ship called the *Urk* being forced upon a Rock on the Coast of Formosa was split, and her Men saved, from whom the Enemy having understood our Strength, and some other Circumstances, they began to be better satisfied, because they had imagined this Succour much more formidable than really it was.

However the Besieged took a Resolution, by making a vigorous Sally to dislodge the Enemy from the City of *Xelandia*, and to destroy their Ships. The 16th. of September was appointed for this Enterprize, but whilst some Ships were engaged, the Wind beginning to slacken the rest could not come up; Our Men endeavoured to attack the *Chinese* in their Boats, but being exposed to their Shot, without being able to do them much harm, ours had the worst on't, some of the Boats being Over-set, others Sunk, the rest saving themselves by Flight. Two of our Ships got upon the Sands, and were both set on Fire. In this Sea Engagement the Dutch lost about 130 Men, but the Enemy a great many more; however this unfortunate Action put a stop to the intended Sally, and Orders were sent to the Garrisons of the two Northern Forts, to withdraw into the Castle; the Garrison of which was considerably Diminished, by the many Skirmishes, in which the Enemy got but little Advantage, and lost many of their best Men; which put a check for some time to their design, especially when they understood that we had sent all Women, Children and other usele's Persons to Batavia, the better to enable us, to make a vigorous Defence.

1665

Succours
Formosa

The Besieged
sally.

The Dutch
worsted.

The Dutch
Prisoners
kill'd by
Koxinga.

Much about the same time, the Governour received Letters from the Tartarian Stadtholder of *Hockfieu*, who requested some Ships and Forces, to drive the remaining Forces of *Koxinga* out of the Country, promising to come afterwards with his whole Power to the relief of *Formosa*. Hereupon *Jacob Kou* was sent thither with five Ships well provided with Men and Ammunition; but being overtaken by a Storm, lost all his Anchors near the *Piskadores*, which obliged him to send back three of his Ships to the Isle of *Teywan*: with the other two he return'd to *Batavia*, where he met with but an indifferent Reception.

The Besieged finding themselves by this disaster bereaved of a considerable Number of Men and Ammunition began to Despair of holding it out much longer; so that many Deserted, and among the rest a certain Serjeant, who gave *Koxinga*, not only an Account of our Weakness, but also encouraged him not to let slip this opportunity to force us to a Surrender. *Koxinga* having well weigh'd the Matter, attack'd us with his whole Force, more vigorously than ever, and in January 1662, raised three Batteries mounted with 28 great Cannon, upon the Sandy Grounds near the Fort; The Dutch forsook the Danger that must needs ensue, from this near approach of the Enemys Batteries, and did all that they could, either with Cannon or Firelocks, to disturb them in their works, but these not hindring, their men continued to batter the Walls, till they had had made a breach; Then they made two several Attacks, but were as often repulsed with great loss, the ground being all over cover'd with Dead Carcasses. This disaster taught them to be more cautious, and so instead of storming, they continued to fire incessantly their Guns, with such a fury, that they laid a whole Redoubt level with the Ground, so that our men finding it no longer tenible, nail'd up the Guns, and laid some Barrels with Gunpowder under it, which blow'd up a considerable number of *Chineses* into the Air. *Koxinga* himself was in danger, of having been among them, had he not been fore-warn'd by the before mentioned Serjeant, who told him that it was too dangerous to venture himself in a Place so lately left by the Enemy. Here *Koxinga* raised a large Battery upon a rising Ground, from whence he hoped to lay the Body of the Castle level with the Ground. The Dutch on their Side were not idle to do what possibly could be expected for their Defence, with Cannon Shot, *Granados* and otherwise; they raised their Breast-works, and put great Packs of Linen and Stuffs into the breach; Notwithstanding which the Enemy played

incessantly upon them, and against Night had made so large a Breach, as was judged sufficient to make a general Assault. Then it was, the Besieged began to deliberate what was best to be done in this Exigency, whether, since there was no longer abiding in the Castle, they should make a Sally, and force their way to the Enemy, or whether they should abide the Assault: The most were for a Capitulation, there being not the least hopes left of making a Sally with any success, and to resist the whole Force of the *Chineses* in a place without Defence, exposed to the Enemies Shot, was lookt upon no less than to Sacrifice themselves to their Enemies; these Considerations were so prevailing at last, that it was unanimously agreed to Capitulate, and to Surrender the Castle upon Articles; This was put in Execution immediately, a Truce of five days being agreed on for that purpose, at the expiration of which after great contents it was agreed, That every thing belonging to the Company should be delivered up to *Koxinga*. That all the *Indians*, Souldiers and Prisoners should have free Liberty to retire to *Batavia*, with all their Moveables, for which purpose they should be provided with suitable Conveniences. Thus the Besieged after having endured a

1662.
The Dutch
Defend
themselves
to the ut-
most.

The Fort of
Zelandia
Surrendered.

of six Months, with the loss of 1600 returned to *Batavia*, where the Governour and Members of the Council of *Formosa*, after all the hazards and incredible fatigues they had been forced to undergo, were put in Prison, and their Goods Confiscated; the Governour himself being not long after Condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment in the Isle of *Ey*; But was at the Intercession of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and by Orders from the Directors of the East-India Company in *Holland* Discharged, and returned to his native Country 1676. Since we have had frequent occasion to speak of the Island of *Formosa*, I will give you a short Account of it.

The Isle of
Formosa.

what of a lesser size than those of Europe, and without Horns; the Inhabitants catch vast Numbers of them, ¹⁸⁸²merely for their Skins sake, the Flesh being not esteem'd here, except their Tongues. They have also great Herds of Elks here, which being very strong, they use in their Carts instead of Horses or Oxen. One time the Master of our Ship and I being invited to Dinner at his Sisters, that was Married to a Native of *Formosa*, they sent us a Carr drawn by Bufflers; the Master of the Ship who understood better how to Govern the Ship than those Beasts, would needs supply the Carr-man's place, but prickt the Bufflers so unmercifully (according to the Custom of the Country) that they run away with us; for sometime we kept steadfast in the Carr, which over-turning at last, threw us at a great Distance, but to our great good Fortune, without any considerable harm; we Walkt the rest of the Way on Foot, leaving the ordinary Carr-man, a Native of *Formosa*, to recover the Bufflers, which he did at last, and brought them home. Neither do they want Partridges, Wild Pigeons and other Wild Fowl; there are also Tygers and Bears to be met with, but I never heard of any other ravenous Wild Beasts here. The Mountains are full of Brimstone, which questionless occasions so many Earthquakes, unto which this Isle is much subject. Some are of Opinion, that these Mountains contain likewise Gold and Silver, some Essays of this Nature having been made with good Success, but was never attempted to Dig for it. This Island is destitute of good Harbours for great Ships, which are forced to ride at Anchor in the Road of some Isles about 12 Leagues from thence. The Country is very populous: For besides the Natives of *Formosa*, above 25000 *Chineses* forced out of *China* by the Tartars have at several times settled themselves here.

Natives of
Formosa.

The Natives of *Formosa*, especially the Men are of an Olive Colour, Fat, Strong, Well-limb'd and Nimble; some being able to out-run a Wild Boar or Stag; they leap upon the Back of them and so cut their Throats. The Mountainers are of a lesser size. The Women are not altogether so large as the Men, but very strong Bodied, and are Cloathed after the same Fashion; they have black shining Hair, which they tye together in a Knot on the top of the Head.

Their
Cloathing.

The Men throughout the Summer appear for the most part quite Naked, but those who do not, especially in the Winter, wear a kind of Silk or Callico Cloth, which they wrap about their Bodies and button it under the Arms; the Women have some

what lower down below the Knees. Stuffs made of Dogs Hair are in great esteem with them. They cut off the Dogs Hair, like as we do our Sheeps Wooll, Spin and Weave it afterwards. They are generally very Friendly and Faithful to the Europeans, and don't easily break a Contract; they are very Apprehensive, and will give a good Judgment of Matters; many of them were already Converted to the Christian Religion, by the Industry of the Ministers and School-Masters, which were planted almost in every Village, there being no small hopes, that the whole Island would in a little time have embraced Christianity, had not the Conquest of *Koxinga's* overturn'd this good Design.

Their Bread is made of several Roots, *Their* but Rice is in the greatest esteem; tho' they Sow no more than for their own Use, and that scarce sufficient. Their Drink is here, like all over the *Indies*, Water, tho' they prepare likewise a strong Liqueur of Rice, in the following manner: They first Parboil the Rice, and then beat it to a Pap; then several old Women chew a certain quantity of Rice, which they spit out into a Vessel, and mix it with the rest, to make it ferment. After they have put it into Earthen Pots, they pour Water upon it, and after they have covered it very well, set it to ferment for two Months, till it is well Settled and Clear, this produces a very strong Liqueur, which will keep good 20 Years, and grow stronger every Year. When they go abroad into the Fields, they take of this Liqueur along with them to Drink, and the Settlement for their Food; most of the Rice here being consumed in these Liqueurs.

Contrary to the Custom of most other Nations, the Women cultivate the Grounds here; and manage the Rice, Sugar, Ginger and other Fruits of the Earth; the Men being employed in nothing but Hunting and Warlike Exploits, unless they be very Old, when sometimes they will give a helping Hand to the Women in the Field. At leisure time the Women catch Crabs, Oysters and Shrimps, which they much admire.

The Men are mighty eager in Hunting. The Whole Villages join together, and surround a great tract of Ground, where they Kill all they meet with, and divide it; few of the Wild Beasts escaping their Hands at that time. They also catch Wild Boars and Staggs with Snares, fastned to Canes; which the Wild Beasts no sooner touches but one or other of the Legs, is intangled in the Snare, where they kill it immediately. They have also certain Cane-Darts of six Foot long, with several bent Hooks at the one end and a Ball at the other end; this they throw



throw at the Staggs or other wild Creatures, which being fix'd in the Body, they trace it by the sound of the Bell till it begins to lose its strength by the loss of Blood, and so kill it.

Their Houses.

Their Houses are but one story high, but very large, built of Canic, with many doors looking to all the four corners of the Winds, and sometimes more; They always raise their Houses three or four foot high from the Ground, looking upon it otherwise as unwholesome.

Their Uten- siles.

Their Houses are adorned with Painted Callico Hangings, with wild Boars and Staggs heads; with Bows, Arrows, Clubbs, Pick-axes, and other Warlike Instruments, but especially with the skulls and bones of their Enemies, which they look upon as the chief- est Ornament of their Houses: They eat and drink for the most part out of Wooden Vessels, or such as are made of Bamboo Canes but have some Earthen Pots to dress their Victuals in, and for some other Particular Uses.

Their Gov- ernment.

This Isle has no King or General Govern- ment, each Village being a kind of a petty Common-Wealth; their Government con- sists of Twelve Persons, which must be at least 40 Years of Age, and are chosen out of the chiefest among them; they continue for Life; all their Power consists only in consulting what is most expedient for the Common good, the result of which is propo- sed to the Assembly of the whole Village, who receive it with a great deal of sedateness, and after the breaking up of the Assembly, they debate among themselves what is best to be done, if they approve of the propo- sition made to them; it has the Force of a Law, if not, it is of no consequence. They are also much addicted to follow the direc- tions of their Prophetesses or the Priests; at a certain season of the Year, they are ob- liged to go quite naked for three Months, otherwise (say they) we shall want Rain. At another certain time they are debar'd from wearing Silk or other fine Cloths, or if they do, their Council has Power to strip them of them, and to tear them to pieces be- fore their Faces, unless they redeem them by a certain number of Staggs skins, Rice, or strong Liquor. Corporal Punishments are unknown to them; besides this prerogative of Consulting and Punishing, they are upon the same level with the rest.

com

Age is the only thing in extraordinary re- spect among them; this they shew in giving way either in the Streets or at Table to their Elders, who are also first served, and speak be- fore the rest.

ar-

The Men never Marry before they are 50 Years of Age, but the Women as soon

as they are Marriageable. The Natives of *Formosa* don't suffer their hair to grow below their Ears, before they come to the state of Manhood, when they let it grow as long as it can. If a young Man has a mind to Mar- ry a certain Maid, he sends one of his Friends with the ordinary Marriage presents, which are commonly a *Chinese* suit of Cloths, Brace- lets of twisted Reeds, some broad Rings of Iron or Brass, and such like Baubles of an inconsiderable value; if the Maid accepts of the Presents, the match is made. Whilst they are young they don't dwell together in the same House, which is not allow'd of till the Husband be 50 Years of Age. But as soon as the young married Man has an inclinati- on to meet with his Wife, he comes private- ly into her Hunt, which is commonly in the Field, and lies himself down in the place where she commonly sleeps, where she comes to him, but is sure to find him away again early in the Morning. All the Children be- got betwixt them, before both the Husband and Wife be arrived to the Age of 37 years, are kill'd; For, after the Woman is sure she is with Child, one of their the Priests lays the big bellied Woman upon her back, and squeezes her so long with her hands and feet all the miscarries, not without great hazard and pains, which they willingly undergo, be- cause they reckon it a great sin, to keep any Children begot before that time a live, but preserve them carefully afterwards. The Mother keeps the Infant close by her, till it be two Years old, when it is sometimes per- mitted to see the Father. Their Marriages are as soon dissolv'd as they are contracted, and that upon very slight occasions, but if the Husband parts from his Wife without any reason, he loses his Marriage Presents; but in case of Adultery, or that the Woman is out- ragious, his Marriage Presents must be re- stored unto him, the Women enjoy the same Prerogative; both Parties being afterwards at liberty to Marry where they please, which sometimes happens twice or thrice a Year. They make no great account of Fornication, provided it may be done in private, but are very cautious of committing incest.

Justice.

Here are no Courts of Justice, every one being at liberty to take satisfaction for Mur- ther, Theft, or Adultery committed against him. If a Man be Robb'd, and knows who the Thief is, he goes straight to his House and fetches either by fair or foul means as much from thence as he thinks will suffi- ciently repay his loss, which however occa- sions great disputes, nay Murder. He that has kill'd another, flies for it till he has given satisfaction to the deceased's Kindred, which consists commonly in some Hoggs and Staggs skins, then he may return unpunished. A- dultery

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyage

dultery when discover'd is commonly made up with two or three Hogs, according to the Ability of the Cuckold-maker, which done, the Cuckold lives both with him and his Wife in good correspondence. Sometimes one or more Villages engage in War against one another, and surprize those that work in the Field, whom they kill, and carry their heads and what booty they can get, to their Houses; this they often do in the night time; If they have had good success, they joyce after their return home with eating and drinking to a great excess. Those who have behaved themselves well in such an Expedition, are esteemed before the rest.

Their Weapons are long and broad Shields, instead of Targets, wherewith they cover their Bodies; short and broad Symeters which do great execution, Darts pointed with Iron; they have also Bows and Arrows, but use no Firelocks. As far as ever I could learn, they have no Writings or Books; their Pagan Idolatry is transmitted from the Parents to their Children by word of Mouth; they believe the World to have neither beginning nor end, and that the Souls of such as have done well, shall be rewarded hereafter. As soon as they are dead, the Friends erect a kind of Scaffold before the door of the House, where they place the dead Carcass surrounded with small ~~Staggs~~ ^{Staggs}; near by they set a Vessel with Water for the Soul to bath it self in, and to wash away all its Sins; as for Instance, to have brought Children into the World before 37 Years of Age; to have worn rich Cloaths in the forbidden Season; to have catch'd Offsets, Crabs and such like insignificant things; But Murther, Man-slaughter, Adultery, Fornication, Theft, and such like horrid Crimes, they look upon as small Trespasses only, which may be expiated by a certain quantity of Rice, Staggs skins and strong Liquors.

They have several Gods, but adore two in particular; When it Thunders they say the Great Man is angry with his Spouse, and for that reason refuses to send them Rain, for which reason they adore his Spouse; the other they say, is of a malicious nature, and therefore adore him, for fear he should hurt them. They have no other but Female Priests, they Sacrifice Piggs, Staggs, and Fruits; during which, the the Priests cry out, and fall into extasies afterwards, with tremblings all over their Bodies, as if they were posses'd by an Evil Spirit, and then they pretend the Idol discovers his Secrets to them: The standers by which are for the most part Women, in the mean while get drunk with strong Liquors. These Female Priests ascend to the top of their Temples, where they expose themselves quite Naked, and wash their Bodies in

the sight of the People. They pretend to foretel good or ill fortune, to banish the Devil, and to purge unhallowed places. It was formerly a custom in some certain Villages, that if any of the Natives lay sick, past all hopes of recovery, they used to tie a Rope about his neck, and so pull him up and let him down again, till they had cured his distemper by a certain death. They dry their dead Carcasses over a fire, which occasions a nauseous scent, whilst the Kindred, Relations and Friends pass away the time with eating, drinking and dancing for several days together. The dry'd Corps is kept two years after, and then buried in the house. This was the Ancient Government of the Isle of *Formosa*, but since the *Dutch East-India Company* has got footing there, they have introduced other Laws among them, and instead of their Councils, constituted one of their Chief Men as Supervisor in every Village who Administered Justice, and was accountable to the Governor of the Island. Thus much of *Formosa*, 'tis time to return to our Voyage.

After we had left *Teywan*, the 11th of ^{The A} ~~December~~ ^{goes} ~~the~~ ^{Malac} ~~Month~~ without any remarkable accident, before the City of *Malacca*, where we dropt Anchor, and found Mr. *John Tijs* to be Chief Director there for our *East-India Company*.

The Kingdom of *Malacca*, otherwise ^{The C} ~~Ma~~ ^{ry at} ~~leja~~ ^{City of} ~~or Malacca~~ ^{Malacca}, thus called after its Capital City, is Situate upon the same Tract of Ground or Demi-Island, which comprehends the Kingdoms of *Martavan*, *Quedam*, *Peru* and some other Countries extending it self as far as *Sumatra*, the Streights of which border upon it to the West and South as the Kingdoms of *Pan* and *Johor* do to the East. The Kingdom of *Malacca* is by some Historians taken for the *Golden Chersonese* of *Ptolemy*, tho' at present it is no Demi-Island. There are some who affirm, that in former Ages *Malacca* was joined by a streight neck of Land to the Isle of *Sumatra*, instead of which you see now a branch of the Ocean, which divides its self into two Navigable Channels; the first of which is call'd the Streights of *Sinkapura*, because it borders on the East side of the Cape of that Name; the other is call'd the Channel of *Saban*, from an Island that lies to the West of it. This Country extends for about 64 Leagues in length, all along the Sea Coast, beginning at the Island of *Cambilan* or *Zabilan* as far as the Isle of *Beisan*, its utmost Boundary on that side, or rather it ends in the Cape of *Sinkapura*, 20 Leagues from *Malacca*.

Its Capital City is likewise call'd *Malacca*, ^{its Ca} ~~the same~~ ^{City}, in former time call'd *Takla*; ^{City} it lies under 2 deg. 30 min. of Northern Latitude

titude opposite to *Sumatra* in a Bay at the ascent of a Hill, on the West side of the River *Muar* (otherwise call'd *Gaze* and *Tyga* and *Kyofans*, or as the *Dutch* express it, *Kuiforant*) which having its Rile deep in the Country divides the Castle from the City, and washing its Walls, falls with a rapid Current into the Sea. Cross this River is a strong Bridge built of stone, with several Arches: The City is very large in Compass, being not many Years before surrounded with a Wall of square Stones and Bastions by the *Dutch*. It is very Populous, the Houses being built very close, tho' it has some very broad and handsome streets, which are planted on both sides with Trees. In the midst of the City is a Hill with a very fair Church dedicated to *St. Paul*, on the top of it, where divine Service is perform'd in *Dutch*: The Steeple, Church and Monasteries founded here by the *Portugueses* are much decay'd. Most of the Houses here are built of strong Bamboo Canes, which are very durable in dry weather, tho there are also some Stone Houses here; they are generally not very large, and low, provided with small Apartments, and slenderly Furnish'd.

Malacca
betaken
by the *Portugueses*.

The City of *Malacca* was in 1610 taken by *Albuquerque* the *Portuguese* General in the following manner; One *Mannuel* or rather *Mahomet*, an *Arabian* by birth, being at that time King of *Malacca* entred into a League with *Albuquerque*, which he broke soon after, putting all the *Portuguese* to the Sword. *Albuquerque* soon after appeared before the City and attack'd it unexpectedly, whilst the King and his Courtiers were feasting at the Wedding of his Daughter; The *Portuguese* set Fire to one end of the City, notwithstanding which, the Inhabitants defended themselves like desperate Men, even the Women utilizing the Houses, and giving what assistance they could for the defence of the Place; but at last the *Portuguese* having fought their way thro' the armed Elephants, they entred the City, forcing the King to fly into the Wilderness, where he died. They got a vast Booty and above 200000 Crowns in Money. The *Portuguese* were very careful to Fortify the Town by a Strong Castle, and built several fine Churches and Monasteries; They had five Parochial Churches, and Monasteries in great numbers. Among the rest, the Jesuits had erected a Noble College here, with magnificent appartments; they were very liberal, and received all strangers Travelling in those Parts. There was a Church here, dedicated to our Lady, where they say *Xaverius* Preached often, and performed great Miracles. Upon a high Hill within the City, the Capuchins had a Monastery. Whilst the Roman Catholicks were in possession of it, it was erected into a Bishoprick

under the Archbishop of *Goa*. Not many Years before the *Portuguese* made themselves Masters of it, it was no more than a Village, but by the *Javaneses* made a City.

The *Dutch* Admiral *Cornelius Matelief* 1605, appeared with 11 Ships and 1300 Soldiers before the City of *Malacca*, where at that time *Don Furtado de Mendoza* a brave Soldier was Commander in Chief: The first thing he did was to sieze upon 4 Ships that lay in the Road, afterwards he set fire to the Suburbs, and batter'd the place for two or three Months, which occasioned great Famine and Mortality within the City. But the *Portuguese*, who were sensible of the Importance of this Place, sent a considerable Fleet from *Goa* to their relief, which engaging with ours a small fight ensued, in which the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* lost two Ships each; At last the *Portuguese* finding the *Dutch* resolved to board them, retired under the Castle, but were so closely pursued by *Matelief*, that he ruin'd their whole Fleet, consisting of 16 Galleots, 4 Galeasses, and 14 smaller Vessels, with 3000 Men on board them.

The King of *Johor* besieged the City of *Malacca* in 1606, with 6000 Men, the *Portuguese* having maintained themselves there till 1640, when the *Dutch* after 56 Months made themselves Masters of it: After the *Portuguese* had been in possession of it 130 Years; The *Dutch* found here besides a vast booty, a great Cannon which carried a shot of 64 Pounds weight, since which time the *Dutch* have left no stone unturned to stock this City with all sorts of necessaries as well as with Inhabitants, both *Dutch* and *Indians*. The Origin and Progress of *Malacca* is this, described by *Barros* and some other Historians.

The Foundation of *Malacca* was laid about 250 Years before the arrival of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*. About that time one *Sangseing* Reign'd in *Sinkapura*, situate under 30 min. of Northern Latitude, and in the neighbouring Country of *Java*, one *Paramisora*, who at his Death left two Sons under the Guardianship of his own Brother their Uncle; but he having found means to Murder the eldest, usurp'd the Throne; at which some of the Noble *Javaneses* being highly disgusted, did with *Paramisora* their late Kings youngest Son, fly to *Sinkapura*, where they met with a kind reception from *Sangseing*, but it was not long before *Paramisora* in combination with his *Javaneses*, Murdered *Sangseing* and put himself in possession of his Kingdom. The King of *Siam* being highly exasperated at the Treachery committed against *Sangseing*, his Vassal and Son-in-Law, forced the *Javaneses* to quit the Country, who being now obliged to seek for a new Habitation

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on, settled themselves near the River Muar, where they built a strong Hold, call'd *Pagopago*; Besides the *Javanese*, *Paramisora*, was followed by 2000 others, such as they call *Cellati*, who live upon Fishing and Robbing; but tho' they had been very Instrumental in settling him in *Sinkapura*, he did not think fit to receive them within the Body of his new built City; which made them settle their Colony about three or four Leagues from the River Muar, not far from whence *Malacca* now lies; where they joined with the Inhabitants, who were half Savages; since which time their Language is call'd the *Melaga* Language. But when they began to be streightned for room, some of them settled themselves about a quarter of a League from thence, on a Hill call'd *Bitan*, surrounded with a large Plain; *Paramisora* being taken with the Convenience and pleasant Situation of this Place, abandon'd *Pagopago* and transplanted his Colony near this Place, which afterwards was call'd *Malacca*, i. e. a banish'd Person, in Memory of the exiled *Javanese*, and in procees of time, all the Traffick of *Sinkapura* was transferred to *Malacca*. *Saguan Dorfa* Son of *Paramisora* succeeded him in the Kingdom, and having submitted himself as a Vassal to the King of *Siam*, reduced the whole Country of *Sinkapura* to the East, as far as *Pan* on the Isle of *Zambila*, which lies West of *Malacca*, a Tract of Land of forty Leagues in length. The Successors of *Saguan Dorfa* found means to shake off by degrees the Yack of the King of *Siam*, and to make themselves Sovereign Kings, especially after they were by the *Persians*, and those of *Surat* brought over to the *Mahometan* Religion. The King of *Siam* 1502. about 9 Years before the *Portugueses* became Masters of *Siam*, did Attack the King of *Malacca* with a Fleet of 200 Sail, aboard of which were 6000 Souldiers; under the Conduct of *Laofamava Privan*, his Admiral and Governour of *Ligoo*, but this Fleet was miserably scatter'd by a Tempest, and many of his Ships fell into the Hands of the *Mahometans*, by Treachery.

The Harbour of *Malacca*, is one of the finest in all the *Indies*, being Navigable at all the Seasons of the Year; a conveniency belonging scarce to any other in the *Indies*. It is most conveniently Situated for Traffick, for there you may to this Day see vast Numbers of Merchants Ships coming from *Bengala*, *Coromandel*, *Banda*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, and in short from all Parts of the *Indies*. Whilst the *Portugueses* were in possession of it, this City was very famous for its Traffick and Riches in Gold, precious Stones, and all other Rarities of the *Indies*;

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Malacca being the Key of the *China* and *Japan* Trade, and of the *Malacca* Islands and *Sunda*. In short *Malacca* was the Richest City in the *Indies*, next to *Goa* and *Ormuz*. Before the *Dutch* had made themselves Masters of *Malacca*, a Ship was sent every Year thither from *Portugal*, which setting out a Month before their *East-India* Fleet, and taking its direct Course thither, without staying in any Place, except in case of Necessity, used to Freight there, and return with a Richer Cargo, than any other Ship ever did.

All the Ships that came from the North, viz. *Great pass* of *China*, *Japan*, *Siam*, *Cambodia*, *Tonking* *Sage thro'* the *Manilla*, and are bound for the West, to wit to the Coast of *Coromandel*, *Bengale*, and other places thereabouts, as likewise those coming from the West to the North must pass thro' the Streights of *Malacca* or *Sinkapura*, and consequently by *Malacca*, as I told you before. The *Portugueses* used to take 10 per Cent. Custom of all Ships passing that Way, whereby they got vast Riches, but the *Dutch East-India* Company has abolish'd this, looking upon it as an unreasonable Imposition, and are contented to Traffick there. *Malacca* is a Country producing but very little it self, but must be lookt upon as the Staple of the *Indies*, whither all precious Commodities that are brought from *China*, the *Molucca* and other Neighbouring Islands, from *Bengal*, *Coromandel*, *Banda*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, *Pegu* and other Places. The Island of *Sumatra* furnishes them with Gold, Pepper and other Merchandises; From *Ligoo*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Oudjang* and *Salang* they have vast quantities of Tin, which is bought up in those Places by the Factors of the Company, and sent to *Malacca*, from whence it is Transported to the Coast of *Coromandel*, to *Bengal*, *Persia* and *Surat*, and Sold for ready Money. The *Chineses* bring hither vast stores of Silk and Porcelain, Damasks, Brocados, Sattins, Musk, Rhubarb, Iſſa, Saltpeter, fine Silver, Pearls great and small, Ivory, and *China* Fans; which they exchange for Pepper, Franckincense, Stuffs of *Cambaya*, Coral Wrought, and Unwrought, Painted Callicoes of *Palakatte*, and White Callicoes of *Bengal*, *Cinnabar*, Quick-Silver, and such other Drugs as come from *Cambaya*. The Island of *Java* supplies them with Rice, Oxen, Sheep, Stags-Flesh and Pork; In short there is such a vast Traffick and Concourse of Merchants here, that from thence probably it got the Name of the *Golden Chersonesus* among the Ancients; *Malacca* being certainly the Richest Harbour that can be seen; for formerly and even to this Day the Merchants were so Rich here, that they used to compute by no less than by Bars of Gold; of which a vast quantity is found

found near the Rivers, and in the Mountains, to the West, to wit, on the famous Rivers *Kedan* and *Peren* or *Peragh*. The Mahometans living along the Coast used formerly to Trade hither with Linen and some other Commodities, but not so much of late Years, neither is the Pepper Trade so considerable here now, as in former Days, since the *Dutch East-India* Company have settled their Factories, on the Eastern Coast of *Sumatra*, which produces great quantities of Pepper. However Ships are sometimes detained here for a considerable time, by reason of the contrary *Monzon* or Season Winds.

Formerly they had no other Coin but what was made of Tin at *Malacca*, being of great Weight, but little Value. Or rather they exchanged their Commodities for Gold and Silver by Weight; But now they Coin both Gold and Silver, a Piece of Eight being worth commonly two Guilders, 11 Stivers. They have two sorts of Weights, viz. the great and small Bar: The great Bar consists of 200 *Kattys*, each *Katty* containing 26 *Tayls*, or 3½ Ounces *Portuguese* Weight, a *Tayl* being an Ounce and a half: The small Bar comprehends likewise 200 *Kattys*, each *Katty* comprehending 22 *Tayls*. According to the computation of others, a Bar of *Malacca* contains 200 *Kattys* *Aethyops*, or three *Chinese* *Pikol* each *Pikol* computed at 122 Pound Weight, making all together 366 Pound Weight. The great Bar or Weight is made use of when they Weigh Pepper, Cloves, Nutmeggs, Mace, White and Red Sandals, Indigo, Allum, Eagles-Wood and Civet; with the lesser Weight, Quick-Silver, Copper, Leaf-Gold, Oyl of Nutmeggs, Benzoin, Camphire and such like Commodities. The City of *Malacca* is inhabited by many *Dutch*, but for the most part by *Mestices* and *Kastices*, some *Chinese*, *Pagans* and *Jews*, for the convenience of Traffick.

The *Malayans* or Natives of *Malacca* are Tawny, with long Black Hair, great Eyes and Flat Noses; They deduce their Origin from the *Javanese*, but their Eyes are quite different, they are for the most part Naked, wearing only a piece of Stuff wrapt about the Middle, with their Arms and Legs Naked. Their only Ornament being Gold Bracelets and Earrings set with precious Stones. The Women wear Silk Cloaths, and short Skirts, Embroidred with Gold and precious Stones, some of which are twisted in their Locks, which are very long. The Women are extravagantly Proud here, expecting more Reverence than any other *Indian* Women. There is also another peculiar sort of Men in *Malacca*, call'd by the *Dutch* *Kakerlakken* (from a certain monstrous Creature in the *Indies* of the same

Name) who are blind by Day and can only see by Night. They can tell Money, Work, and do any other thing in the Dark, which they cannot do by Daylight, which they pass away for the most part in Sleeping, and seldom rise till Sun-set. In Shape and Proportion of their Limbs, as well as by their Completion, they resemble the *Europeans*: having commonly Gray Eyes, whereas all the Eastern Nations have black, and dark brown Eyes. Their Hair is inclining to Yellow, and of such a length among the Women, what it reaches down to their Hips; Their Feet are bent inward. The same kind is likewise found in some other Places in the *Indies* and in *Africa*.

The Language uled at *Malacca* is call'd *The Malay* Tongue from the Natives of the Country, being very famous throughout the *East-Indies*. For, the general concurrence of so many Nations, different in their Languages, has put them upon a Necessity of Compiling a certain Language, composed of the best and choicest Words of all the rest, which therefore is accounted the neatest and most agreeable of the *East-Indies*, which is the reason that not only the Neighbouring, but also far distant Nations, that Trade with *Malacca*, are very desirous to learn it, and look upon it as a great accomplishment. For the better encouragement of this Language and the benefit of their Officers and Factors, the *Dutch East-India* Company has caused a Dictionary both in the *Malaya* and *Dutch* Tongues to be Publish'd. Most of the *Malayans* are either *Christians* *their* or *Mahometans*, tho' there are likewise some *Religion*. *Pagans* and *Jews* settled at *Malacca*, for the convenience of Commerce. The Coast of *The Count* *Malacca* is a flat or marshy Country, and consequently not extraordinary wholesome; but deeper in the Country, are many Hills and Wildernesses which are plainly discovered at Sea. It produces but little for the sustentance of Life, except what is brought forth in Gardens, and what grows among the Mountains, where you meet with some Rice and Pease: The defect of which is supply'd by vast Numbers of small Vessels, which come every day from *Bergaie* and *Sumatra*, and bring thither Rice and other Earables. However, they are pretty well stored with such Fruits as commonly grow in the *Indies*; The Fruit *Durion* grows here much better and larger than in any other part of the *Indies*: They have likewise *Ananas*, *Jambos*, *Mangoes*, *Karambolas* and *Papajaw*; they have whole Woods of Coco Trees. Here grows a certain Tree call'd the Mourning Tree by the *Portuguese*, because its Flowers close up in the Night-time. Here you may meet also with Cinamon Trees, but not very

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1662. very many, neither do they approach in Goodness to those of Ceylon. But of *Kalamback* or *Alces-Wood* and *Bengoin*, they have great plenty. Here are to be found some *Indian Fruits*, peculiar only to this Place, but no Pears, Apples, Plums, Cherries, or any such like *European Fruits*. Oxen, Cows, Sheep and Horses are likewise very scarce here, which are brought thither a great way out of the Country, and are seldom very Fat. Formerly the Country hereabouts did abound in Wild Beasts of all sorts, such as Tygers, Elephants, &c. which were so Ravenous, that they used to break in the Night-time into the Houses of the Inhabitants who for their better security, used to Sleep upon Trees; But since it has been so well Peopled by the *Dutch*, this sort of Wild Beasts are but seldom heard of.

ape Ra- Just by *Malacca* is the Cape or point of Land call'd *Rachado*, and the Cape of *Barcelona*, being a very High Mountain, near a point of Land. Not far from *Malacca* is a very large Mountain call'd *Madian*, which by reason of the vast Quantities of Salt-Peter it contains within its Bowels, 1646. did break out with such a terrible Noise and Earthquakes, as if the day of Judgment was at Hand.

nkapura *Sinkapura* lies on the most Southern Point of all *Java*. About half a degree to the North of the Line and 10 Leagues from *Malacca*. This Cape has imparted its Name to the Straights of *Sinkapura*. The Country of *Sinkapura* had before *Malacca* was built, its own Kings, and was the chiefest Place of Trade on this Coast, being much frequented by the *Chinese* Merchants, and those of *Cambaya*. The Mountain near the Straights of *Sinkapura* bearing the same Name, produces most excellent Diamonds. About *Sinkapura* is a certain Nation, which with their whole Families live always at Sea, in their small Vessels; they are call'd *Salctes*, live upon Fishing, and are subject to the King of *Jor*. About two Leagues beyond the Straights of *Sinkapura* is the River *Johor* at the entrance of which you see two Mountains or rather high Islands shaped like Sugarloaves; one is four times bigger than the other, lying N.N.E. as you enter the River, and the other N.E. On the other side of the River you Discover a high Hill, tho' the South side of the River is a *Champaign Country*. There is 10 fathom Water at the mouth of this River.

: Isle of To the South of *Malacca* is a small cks. Isle, of about half a League in Compass, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Ilha dos Pedras*, or the Isle of Rocks, and has very good Fresh-water.

About half a Cannon Shot from the City,

another small Island call'd *Malacca*, and by the *Portugueses*, *Ilha dos Naos*, or the Ship Island. Two Leagues from *Malacca* is a pretty large Isle call'd *Sapta*. That vast Point or Tract of Land on which the Country of *Malacca* or *Malaya* lies, being the most Southern of all the *East-Indies*, comprehends likewise several other Kingdoms and Cities; to wit, *Patany*, *Pahan*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Johor* or *Jor*, *Ligoor*; and further to the North the Kingdom and City of *Tanassery*. We will give you a short account of the Kingdoms of *Johor*, *Patany*, *Ligoor* and *Pahan*.

The Kingdom of *Jor* or *Johor* stands indebted for its Name to its Capital City, call'd by some *Geri* or *Geria*, and *Jor* or *Goar* or *Johor*. It is situate at the very Straights of *Malacca*, bordering in part upon the Kingdom of *Malacca*; and on the other side, upon the Kingdom of *Pan* or *Pahan*. The ancient City of *Johor* or *Jor* (call'd in some Maps *Guar*) was very large and magnificently built, but was in 1603 destroyed by the *Portugueses*, who left only a few Houses standing, which were immediately inhabited again. The King of *Johor* caus'd in 1609 another City to be built, somewhat higher up the River above *Johor*; this he call'd *Banyabur*, towards the building of which, the *Dutch* under their Admiral *Peter Verhoeven* contribution 3000 pieces of Eight, out of the booty they had taken from the *Portuguese* ships coming from *Makao* near the Cape *Rachado*. Most of the chief Inhabitants of the old City of *Jor* retired from thence to *Banyabur*; a Half-day's Journey from whence is *Sedalli*, near the Sea-side. It is a very fertile Country, abounding in Lemons, and Citrons as big as a Man's Head, Bananas, Batatas, Ananas, and other *Indian Fruits*. They have also great store of Pepper, Cinnamon, Pufflers, Cows, Stags, wild Boars, and divers Sorts of Monkeys and Birds, besides some Sea-Monsters.

The Inhabitants are naturally Brave, but very Lascivious, Liers, great Dissemblers, and Proud beyond measure. Their Complexion is inclining to a light Blue, with broad Faces, crooked Noses, and very black Teeth, which they acquire by chewing the Weed *Betel*, black Teeth being accounted a great Ornament among them.

The common People go quite naked, having only a Piece of Stuff to cover their Members, which hangs down to their Toes. The Rich and better Sort wear a kind of Jacquets, made of Blue, Green or Red Callico, or what Colour they please; they are shaped like our Shirts, with wide sleeves, are open before, and reach only to their knees. They have also two silken strings of the same Colour with the Jacquet, one serves for

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for a Girdle, the other for a Head-string. They Paint their Nails yellow, and the greater quality they pretend to, the longer they wear their Nails. The Richer sort commonly wear a Ponyard on their side, enriched with Precious stones. Their King has many other petty Kings, his Vassals, under his Jurisdiction. The King of *Jor* or *Johor* in 1606 attack'd the City of *Malacca* with 60000 Men, which shews him to be a Potent Prince, and in the taking of the City of *Jor*, the *Portugueses* got 1500 Bras pieces of Cannon; in 1608, *Ratipont* the then King of *Jor*, being about 30 Years of Age, came aboard the Dutch Fleet with 30 of his Wives, he had three Gold Chains set with Precious Stones, about his Neck, and his Poynard was likewise enriched with Sapphires and Diamonds, valued at 50000 Guilders. The Inhabitants are one half Mahometans, the other Pagans: 1609, one *Johm de Paratuan* was King of *Jor*, he was stiled the Great King, being likewise King of *Malacca*, and *Kan Sybiang*, i. e. Prince of the other side of the River. In 1611 The King of *Azem*, sent back the Brother of the King of *Jor*, with a Fleet of 36 Ships, and a Convoy of 2000 Men, with abundance of Cannon and Ammunition, in Order to assist in the rebuilding of the City of *Jor*. It was generally reported that the King of *Azem* having given his Sister in Marriage to him, did intend to set him upon the Throne, instead of his Brother, who then Reigned.

Linga is an Island under the jurisdiction of the King of *Johor*, who has a Governour there; it produces abundance of *Zagu* but no Rice; in 1606, it had about 3000 Inhabitants.

The Kingdom of *Pan* or *Pahan*, is by the *Portugueses* call'd *Paon*, and by others after the metem *Arabians*, to pronounce *phe* instead of *p*. To the North it borders upon the Kingdom of *Parane*, and adjoins to that of *Johor*, as well as to the Straights of *Malacca*. The City of *Pahan* is situate about a League from the Sea shoar, being Inhabited only by the Nobility, the common People dwelling in the Suburbs. It is not very large, but surrounded with a Wall, made of the Trunks of Trees joined close together, of about four Fathoms high, strengthened on each corner with a Bastion, but not fill'd with Earth. The streets are enclosed on both sides with Hedges of Reeds, and planted with Coco and other Trees, resembling rather some Gardens adjoining to one another in the Suburbs, than a well regulated City, the Houses being generally of Reed and Straw, only the King's Palace is of Wood. The River of *Pahan* is very broad, but not Navigable by Gallies except at high Water: The Country round about is very low, and produces about 300

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Bahars of Pepper; as likewise *Palo de Aquila* or Eagle-wood, *Kalambackwood* and Camphire, but not so good as that of *Bornee*, Gold (but very coarse,) Nutmegs, Mace, *Sapan-wood*, Diamonds, *Pedro de Porco*, or Hoggs Stones, which are accounted a greater Antidote than the Bezoar stone. Deeper into the Country are abundance of Elephants. The Inhabitants are the greatest Impostors in the World. The King is Tributary to the King of *Siam*, but after *Alluquerque* had conquered *Malacca* he sent his Deputies to *Pahan*, to oblige that King to promise fealty to him. At *Pahan* great quantities of Baskets are made and sold, they are better than those made in *Jave* but not so good as the *Portuguese*. They also cast Great Guns here of 3000 pounds weight. The Inhabitants are partly Mahometans, partly Pagans. Their King who reigned in 1612, had Married the Youngest Sister of the Queen of *Parane*. The two Sisters having not seen one another in 28 Years; the Queen of *Parane* sent to the King of *Pahan* to desire leave for her Sister, his Spouse, to come to see her; which the King refusing, She laid an Imbargo upon all the Ships laden with Rice, and bound from *Siam*, *Campaia*, *Ligor*, and other Places to *Pahan*; and immediately sent a Fleet of 70 Ships, on board of which were 4000 Men, with strict Orders to bring along with them the Queen of *Pahan*, whether the King were willing or not; But it was not long before the King of *Pahan* with the Queen his Spouse, and two Young Children, being forced by Famine and a revolt among his Subjects to leave the Country, came to visit the Queen of *Parane*, where they met at first but with a cold Reception, not one of all the Queen's Court giving the King of *Pahan* as much as one Vilit, but caused all his Doggs to be kill'd, he being not able to keep them any longer. Some days after matters began however to look with a better Face; for the 1st of August the Queen of *Parane* invited the King of *Pahan* to a most sumptuous Feast, where she diverted him with several Indian Women Dancers. The King of *Pahan* returned not long after with his Queen, the Sister of the Queen of *Parane*, into his Country, but carried away with him no Presents to make him amends for the charge he had been at, having spent almost all he had. The King of *Pahan* who reigned in 1607, was then about 40 Years of Age, and his Son had Married the Daughter of the King of *Queda*.

The Kingdom of *Parane* or *Parany*, having deriv'd its Name from its Capital City, borders to the South upon *Pahan*, being situate upon the same Eastern Coast, to the North upon *Siam* and the Kingdom of *Ligor* or *Ligor*; these two Kingdoms being incorporated into

The Kingdom of *Parane*.

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one. The City of *Patane* is situate under 7 deg. 56 min. of Northern Latitude, not far from the Sea, and surrounded to the Land-side by Boggs. The Harbour is about half a League from the City, which is about half a League in length, and very narrow, Fortified with high wooden Pallisado's put close together, according to the custom of these Countries. The Houses are Artificially built of Wood and Canes, and very lightfome. The Suburbs are likewise much longer than broad, and are encompass'd on the back side by a pleasant Rivulet. The Royal Palace and Court, where most Persons of Quality live, are environ'd with Pallisado-work, in the nature of a *Palanck*; The Mahometan Church is a stately Edifice of Brick-work, gilt very richly within, and adorned with Pillars, curiously wrought with Figures. In the midst close to the Wall is the Pulpit, carv'd and gilt all over, unto which the Priests are only permitted to ascend by four large Steps. They have also several Temples Dedicated to their *Pagan* Idols, among which three excel the rest. When the *Dutch* in 1602, settled first here, they saw in one of those Temples belonging to the Subjects of the King of *Siam*, a gilt Statue resembling a Man, but of the bigness of a Horse, with one hand down and the other upwards. On each side stood a very large Dragon gilt, with two other Statues, to wit, A Man on the one, and a Woman on the other side, with their arms up to Heaven. The same they saw in the second, with this difference only, That one half of it was only gilt, the other painted red. In the third was set in the same posture, with a gilt streak cross the breast, and behind the Altar of the great Idol, another lesser Statue, resembling a Man, with a large horn in the forehead. This Idol their Priests say, represents the Great God.

Temperature of the

The Climate is temperate and wholesome here, notwithstanding the Sea near the Line. Their Season begins in February, and continues till the end of October, when the South Wind blows, which is the worst time to live in, by day from the Sea, and by night from the Land side. In November, December, and January is their Winter, when the Wind blows so violently from the North East, that there is no firing for about three months till February, when the Wind turning to the East, the Rains cease, and the fair Season returns. The Country of *Patane* is very Fruitful, abounding in Rice and many other Fruits, the chief of which are; The *Durians*, *Mangestans*, *Ananas*, *Lamcrats*, *Ramboutans*, *Pisangs*, *Pomeates*, *Oranges*, *Lemons*, and a peculiar of *Lemons*, call'd *Gibol Limons*, being trans-

planted hither from *China*. Each Month here produces its peculiar Fruits, tho' those of certain Months are preferable before the rest. The Grounds are Plowed with Bufflers or Oxen, which they sow with Rice. They also plant good store of Pepper, but cannot sell it so cheap here as in some other parts of the *East-Indies*. The Woods and Wildernesses are stock'd with wild Creatures, such as Hares, Rabbits (but not so big as ours) Staggs, wild Boars, Tygers, Bufflers, Elephants, Apes, Monkeys, Geese and Ducks, (which lay eggs twice every day) and Turtle-doves as finely coloured as the best Parrots. The wild Hogs do incredible mischief among the Rice, which obliges the Country men to watch in the Field in the Night time, when they shoot or otherwise kill them, they buy their Carcasses under Ground, the Mahometans (for such those of *Patane* and *Malaya* are) being forbid the use of Hogs flesh, neither will they permit any body else to eat it.

The Elephants as I am credibly inform'd, are catch'd in the following manner. They ride on the back of a tame large Elephant into the Woods, whom they let loose there; as soon as he meets with a wild Elephant he engages him, and whilst their snouts are entangled, some come from behind the wild Elephant and twist a Rope round his hind leggs, and so keeps him either to render him useful for the Wars, or else kill him for his Teeth sake, which are in great esteem in *China*.

How they catch the Elephants.

The Sea hereabouts produces great store of Craw fishes, Oysters and Tortoises, and the same Druggs, Metals, and Stones, that are found in the Kingdoms of *Paban* are likewise to be met here.

The Natives of *Patane* are of an A coloured Complexion and well shaped, very proud and conceited; they never appearing abroad, without a great train of Servants. They are however very affable and civil in conversation, as well among themselves as to Strangers; But they are no Soldiers, nor inclined to War-like exercises, Courage being none of their Talent, but taken with Pleasures than the use of Arms. Their Cloathing is none of the best. The Men are extremely addicted to Viceroy, which renders them jealous above measure, their Wives and Daughters being not permitted to see their hearts and their hands. They have a lascivious custom enacted into a Law, to check that enormous Vice of Sodomy, the Men are obliged to wear constantly two or three small Bells made of Gold, Silver or Lead, having the pence and the glans, or *phallus*, in the middle. Sodomy is a Capital Crime with them, especially among the great Officers and Nobles of the Kingdom;

The constitution of the Inhabitants.

and Travels to the EAST-INDIES.

66

Kingdom; The Father of the Person that has committed the Crime, or if he be not living, the next of Kin, is obliged to supply the place of Executioner; but the Mifcreant has the liberty to choofe what kind of death he pleafes. Notwithstanding this fevere Punifhment, Adultery is very frequent among them, by reafon of the extraordinary Lafci-vioufnefs of the Women, who are very de-firous, and love to wallow in Pleafures. For-nication betwixt two un-married Perfons, is not look'd upon fo much as a Trefpafs. No-thing is more common, than if any Foreign Merchants come to *Patane*, to ask them whe-ther they don't want fome Women for their con-veniency; and there is no want of young hand-fome Women who offer their fervice, out of whom each may take his choice, and agree with her as he beft can, as to what he is to allow her *per Month*; which done, fhe im-mediately repairs to his Lodgings, where in the day time fhe ferves for a Chamber-maid, and in the night for a Bed-fellow; and du-ring this agreement, the Man muft be as careful to avoid the Commerce of other Wo-men, as fhe is on her fide, unlefs he will ex-pofe himfelf to manifelt danger. At parting

the Man pays her Her wages, and fo they are both free; and if he has a mind to change, he need not look far for one, it being a cu-ftom among the Nobles here, to entertain many Female Slaves, whom they lett out for fuch a Ufe, and gain great profit by them. For the reft the Natives are naturally Lazy and Idle, living for the moft part upon fifh-ing, and fome handy-craft Trades; the beft is, that they can be contented with a little, drink fcarce any thing but Water, and have a natural averfion to ftrong Liquors. Almost all the Traffick and other bufinefs, is in the hands of the *Chinefes*, who either themfelves or their Factors, continually Trade betwixt this and the Circumjacent Countries, fuch as *Siam*, *Ligor*, *Kamboja*, *Kouchinchina*, *Makaf-far*, *Paban*, *Jambi*, *Johor*, *Bantan* and other both Inland and Maritime places, whither they tranfport all forts of *Chinefe* Commodi-ties from *Patane*, as Porcelain Potts, Pans, Kettles, and Iron-work of all forts. The chief Riches of the Natives confift in their Lands and Slaves, who live upon a fmall al-lowance of Rice and Fifh; but the Foreign Merchants tranfport thither abundance of Rich Merchandises.



*Their Traf-
fic.* From *Bengale* and *Malacca* they fent Cloths to *Patane*; from *Java* Sandel-wood; from *Bor-neo* Camphire, Slaves, Wax and Bezoar-ftones;

from *Siam* the Inhabitants of *Patane* are fur-nifhed with Gold, Rice, Salt and Lead; from *Siam* and *Cambaja* with Slaves, Cot-ton.

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ton, *Kalamback*, and the finest Aloes-wood; from *China* with White and Yellow Silk, Gauſes, Damasks, Sattins, Porcelain, Iron and Copper; from *Japan* with Scymeters, Copper, and ſuch like Commodities. Many things are alſo transported hither that are bought up in other places by Foreigners; as from *Ambeyna* and *Banda*, Nutmegs, Mace and Cloves; from *Timor* Sandel-wood; from *Jamby* and *Andragan*, Pepper; which they fetch likewiſe from *Champor*, *Lihor*, *Paban*, *Moristion* and *Ligor*: *Pegu* ſupplies *Patane* with abundance of Precious Stones; there are alſo many things Exported from thence by the Foreign Merchants; Thoſe of *Lahor* and *Paban* provide themſelves here with Rice, Salt, Oxen, Fowls and other catables; thoſe of *Malacca* transport the Bezoar Stones; Thoſe of *Borneo*, Iron, Steel and Copper; the *Siamſes* all ſorts of Cloathings and Pepper; The *Chineſes* Pepper, Camphire, White and Yellow Sandel-wood, Skins, Ivory, Buffers Horns, and ſuch like; The *Japonſes*, Staggs ſkins, Tin, Lead and Silk.

The Country of *Patane* is much more Powerful in Shipping than *Johor*, *Paban*, or any of the Circumjacent Kingdoms: They are Governed by a King, who, as well as the King of *Malaya* is tributary to the King of *Siam*; their uſual Yearly tribute conſiſting of a Piece wrought with Gold, ſome fine Cloaths, Vols and Scarlets; the King's Chief Counſellours are call'd *Mentary*.

This Kingdom was in 1602 under the Government of a Queen, after the deceaſe of her Huſband, ſhe being then but 15 Years of Age. Her Name was *Pratie*, ſhe uſed to keep conſtantly within the Court among her Ladies of Honour, of whom ſhe had a great number; She did not allow them to Marry, but connived at their amorous intreagues. Wherever ſhe went abroad to take the Air, (which indeed happened but very ſeldom,) ſhe was mounted on a very fine Elephant, and attended by 2000 Nobles and great Officers, all clad in her deceaſed Royal Spouſe's Liveries, with his Coat of Arms upon them. Before they returned, ſhe gave them always a ſplendid Entertainment, and ſo came with the ſame Cavalcade back to her Court. The Country of *Patane* is ſo Populous, as to be able to bring 180000 armed Men into the Field; the City and Suburbs of *Patane* alone being able to furniſh 10000 Men.

Divers Languages are in vogue; viz. the *Malayan*, *Siamſe*, *Paraneſe* and the *Chineſe*; but the firſt is moſt uſed here, as well as in moſt other Parts of the *Iſles*. The King of *Patane* Married his Daughter to the eldeſt Son of the King of *Johor*, (he having fix in all) who with his youngſt Brother lived at the Court of *Patane*; but the Youngſt being

engaged in an illegal Commerce with his Brothers Spouſe, he kill'd them both according to the cuſtom of the Country which Punithes Adultery with Death; notwithſtanding which, the King of *Patane* to revenge his Daughters death, cauſed his Son-in-Law, the eldeſt Son of the King of *Johor* to be ſlain; *John de Paratuan*, and *Regia Sabrang*, two Brothers and both Kings of *Johor*, being not without reaſon, highly exaſperated at this proceeding, ſent one *Nagat Mangfor Hoch*, their Ambaſſador, along with Admiral *Jacob Heemſkerk* to ſolicit a Powerful aid from the States General againſt the King of *Patane*, but the Ambaſſador dying at Sea, put a ſtop to that deſign.

Having diſpatch'd my buſineſs here, we ſet ſail the next day to a certain Iſland call'd *Ding Ding*, abounding in Fuel and moſt excellent Freſh Water. It lies about 30 Leagues to the North of *Malacca*, being covered all over with very tall Trees, which grow on the Hills. We arrived here the 10th of January 1661, and immediately after our Landing, ſet to the cutting down of Trees; among the reſt we endeavour'd to pick out a certain kind of Trees, the Wood of which is a pale red, but to our great amazement, could meet with none, till at laſt we diſcovered our error, to wit, That the Pith only was red, but all the other wood round about it of a different colour. This Wood is much valued by the *Indians* for its beauty, of which they make many curious Pieces. The Freſh Water which runs down from the Rocks, claims the preference before any in the *Indies*; and this Iſle has likewiſe the conveniency of a good Bay, where Ships may ride ſafely at Anchor. On the Eaſt ſide, it has another Bay, call'd *Cox Bay*, where we uſed ſometimes to catch as much Fiſh at a draught, as our Chaloup was able to carry.

It is deſtitute of Inhabitants, and all ſorts of wild Creatures, except wild Boars, which ſwim over thither from the Continent to feed upon a certain Root that grows there, nevertheleſs it abounds in Water-Fowls, more than any other place of the *Indies*: Here is a certain kind of Birds call'd by the *Dutch* *Shuies Birds*, being of the bignels of a *Stork*, the head being without Feathers. Here are alſo great quantities of Tortoiſes and Otters, the laſt of which are often ſeen faſt'd to the branches of Trees, which hang ſometimes above, ſometimes under water.

The clearneſs of the Water having invited us to take a turn at Swimming, I found ſomething ſticking to one of my Legs, which when I look'd upon, I found to be a Sea-apple, and ſtruck it off; but ſome time remaining in the Fleſh occaſion'd a ſmall inflammation and Pain, which was

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The Iſle of Ding, Ding.

Is deſtitute of Inhabitants.

1662.

taken out.

They leave it.

Apofonous

After we had provided our selves with what this Place could afford us, we set Sail again the 14th of January; As we were Sailing the same day along the Coast of Sumatra our Trumpeter catch'd a Stone-bream of about three Feet long, which appearing very fine to the Eye, we ordered the Cook to dress it for the Table of the Cabin. We were all so greedy, that when it was brought in, we ask'd the Cook whether he was sure he had kept none behind, which he took for ill, that he answered us, whether we look'd upon him as a Thief? But it was not long after Dinner, before all those that had Dined in the Cabin, were seized with such a Giddiness in their Heads, that they were not able to sit upright; I was the first who cry'd out, we have certainly eat a *Poyfonous Fish*; but our Surgeon having no proper Remedies aboard, we sent our Chaloup to the Ship the *Leerdam*, from whence being furnished with Vomits, we were by the frequent use of them, after a Sickness of 14 Days restored to our former Health. During our Sickness our best Diversion was, that being inform'd, now the Cook was as Sick as any of us, we were convinced that notwithstanding his great pretence of Honesty, our Suspicion was not ill founded, which verified our old Proverb, *at the Cook is commonly the last who Dies want of Viſtuals*. Two Cats that had ten the Bones of this Fish, dyed soon after, o' some Tobacco-water had been given them, to occasion a Vomiting; but none of us died, some few however were troubled with a lingering Disſtemper afterwards.

It is not eafie to imagine what could be the reason of this Disaster, the Sea-bream being otherwise a Fish both Toothſome and Wholeſome, unleſs we ſuppoſed this Bream to have fed upon ſome Poyſonous Fiſh, ſuch as thoſe call'd by the Dutch *Seaquallan*, which are very Poyſonous in thoſe hot Countries; for if they touch but your Fleſh, they cauſe an immediate Inflammation; their Fleſh is as ſoft as a Gelly; they are of the bigneſs of a Trencher, or ſomewhat leſſer; have Red and Purple Spots on their Backs, and eight Teats below on their Bellies, at certain Seaſons of the Year, the Seas about *Toutekoriin* and near other Places on the Coast of *Malabar*, are ſo full of them, that they are ſaid to deſiſt from Fiſhing. But before we proceed farther in our Voyage, it will be requiſite to give you a ſhort Account of the Iſle of *Sumatra*.

The large and moſt potent Iſland of *Sumatra* is by ſome Authors call'd *Samatra*, *Samarra* and *Zamatra*. Its Situation is to the South, Weſt juſt oppoſite to *Malacca* about

eight Leagues from the Continent, the great Iſle of *Java*, lying to the South of it. Its Extent is from the 5th degrees of Northern Latitude, near the Gulph of *Bengala*, to the South South Eaſt, to the 7th degree of Southern Latitude, as far as the Streights of *Sunda*, beyond the Coast of *Malacca*; comprehending a vaſt tract of Ground of 12 degrees from the South to the North, amounting to 130 Leagues. Its whole length is 195 Leagues, its breadth 50, and the whole Circumference 360.

This Iſle was formerly divided by ſome into four, by others into 10 Kingdoms, among which *Pedir*, *Pazem*, *Achem*, *Kampar*, *Menangkabo*, *Zunda*, *Andragide* and *Auru* were the chiefſt. Some there are who mention no leſs than 30 petty Kingdoms, viz. *Daya*, *Is divided* *Lambry*, *Achem* or *Achen* or *Achin*, *Biarr*, *Pedir*, *Lide*, *Pirada*, *Pacem*, *Bara*, *Daru*, *Arkat*, *Irkan*, *Rupat*, *Pury*, *Gaka*, *Kamper*, *Kapokan*, *Andragery* or *Andragide*, *Jamby*, *Palimbang*, *Tanna*, *Malayo*, *Sakampun*, *Tulumbavan*, *Andaloz*, *Piriaman* or *Prijaman*, *Tike*, or *Tikouw*, *Barros*, *Quinchel*, and *Mankapa*, all which have borrowed their Names from their reſpective Capital Cities; and in ancient Times were Govern'd by their own Kings. But in proceſs of time, many of theſe were ſwallowed up in the Kingdom of *Achib*, the moſt potent in this Iſland, having under its Jurisdiction the Kingdoms and Cities of *Pedir*, *Pazem*, *Daya*, *Barros*, *Pastaman*, *Prijaman* and *Padang*, and conſequently the greateſt part of the Iſle of *Sumatra*, beſides the Kingdoms of *Qreda* and *Pera* on the Continent. All the other Kingdoms and Cities of *Sumatra* were Conquered by Foreign Princes. This the Southern Parts of *Sumatra*, viz. *Sillabar*, *Dampin*, *Liampon*, *Palimbang*, *Jamby* and ſome others acknowledge the King of *Bantam* their Sovereign; or elſe the *Mataram* of *Java* for their Protector. Some will have the Iſle of *Sumatra*, to be the ſame, the Antients call'd *Taprobang*, tho' in my Opinion that Name belongs more properly to the Iſle of *Ceylon*.

Not many Years ago, one of the chiefſt Cities of *Sumatra*, was *Palimbang* or *Palem-bang*, Situated near the Weſtern Coast of *Sumatra*, which on 24 November 1659. was laid in Aſhes by the Dutch Admiral and General *John van der Laen*, becauſe the Inhabitants had about two Years before ſurprized by Treachery two of their Yachts call'd the *Zakarra* and the *Watchman*, and miſerably Murthered the whole Ships Crew; and in the next following Year had cut to Pieces two other Dutch-men, that were ſent aboard, from aboard the Veſſels the *Nicepoort* and the *Leerdam* (laſely come from the *Texel*) to ſerve as Interpreters, their Heads being

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is of poison

The Inhabitants of Palimbang Mur-dered some Dutch.

1662.

A Fleet of Dutch Ships sent to Palimbang.

They Arrived before the River of Palimbang.

Come with in fight of the City.

by special Order from the *Oranghe's* put upon Lances, and exposed to the View of their Comrades that were in the Boats.

To revenge so barbarous a Murther, a Fleet of eleven Ships set Sail from *Batavia* the 19 of *October* 1659. under Command of *John vander Laen* Admiral, and *John Truytsman* Vice Admiral, viz. The *Orange* Admiral, the *Postilion*, the *Molucca*, the Arms of *Batavia*, and the *Charles*; three Galleots, to wit, the *Apple-tree*, the *Hour-glass* and *Hammehiel*; and the Chaloops, the *Crab*, the *Trunk*, and the *Flying Dear*, Mann'd with 600 Sea-Men and 700 Land-Souldiers. The 30th they arrived, without any remarkable accident in their Passage before the River of *Palimbang*, where they met with the Yachts, the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk*, and the *Cat*, and with the Chaloops, the *Cony*, and the *Koc-long*, that were Cruising thereabouts. The same day they got sight of a *Chinese* Vessel taking its Course towards *Jamby*, which they detained till they had enter'd the River, and on the 3d *November* sent her in Company of the Chaloop, the *Trunk*, to *Jamby*. They entred the River in the following Order. First the Arms of *Batavia*, next the *Postilion*, then the Yacht, the *Bloemendahl* aboard of which was the Admiral, having left the *Orange* at the Entrance of the River; The Yacht the *Koukerk* Vice Admiral, the Yacht the *Cat*, the large Chaloop the *Crab*; after these came the three Galleots, the *Hour-glass*, the *Apple-tree*, and *Hammehiel*; the Ships, the *Charles* and the *Molucca*, brought up the Rear; The other Chaloops were ordered to attack the Admiral Ship. The 3 and 4 *November* was spent by the Dutch to enter the River, the 9th in the Night-time they were unexpectedly attack'd by some of the Inhabitants of *Palimbang*, in which engagement we had four or five wounded; the Commanders not being time enough upon their Guard. The 10th they were advanc'd betwixt the Isle of *Cambira* and the opposite Shoar, within sight of the City of *Palimbang*, where they discovered three of the Enemies Forts; the first call'd *Bamaganan*, Situate on the Western Point of the River of the Isle of *Cambira*, the other two upon its East Point, opposite to the other; they were call'd *Mathapoura* and *Menapoura*. At our first appearance, the Enemy kept close within their Works, which gave us the more encouragement to penetrate higher up the River with our Ships. But several large Floats, upon which Houses till'd with combustible Matter were built, being laid in the Stream, Captain *Julian Paulson* was ordered with some Boats and the Yacht, the *Hour-glass*, to take a view of them, to cut their Cables, and set them on Fire, which

being put in Execution accordingly, the whole Fleet advanced forward in order to attack the Fort of *Bamaganan*. But as soon as we came within Cannon Shot of the Fort, the Enemy gave us a very warm Salute out of his Great Cannon, from the Forts both on the East and Western Point, tho' without any considerable loss on our side, which gave us sufficient encouragement to fire most furiously upon the first Fort, with such Success, that we set their Magazine of Powder on Fire, which blew up with it the greatest part of the Fort, and all the Circumjacent Houses; Hereupon the Yachts the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk* and the *Cat*, were ordered to Anchor within Pistol Shot from the Shoar, from whence we so grievously gall'd the Enemy, both with our great and small Shot, that at last we Landed and made our selves Masters of the Fort, where we found 22 Iron and Brass Cannon, which we immediately turn'd against the Enemy, to the Land Side, and continued in Arms all the Night long, which proved no unnecessary precaution, for the Enemy attack'd us most furiously not long after, in hopes of regaining the place, but were repul'd most courageously, with the loss of only one Man on our side.

Then the Enemy sent four or five very large Fire Engines being Floats of Timber with Wood on Houses fill'd with combustible Matter on the top of them, which took up almost the whole breadth of the River; The Yachts, the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk* and the *Cat* had much ado to escape their Fury, being forc'd to cut their Cables; But the *Molucca* Yacht had her Fore-castle set on Fire, and was with much ado saved by the help of many Boats that were sent to her Assistance, without receiving any considerable Damage; so that these Fire Engines were forced down the River by the Current and soon after vanish'd into Smoak. At the taking of the Fort 30 *Javanese* were kill'd, and among them the old *Quevy*, *Tommagen*, *Nadapen Radja*, with his two Sons, who were buried the next day.

The 11th early in the Morning we likewise attack'd and took the Fort *Mathapoura*, where we found only four Pieces of Cannon, the Enemy having thrown four more into the River, which we brought out from thence afterwards; the remaining part of the day was spent in shipping in what Artillery and Ammunition we had got; eight Companies of Soldiers were likewise Landed the same Afternoon in the Isle of *Cambira*, to attack the Fort there, but to their great surpris found this strong Hold left by their Countrymenly wretches; we found here several pieces of Cannon, some of which they had

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Fire Engines.

The Fort Bamaganan Attack'd.

Fire Engines of the Enemy.

The Fort Mathapoura.

The Fort of Cambira.

likewise thrown into the Mudd, but were recovered by our People and carried aboard our Vessels, with a small quantity of Ammunition: Whilst these things were transacting in sight of the Garrison of *Palimbang*, they had found means to set fire to the Yacht the *Watchman*, which they burn'd; and in the Evening those that had deserted the Fort, under favour of a violent Rain, did three several times attempt the Recovering of it, in which Engagement we had two kill'd and six wounded, and were forced to stand to our Arms all the rest of the Night. The 12th and 13th were spent in Embarking all the Cannon and Ammunition we had got in the three beforementioned Forts, which done, it was resolved in a Council of War, forthwith to attack the *Chinese* Quarter, and so to make our selves Masters of the City, before the Enemies could recover themselves from the fright they were put in by the loss of their Forts: As we were passing by the City, we received the same Salute we had before from the Forts, but without any remarkable harm, or the loss of one of our Vessels.

The Fortification of *Palimbang*.

The City of *Palimbang* was fortify'd with vast Trunks of Trees put close together, upon which were planted a vast number of great Cannon, so that it seem'd impossible to be taken by so small a number, being besides this invironed with a deep and mirie Ditch. We were hard put to it, how to find a safe Landing place, till at last our Admiral having esp'y'd at the uttermost point of the Fortification, a small Rivulet, which led up to a place where we perceived very little or none of the Enemy's Fire; we landed thereabouts with all our Forces, and advancing boldly to the very Gun-holes of the Enemy; they threw their *Granado's* thro' them into the City, which setting the adjacent Houses on Fire, the Enemy were so terrified thereat, that they quitted their Post, and thereby gave opportunity to the Admiral *vander Laen*, to Mr. *Truysman*, and Captain *Harman* to break thro' the Fortifications into the City by three several ways. Here

Attack'd by the Dutch,

they met with a brave opposition from the Inhabitants, who, according to the custom of these Nations, under the sound of their *At-mock*, fell courageously upon these three Bodies, of whom they kill'd 18, among which were a Lieutenant, an Ensign and a Sergeant, but not without a much greater loss on their side; The violent Rains obliged the Dutch Admiral to reconduct his Men on board the Vessels that Night, but the next Morning they landed again, and entered the City in the same place, where a doubtful Engagement ensu'd, till the Inhabitants being at last forced to give way, were beat out of the place, and retir'd into the open Country. The first

and Taken.

thing that was Sacrificed to the fury of the Flames, was, the Royal Palace, after it had been dispoiled of all its Riches, and a vast Train of Artillery, which the King and his cowardly Subjects left a Pray to the Dutch, after they had for some time defended themselves, and fought hand to hand against them; but the Admiral *vander Laen* having laid two of their Chief or *Quey Nabey's* dead at his feet, the rest were so terrified thereat, that they sought for their safety in their heels. It is worth taking notice of, That these *Indians* seem'd to have paid a peculiar Reverence to their great Cannon, which we found covered with Scarlet Cloth lined with Ram-boutins, and so perfumed with Incense, that the smell thereof stuck a great while after to our fingers. All the Artillery and Cannon being taken out of the City and from the Ramparts, the Admiral ordered likewise the Fortifications and adjacent Houses to be laid in Ashes; we found 15 of 21 of our People that were Prisoners among them, in the Prison, on both sides of the Royal Palace, miserably Murdered and Mangled by these barbarous wretches, among which was *Jacob de Groot*; one Dutch Boy only, who was not put in Irons, had the good fortune to escape their hands by a timely flight, the remaining six they had carried along with them: To revenge as much as possible this barbarity, all that remained of the City, was after the Cannon and all the other Booty we got were carried aboard our Vessels, set on fire and destroyed, the sixteenth of the same Month.

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Fifteen Dutchmen found Murdered.

About the same time, the Enemy sent one of his before-mention'd fire Engines, of a vast bigness, down the River; it consisted of 20 wooden Houses crested upon Floats of Timber, which almost extended from one side to the other. But no sooner had the Dutch got sight of this Engine, but they sent out their Long-boats well man'd, who took care to protect our Ships against it, and after it was passed by them, set it on fire in sight of the Enemy, which consumed both the Engines, and a good number of Houses standing on the banks of the River. The 17th and 18th our People were still busie in Embarking the Booty, Artillery and Cannon, and a day of Thanksgiving was appointed to be kept throughout the whole Fleet for this Victory against the 23d. In the mean while we advanced higher up the River, to try whether we could meet with some Vessels or Plantations that way, but saw nothing of any Moment. Mr. *Joan vander Laen*, and *John Truysman* also wrote a Letter to the *Pangerang* or Governour of *Palimbang*, which was dispatch'd thither the 20th by a *Chinese* Prisoner and an old Woman.

John

John vander Laen General, and Captain John Truysman, Commanders in Chief of the Dutch Forces now in the River and the Country of Palimbang, send this Letter to the Pangerang and all the Chief Councillours of the Country of Palimbang.

A Letter sent to the Pangerang.

Notwithstanding our last Success, we could not but put your Highness in mind of the most abominable Murther committed by your Subjects upon so many Innocent Persons in the Service of the Dutch East-India Company; which barbarous act, tho' it was highly resented by the Governour General and Council of the Indies residing at Batavia; yet, to shew their Inclinations to continue in peace with your highness, did at that time for the preventing the effusion of Human Blood, require, and actually demand, a reasonable satisfaction for these unheard-of barbarities: To accomplish which, they caused certain propositions to be made by John Truysman to your Highness, with strict Orders to insinuate to your Highness all such reasons as might conduce towards the accomplishment of that end, which we don't question would have been sufficiently convincing to your Highness, had not your evil Councillours misguided you and thwarted your good intentions. But seeing you slighted these conditions, and were very backward in giving due satisfaction, the great God of Heaven and Earth being highly displeased, at your Conduct, did so direct the Heart of the before mentioned Lord Governour and his Council, as to have recourse to Arms, being the only remedy left them, ordained by God Almighty to protect the just cause of their Subjects. The Great God of Heaven having been pleased to bless their undertaking, for the due Punishment of your malicious Subjects, they are however willing to let your Highness know, That the Hostilities committed against you and your Subjects, were undertaken with no other intention, than to revenge the Innocent blood of their Subjects, and to procure an honourable and reasonable Peace; The said Governour and his Council, being always more inclined to Peace than War, if your Highness is of the same sentiment; We expect to hear from you either by your Letter in Answer to this, or by your Deputies, it being our resolution to tarry for that purpose in your Highness's Territories, and these Presents shall be a sufficient Passport to those, whom your Highness shall be pleased to send to treat with us. Given aboard the Bloemendaal the 20th of November 1659.

Signed,

John vander Laen.

John Truysman.

The Dutch
fleet goes
higher up
the River.

The 25th our Ships went further up the River, and got sometimes sight of three or four Lighters, which served for Ferry-Boats;

and some few Houses built upon Floats of Timber; the Lighters could not be taken, because they came not within reach of our shot, and afterwards sheltered themselves in the small Rivulets among the Weeds: The Houses were let on fire and so returned the 26th, before the Fort where we lay at Anchor till next day. In the mean time Peter de Goyer Director of the Dutch Factory of Jamby, sent the 11th of November from thence by the Chalooop the Tronk 75 Capons, 100 Pullets; and 5 Goats, for the Use of Mr. John vander Laen and the other Commanders; this being all he was able to get, all catables being extremely scarce thereabouts at that time, because the Pangerang of Adregor, and the Young King of Johor, had lately tarried three Months, with an attendance of 2000 Persons in these Parts; and not long ago, abundance of Cattle and Fowls had been kill'd for the Wedding Feast of his Highness's Daughter, who was Married to the Young Patuan. The Admiral and Captain Truysman received not long after an Answer from the Pangerang of Jamby, to their Letter, dated the 20th of November, which being inclosed in another from Mr. Peter Goyer, dated the 26th, was Translated out of the Malayean and runs thus.

This Letter is sent from a sincere Heart, by the Pangerang of Jamby to the Commanders in Chief, John vander Laen and Daman Sittia Bauwa, (meaning Captain Truysman) Men famous for their Prudence and Courage.

The Pangerang having understood that Mr. John Maetzuicker Governour General of the Dutch East-Indies, has sent 18 Ships against those of Palimbang, has thought fit to declare, that his sentiments agree with the Governours; and that he is ready to approve all without the least contradiction, what shall be undertaken by the said Mr. John Maetzuicker, assuring Mr. John vander Laen and Daman Sittia Bauwa that he will stand firm to this as well as to the other Promises made by him the Pangerang before. Pursuant to this resolution, the Pangerang did upon the receipt of the Letter, send Zitta Antacca with some Troops to make War upon those of Palimbang. The Pangerang also forwarns and Commands John vander Laen, and Daman Sittia Bauwa to be upon their guard, because those of Palimbang are near at hand; This being all the Pangerang commands at this time, so John vander Laen and Daman Sittia Bauwa.

The 27th, all the Houses that were yet standing near the Fort of Manapoura were together with the Fort it self, set on fire by special order from the Admiral, and the same day we lifted a great piece of Ordnance out of the Marthes in the Isle of Cambara. And being sensible that either out of an obstinate

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The Dutch
leave the
River.

temper or out of despair the *Pangerang* of *Palimbang* would scarce send any Deputies or Answer to ours of the 20th; we resolv'd to leave that River, and accordingly with the next Tide set sail and return'd thro' the branch of the River call'd *Banjarmassum* in order to burn all the Houses and Plantations we should meet with; but having spent 5 days, viz. to the 2d of December in coming down the said River; we met at its entrance with the Ship the *Orange*, which joining with the rest, we continued our Voyage the 4th and arriv'd with the whole Fleet and our Forces the 9th in the Afternoon, in the Road of *Batavia*. Our Booty consisted chiefly in 75 pieces of great, and 142 lesser Cannon, some of which were of Iron. We found no Pepper here, but great store of Rice and *Padie*, all which was consumed by the fury of the Flames, as likewise a vast number of small Vessels, among which were the King's Pleasure Boats, of which there was a vast number; some few were carried away by our People, to be kept in remembrance of this Action.

Arrive at
Batavia.

The King-
dom of A-
chin.

The Kingdom of *Achin* is situate in the most Northern part of the Isle of *Sumatra*. Its Capital City bears the same Name, being situated in a Plain upon a Pleasant Rivulet, about half a League distant from the Sea-shoar. The Royal Palace, which lies in the very Center of the City, is very large, of an Oval Figure, surrounded with a Ditch, and in some places defended by very large Pieces of Ordnance; The Ditch is guarded by Pallisadoes, in which are seven Gates. On the left side of the River is a Fort to defend its Entrance, and several other Redoubts are erected in the Marshes, round about the City of *Achin*, for its defence. The Air seems to be much more wholesome here than in the Southern parts of the Isle: The Houses which are covered with Reeds are built upon Posts, so that you must enter them by several steps; the reason of which is, that at certain Seasons the Waters rise to such a height, that the whole City is overtorn by it. The chiefest Riches of the King of *Achin* consist in Gold, Jewels, and Elephants; He entertains a great number of Concubines which serve both for his Bed and his Guards in the Antichambers; besides which, he maintains a good number of Eunuchs, who attend his Person. Four *Salandars* or Nobles have the chief management of the Government under the King. This Kingdom was in 1663 Governed by a Queen, who, as it was reported, had an inclination to be Married to a *Hollander*, but the Council of *Batavia*, for weighty Reasons would not consent to the Match. The Inhabitants of *Achin* were always renowned for their Courage and Con-

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duct beyond all other Neighbouring Nations, and have not only extended their Conquests over the Circumjacent Countries of *Sumatra*, but also made themselves Masters of the Kingdoms of *Quecla* and *Pera* on the Continent of *Malacca*; nay, they frequently have besieged the *Portugueses* in the City of *Malacca*, they having always been declared Enemies of that Nation.

On the Western Coast, not above 4 Sillebar Leagues to the South of the Line, is within a Bay upon a very large River, a certain Place call'd *Sillebar*, being surrounded with craggy Mountains and vast Woods; tho' the Country thereabouts is very fertile in Pepper; it belongs to the King of *Bantam*. On the same Western Coast is a very large Bay, the shoar of which is all over Woody, as the Bay of *Sillebar* is surrounded with Mountains; tho' the shoar its self is very green and Pleasant. Immediately after, you come to the Bay, you discover a small Point of Land, behind which, lies the Town of *Sillebar*.

A few Leagues to the South of the Line, *Tikouw*, is likewise the City of *Tikouw*, a Place very slightly built, and some Leagues from thence to the North, is the Town of *Passaman*, at the Passamar foot of a high Mountain.

Barros is also situate on the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, about a League from the Sea-shoar, upon a considerable River, betwixt *Passaman* and *Achin*. The Country hereabouts produces Pepper, Camphire and Benzoin. Hereabouts are likewise *Sinkel*, *Labo*, and *Daya*.

Pedir lies ten Leagues to the East of *Achin*, *Pedir*, with a high Mountain betwixt both; the Country, which was formerly a Kingdom, is indifferently fruitful of Rice and other Fruits. Further to the East on the inward Coast of *Sumatra*, are *Pacem*, *Dely*, *Aru*, *Kempas*, *Andripoures*, *Jambly*, and *Palimbang*. *Andripoures* is situate under 3 deg. 30 min.

Padang lies on a very pleasant River, whether a considerable number of Indian Vessels resort. The Dutch divide the Coast of *Sumatra* into the outward and inward Coast. The inward Coast is by the *Javanese* call'd the Western Coast; as the outward Coast is the Northern Coast, where is the Kingdom of *Achin*.

The Climate of *Sumatra*, is, by reason of its situation under the Line, extremely unwholesom, especially for Strangers, and in the Rainy Season, when scarce a day passes but they are afflicted with sudden Showers, Storms, Thunder and Lightnings, which soon after end in a Calm. Besides that the heat of the Sun beams draws up the mauléous vapours of the standing Waters, which infect the Air, and produce Malignant Fe-

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Unwholesomness of the Climate of Sumatra.

vers, and other lingring distempers. This is most visible on the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, and especially in *Tikou* and *Pryaman*, where the Air is equally obnoxious to the Inhabitants and Foreigners, which makes the *Dutch* Inhabiting there, look bloated and very pale. In the *Devil's Isle* and near the River *Indapura* the Air is so Poisonous, that it kills Men and Beast as soon as they set foot on shoar; and if they happen to escape by returning immediately, they certainly die soon after.

The Nature of the Isle.

The Isle of *Sumatra* is full of Pleasant Woods, craggy high Mountains, agreeable Valleys, fruitful Plains, very fine Rivers and large Bays affording great store of Fish; besides that the Marshes and Pools are stock'd with young Oak-trees, the Bark whereof gives the Waters a red Tincture. The chief Rivers here are, the *Achin*, *Andrejiri*, *Jambly*, *Palimbang*, *Manancabo*, *Banjarmassum*, *Sillebar*, *Indapura*, and *Pryaman*, all which have derived their Names from their respective adjacent Cities, or these from them. The Waters of the River *Indapura* are red for two Leagues at Sea, which proceeds from the great quantity of young Oak-trees growing in the Marshes, the bark of which imparts a red dye to the River, for which reason also the Water is ~~very~~ unwholsome to drink.

Its Soil.

The Soil produces Rice in abundance, and all other sorts of *Indian* fruits, such as *Bananas*, Potatoes, Coco-Nutts, Oranges, Limons, Tamarinds, Sugar, Honey, Ginger, but especially Pepper, of which a great quantity is transported from thence into Foreign Countries. Some Years ago many Plantations of Pepper were destroyed by the Soldiers upon the outward Coast of *Sumatra*, which were since replanted, yet in many places Cotton-trees have been planted in their stead. The same Coast also produces Camphire, the most durable of all others, which differs from the *Japonefe* Camphire in this particular quality, that whereas in this, the scent is in the Wood; the Camphire of *Sumatra* contains it in its own substance, without imparting the least share thereof to the Wood. This Island affords likewise white Benzoin, *Kalamback* or Aloes-wood, Eagleswood, and Sandels-wood. The Forests here feed divers kinds of wild Beasts; viz. Elephants, Bufflers, Tygers, Staggs, Rhinoceros's, wild Boars, Apes, Monkeys and Serpents; the Rivers, Lakes, and Ports abundance of Fishes; in some you meet with Crocodiles. The Woods are full of wild Fowl of all sorts, and the Country abounds in tame Fowl. They have Batts here of an exceeding bigness. It is very remarkable, that the Island of *Sumatra* is the only one throughout the *East-Indies*, that has Bears.

The Mountains here afford Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron and Brimstone. The outward Coast of *Sumatra* especially, has very Rich Gold Mines, but they are neglected for the most part. However the Queen of *Achin* drew 1000 Pounds weight out of one Mine, and the *Dutch East-India Company* 300 in the Year 1665: They also produce Smaragds, Hyacinths and other Precious Stones. On the top of the fiery Mountain *Balabam*, is a certain Spring of Sulphurous liquor like Oyl; and the like is seen in several other parts of this Island, to sweat out of the Earth or Rocks, not unlike a *pervuleum*: The *Indians* call this Liquor *Minjah Tinnah*, i. e. Earth Oyl. This is in such esteem among the Inhabitants, that the King of *Achin* has prohibited the Exportation thereof under pain of death, so that what is carried away by the *English* or *Dutch*, is brought on board by stealth. It has a very strong scent, but not nauseous; its virtue is extraordinary in curing Lameness, call'd by the *Indians* *Beribery*, if the affected parts be only bathed or anointed with it. This Island has a certain kind of Reed, which grow near 300 Fathom high, and twits its self, round the Trees. They make Hops of it.

Earth Oil

The most general Language here is the *Malayan*, tho they use likewise several others; They maintain certain Schools for the Young People, to be instructed in Reading and Writing. The Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are large of Stature, black and brown of Complexion like the *Javanefes*. The Women are well shaped, and of a fairish Complexion, with very white Teeth, they make no account of Chastity, nor look upon it as a disgrace to expose themselves for Money. For the rest this Nation is extravagantly proud and ill-natured, which sets to high a value upon it self, as to despise all Foreigners; they are very treacherous, and make very little account of their Faith, if they find it consistent with their Interest. Every body here is like all the Mahometans, does Marry as many Wives as he is able to keep; one however has the precedence before all the rest: Women of any Quality are seldom seen to walk along the streets. In the inland Country lives still the remainders of the ancient Men-eaters, call'd *Bataches* or *Bataas*, who not only devour strangers, but likewise kill their own Fathers and Brothers, if grown very decrepit, and eat them.

Both Rich and Poor, are continually chewing the leaves of *Berbermix* with Time and *Arcka* or *Fausel*. Their Bread is made of Rice, of which they make also a dainty Papp, and Cakes, and eat them with Oyl. They feed likewise upon Fish, Flesh and Herbs. Their ordinary drink is Water; be-

ides

1662. fides which, they use *Arack* destill'd of Rice and Coco-Nuts, and Palm wine. The Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are very moderate in their Diet, like all the rest of the *Indians*.

Their
Cloathing.

Most of the Inhabitants, especially the poorer sort, go Naked to the middle, where they have only a piece of stuff wrapt about them to cover their Privities; both Sexes go without shoes or stockings. The Richer sort wear a kind of Coat of Silk or Callico, after the Mahometan Fashion; a Linnen Cloth wrap'd about their heads two or three times, serves them for a Cap.

The
Sub-
jection
of
the
Kings.

They pay a more than slavish submission and Obedience to their Kings, not so much out of inclination as fear; their Princes or Governours are stiled *Pangerang*.

Their
Pun-
ishments.

They punish the least Trespass with great severity, by cutting off their Hands and Feet. Capital Crimes are punish'd after the most dreadful manner that can be invented. In former Ages, the Kings used to surrender the miscreant to the Men-caters, who after they had chop'd of their Hands, Arms and Leggs, threw Pepper upon the Trunk of the Body and devoured it.

Their
Reli-
gion.

Most of the Inhabitants living near the Sea-Coast are Mahometans now, whereas formerly, both those Inhabiting the Sea-shore and the Inland Country were Pagans, of which there are still a great number in the Countries remote from the Sea.

Traffic
of
the
Island.

The Isle of *Sumatra*, but especially the Kingdom of *Achin*, are Places of great Traffick, whither resort Merchants from all parts of the *Indies*, as the *Chinese*, *Malayans*, *Javanese*, *Christians* and Mahometans. There are certain Places on the Western Coast of the Isle, which are in confederacy, and under the Protection of the *Dutch East-India Company*, unto whom they are obliged to sell all their Pepper and Gold at a certain rate. These are *Pryaman*, *Indapoura*, *Padang*, *Tike* and *Barros*. They had also settl'd a Factory in 1665 at *Andragiry*, but the quantity of Pepper and Gold to be transported from thence was so inconsiderable, that it did not turn to account. The chief Commodities of *Sumatra* are, Pepper, Gold, Tin and Camphire. The Western Coast affords *Pedra Porcos*, which are sold at 200 Crowns per piece. *Jamby* and *Palimbang* are the chiefest Places for Pepper, where the *English* have likewise their Factories, and are much esteemed by that King. The Foreigners import commonly Pieces of Eight, Callicoes, *Chinese* Gold, Iron Wire, Steel, Woollen-Cloth, Quilts of *Suratte*, Silks, Salt and such like Commodities, which they exchange for those beforementioned. Thus much of *Sumatra*.

Commodi-
ties of Su-
matra.

• We continu'd our Voyage without any

1662. remarkable Accident, till the 3d. of February, when we pass'd by *Punte Gale*, and arriv'd the next day at *Colombia*, both Cities belong- ing to the Island of *Ceylon*. Having soon dispatch'd our Business here, we set Sail a- gain the 9th, and the 12th came within sight of Cape *Comorin* and the City of *Pasi* by *Koylang*, steering our Course along the Coast of *Malabar*, where we met with the Ship the *Phoenix*, in the Road of that City, to load Pepper, which done it join'd with us, to continue its Voyage to *Perfia*.

They con-
tinue their
Voyage.

Pasi by
Cape Co-
morin and
Koylang.

Over against the Isle of *Baypin* we met with 15 or 16 Sail under the Command of Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, who was sent thither to Attack the Fortres of *Palipatnam*; we went immediately abroad the *Viceland*, where we paid our respects to the Admiral, who enjoy'd us, to send all our Land and Sea Men a shoar, to assist at the taking of this Fortres; which being done accordingly, and the *Dutch* Forces Marching in good Order to the Attack, they found, to their great Astonishment, that the Enemy had Deserted the Place, and left only one old Woman and a Boy behind them; thus we became Masters of this strong hold, without striking a blow. However our Design upon the City of *Changanor* was laid aside for that time, after we were thoroughly informed concerning its Condition, and that we were not sufficiently provided for such an Attempt. So we proceeded on our Voyage again the next day, and the 5th of March pass'd by the Bar of *Goa*, where we found several *Dutch* Ships under Commodore *Roethaas* a Cruising, which kept the Harbour of *Goa* Block'd up. The 6th. we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Mingur-la*, where we met several of our Men of War, which had been a Cruising before *Goa*, and were come hither to refresh themselves; We saw likewise here the *Bantam* Yacht, which was sent on purpose hither to carry the Queen of *Golconda* to *Mocha*, (a City of *Arabia*, Situate on the Red-Sea) she being to go from thence to *Medina*, to visit *Mahomet's Tomb*, and to make a present of great value there. Her Guards which had Conducted her 80 Leagues as far as *Mingur-la* consisted of 4000 Men, all mounted on fine bright *Persian* Horses, well Accoutred. They had long Coats of Mail, on the Shoulders of which were imbroided Serpents-heads in Imitation of the Ancient *Romans*; They had fine Polish'd Helmets on their Heads, being for the rest Arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and some of them with very long Beards. At the Head of them rid two Trumpeters, who Sounded the Trumpet by turns. All the Persons of Quality that attended her, were likewise

Pasi by
Goa.

Come to
Mingur-
la.

The Queen
of Gol-
condagoes
to visit
Mahomet's Tomb

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

mounted on very fine Horses, with a Footmen on each side of the Horses Head, who held the Bridle. The Queen her self and all her Ladies, were carried in *Palakins* covered on the top, to keep themselves from being seen by any body; and before them were led several Camels, covered with rich Furnitures. On one of these was mounted a Kettle-Drummer, who with a Hammer beat cross ways, as we do in *Europe*; the Drums, of which one hung on each side of the Camel, being somewhat sharp at one end like our Bee-hives. The Commodore *Roothaas* and *M. Sanvliet* (Director for the *Dutch East-India Company* at *Gamron*) were gone to meet and complement the Queen about two Leagues from the Town; who, whilst she tarried here, dictated several Letters in divers Languages to her Secretaries; she sent soon after to know whether the Ships were ready to sail, and being answered they were, she came immediately aboard the Yacht, but finding her much less in bulk than the other Ships she saw lying at Anchor in the Road, she was not very well satisfied, till being told by Mr. *Roothaas* and *Sanvliet*, that the Yacht was most proper for her purpose, by reason of the shallowness of the shoar of the red Sea, she seem'd to acquiesce in their judgment. Near the Sea-side a Tent was set up, and from thence a passage covered all over with Callico to the Challop, in which was likewise a Tent, as also in the Yacht, to prevent her being seen by the Ship's Crew. She gave a very fine present of Gold and Diamonds to the Commodore Mr. *Roothaas* and Mr. *Sanvliet*. The Captain of the Yacht who carried her to *Mocha*, did not return from thence, but went along with her, being, as we suppose, turn'd Mahometan; because the Yacht was reconducted by the Boatwain.

Wingur-
la.

Wingurla is no more than a large Village, situate on the Sea-shoar of the Kingdom of *Golconda* under the 15 deg. of Northern Latitude. The *Dutch East-India Company* have built a very fine House here of Stone and Plaster-work, because all Ships bound for *Persia*, are obliged to come to an Anchor here, to provide themselves with fresh Water and Fuel, which they buy here at a very low rate, the place scarce affording any thing else.

Come to
Gamron.

After we had left *Wingurla*, we came the 6th of April before that famous City of *Persia*, call'd *Gamron*, and Anchored at 6 Fathoms Water. I went ashore the same day to give Notice of our Arrival, and to make the necessary preparations for unlading our ship; which being done, I apply'd my self to have it laden again with all possible expedition; and our Cargo being for the most part Gold and Silver Coin; we might soon

have been ready to Sail again, had we not been oblig'd to stay for some other Commodities, till the 2d of June, when we set sail again from thence, and Mr. *James Williamson* Director for the Company in *Persia*, took this opportunity to go along with us to *Batavia*, the time of his stay in *Persia* being expired.

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The Famous City of *Gamron*, the only Sea-Haven of *Persia*, is situate on a flat Sea-shoar, just at the entrance of the *Persian Gulph*, at the foot of a barren Sandy Mountain, producing neither Grass nor Trees; it lies betwixt two Cattles under the 27 deg. of Northern Latitude: This City was built out of the Ruines of the Castle and City of *Orymus*, the Destruction of which, proved the rise of *Gamron*. It is to the Sea Side defended by three Stone Bastions, on which are mounted, good Store of Iron Cannon. But on the Land-side, it is only surrounded with a stone Wall, which is much decay'd because they fear as it seems nothing from thence. The Houses here which are built after a very antick manner, like most of the *Persian* Houses, stand very close together, having each a square Turret which mounts to a considerable height above the whole Structure, having on each side several Holes for the free passage of the Wind and Air; in these Turrets they sleep every Night during the Summer season. The best of their Houses are built only of Loom, which being form'd in four Square pieces and dry'd with the Sun, become as hard as stone, and keep out the Rains and Winds. They whiten them on the out-side with Lime made of burnt Mussel-shells, but their back and out-houses are covered only with the leaves of Palm-trees; and are miserable Hutts, scarce fit to defend the Inhabitants from the injuries of the Season.

A descrip-
tion of this
City.

Its Houses.

The Streets here are both narrow and short, with many turnings, and are covered by the Houses on both sides, which are almost join'd together on the top; notwithstanding which, the heat is so excessive here, that they are scarce passable. They are not paved with Stones, but only with Earth beaten close together, which being continually watered to allay the heat and dust, becomes by degrees as hard as a Stone. Both the *English* and *Dutch* have their Factories here near one another, each being distinguish'd by their respective Flags; the *Dutch* is built close to the Water side, being a goodly Structure and very convenient for the unlading of Vessels.

The City of *Gamron* affords no fresh Water, which must be fetch'd by the Slaves in Earthen Vessels or Sheep skins early in the Morning (to keep it the cooler) from the Mountains, which are near three Leagues distant from thence, which makes the fresh Water

Scarcity of
fresh Wa-
ter.

here, that most People of Fashion will rather present you with a Cup of Wine than Water, there being no Pools or Basins here, where any fresh Water is to be met with, but during the Rainy Season. Neither does the Country produce any thing but Palm-trees; notwithstanding, which there is great plenty here of every thing, wherewith they are supplied from *Persia* and other Places. The common Drink of the Inhabitants is Water, tho' they also are provided with good *Persian* Wines; they are very Strong, and of a high red Colour, but as Sweet as Canary Wine: It grows about *Schiras* and *Tezel* and is Transported from thence in large Flasks and Casks. They have also *Arack* Distill'd of Coco-nuts and Rice. They make likewise a mixture of Water, Limons and Sugar, but if drunk in too great a Quantity occasions the Bloody-Flux.

Unwholesomeness of the Air.

The Air of *Gamron* is from the beginning of May till *September* more unwholesome than in any place of the *East* or *West-Indies* that ever I saw; so that there is no abiding here for Foreigners, except in *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*. The Natives of any Quality being more us'd to the Air, will continue something longer, viz. till *May*, when they retire to their Country Houses, which are for the most part built among the Mountains, near some River or other at 10 or 12 Leagues from the City: Here they spend merrily what they have got by Traffick in the Winter, leaving the management of their City Houses to their Slaves, till *October*, the usual time for Ships and Foreign Merchants to come to *Gamron*. The Heat which is most excessive here, obliges them to Sleep upon Leather, or with the lower parts of their Bodies in Water; or in the Towers, which are on the top of their Houses; some Cool themselves with pouring Rose-water down the Neck; such Ships as are obliged to stay in the Port during the Summer Season, must be covered all over with Sails, otherwise the Planks would split asunder, the Pitch and Tarr rising up in Bubbles as it were a Boiling; so that no Body dare Walk bare-footed upon the Deck. Those who venture to continue during the hot Season at *Gamron*, commonly get for their pains an Ague of a very malicious Nature, which if it does not kill, at least seldom quits them, but leaves such Relicks behind, as at last brings them to their Graves. The Cause of this excessive Heat seems to me to be the Situation of the Place, at the Foot of a barren Mountain, facing the South, so that the Sun-beams by their Refractions against the Mountain are redoubled in their Strength,

especially if it be considered that the Wind here during the Summer Season Blows for the most part from the South, and consequently from the same corner, from whence the Sun-beams exert their utmost Strength. For, immediately after *March* is pass'd the Winds turn commonly to the West and Southwest, which are sometimes so Stiffing, that they kill Men and Beasts. The *Arabi-Winds*, as call this Wind *Elbamudi*, i.e. Fifth-wind, and the *Persians* *Badesambour*, because it Choaks on a sudden, such as it touches. It is very observable, that the Dead Carcasses of such as are kill'd by it, if touch'd with the Hands, are as unctuous as Grease or Oil, and appear as if they had been Dead a Month ago. This Wind continues here in *May*, *June*, *July* and *August*, as likewise all about *Munfil* over against the old *Nineve*, and near *Bagdat*, but those who are upon the Water, even in Boats in the River, never feel the effects of this Wind, tho' they are quite Naked.

Most of the Inhabitants of *Gamron* are Merchants, who Trade to several Cities Situate upon the Branch of the *Euphrates*; such as, *Bassora*, *Schiras*, *Isfahan*, *Tauris* and *Smyrna*. Once every Year, to wit, in *October*, the *Caravans*, consisting of several thousands, Men and Beasts, arrive here from the East, viz. from *Babylon*, *Turkey*, and *Persia*, with all sorts of Merchandises laden upon Camels, Dromedaries and Asses, which they exchange for *East-India* Wares. The Staple Commodities of *Gamron* are Cloth of Gold, Tapestry and Pearls, which they take near the Island of *Bahrain*; as likewise Fruits of all sorts, Plumbs, Raisins, Currans, Nuts, Dates, Oranges, Citrons, Pomegranates, Peaches, &c. They abound likewise in Herbs, which are brought thither from other Places, especially from the Isle of *Kikur*, not above three Leagues from thence. They have also good Store of most excellent *Persian* Wine, which is brought thither from *Schiras* and *Tezel*, in large Flasks pack'd up in Casks. They sell also abundance of the best Rose-water, which is here in greater plenty than in any other place, that ever I saw. There is at certain times such a vast Confluence of Merchants and Ships at *Gamron*, that they want Money to buy their Commodities; in such Cases they write to their Correspondents at *Lars*, *Schiras*, *Isfahan* and other *Persian* Cities, who if they have ready Cash, are sure to buy good Bargains at such a Juncture. Most of the Merchants that resort to *Gamron*, are *Persians*, *Armenians* and *Indians*, living in *Persia*. And were it not for the unwholesomeness of the Air, abundance more would come from other places, who now stay at home,

home, and rather choofe to buy from the Merchants, that bring their Commodities from *Gamron*.

Disposition of the Inhabitants.

The Women here, like as in most other Eastern Countries, are seldom seen abroad, but dwell in separate Apartments, where the Men live with them for some time, and in the mean while lay aside all other Business. The Women who expose themselves for Money, sit in the Evening upon Benches at the Doors, with Lanthorns in their Hands, where every Man is free to choofe such a one as he likes best. The Inhabitants here are generally very brown. The *Portugueses* that go to the most part Naked, only wrap round the middle of their Bodies a thin Cloth, in the Summer Season some appear only in their Shirts. The Rich Chinese themselves very magnificently adorned with Gold, tho' there are yet some that wear their ancient Dress, with Gold, Silver, and Iron Rings on their Hands, Ears and Noses. The common People make use of Dates instead of Bread or

Their Clothing.

Diet.

for it is observable that the ordinary Food of the *Indians* all along that Coast, from *to Sindi* is Dates and Fish, the Air. The Heads and Guts of Fish, they mix with Date Stones, and altogether with a little Salt-water, they give at Night to the Cows, after they come out of the Field, where they have very little Herbage. They abound in Hares, Sheep, Pidgeons and Partridges; but as for tame Fowl, tho' they have great store of them, they are not much esteem'd, because they have a brackish Taste. The Sea, especially that of *Solda* and *Sardin*, furnishes them with vast plenty of Excellent Fishes, and among the rest with very fine Oysters, but they are so little regarded by the Inhabitants, that if you have a mind to some of them, you must bespeak them of the Fisher-men on purpose. Preserv'd Fruits of all sorts are here in great abundance; The Rich Merchants, but especially the *Persian* Governour living in great Luxury and Pomp.

About a League to the East of the City is a famous Sepulchre of a *Banyan* Saint, buried there some hundred Years ago, under a Tree call'd *Avor das Rats*, i.e. Root-tree by the *Portugueses*, or *Lul* by the *Persians*, which he Planted here sometime before his death. The Inhabitants call this Tree, the Tree of the *Banyans*, either from its first Planter, or because the *Banyans* have founded a *Pagoda*, or *Pagan* Temple under it, and a *Caravanseira* or Inn, for the Convenience of Passengers. This Tree has spread its Branches at a considerable distance round about, and encreases every Year to that de-

gree, that its Branches, which indeed all descend from one Trunk, but by degrees take root again, encompass a space of 550 Feet. Under this Tree both Inhabitants and Foreigners shelter themselves against the heat of the Sun, when they are Walking abroad, and entertain one another. Over the Sepulchre it self is built a small *Pagoda*, in which you see burning Lamps hanging Day and Night under a Canopy of Silk. The Ground all round about is Paved with Bricks, and Adorned with convenient Benches and Seats, neatly kept, where every body is at liberty to take his Repose under the agreeable Shadow of this Tree. Here the *Indians* come in great Numbers to offer their Sacrifices, especially the *Siogs*, call'd by others *Goegys*, *Gioghi*, and *Joeghi*, and *Fakirs* by the *Arabians* and *Moors*. There are a certain sort of *Banyan* Saints (or at least pretend to be such) belonging to one of the four Sects of the *Bramins*, viz. the Sect of *Cenrawaghi*, of *Bramins*. *Samarath*, of *Bisnou*, and the fourth the Sect of *Siog* or *Goegys*. You see them sitting on the High-ways with their Legs across, as the *Mahometans* do; they never pair their Nails; some have locks of Hair hanging down their Backs of 4 or 5 Feet long, others never Shave their Heads or Beards, which makes them appear more like Devils than Men. They have no dwelling Places of their own, but in the Night time they Sleep in the Porches of their Temples, on Dung-hills and corners of the Streets, or perhaps in some Cave or other Hole. They always appear Naked, having only a piece of Cloth wrapt about the middle. The *Indian* Women resort to them in great Numbers out of Devotion, to touch the extremities of their Fingers, or to Kiss their Privy Members in a most humble Posture; which they admit of, without shewing the least sign of sensibility thereat, for if they should do otherwise, they would be look'd upon as unfit for that Holy Seat. They never cast their Eyes upon any Body, but draw them in a most frightful manner upwards, as if they were afflicted with Convulsions. They lead a most severe and miserable Life, constantly mortifying their Bodies, by some strange and unnatural Penances they lay upon themselves. Some retire into Caves and Cellars, where they continue in their Devotions sometimes 9 or 10 days, without Eating or Drinking. Some Walk both day and night for several Years together without Sitting; and when they intend to Sleep, hang themselves with a Rope about their middle to the Branch of a Tree. Others carry both their Arms all their Life-time straight upright above their Heads; so that in process of



time they are not able to bend them downwards with pain. In this Posture they continue day and night throughout the Year quite Naked, without the least fear of being scorch'd by the Sun, or Stung by the Gnats, which they won't as much as remove with

their Hands. Nay they Sleep with their Arms in the same Posture, a thing which needs must be very Painful at first, and at last makes their Arms thus distorted and bereaved of their usual Nourishment to hang down behind their Backs. There are

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The Persian Shepherds about Gamron

innumerable sorts of other Penitents, some always lifting up their Eyes against the Sun, others fixing them constantly upon the Ground, without ever looking upon or speaking a Word to any Body living. They besmear their nauseous Bodies with Ashes, and their Greasie Hair and Faces, with Sandel wood and Saffron; but especially with Cowdung mixt with Ashes; during our stay at Gamron we went several times to refresh our selves under the Tree; the common Custom is to carry some Wine and Sweet meats along with one, and as for Dates, Almonds, Nuts and other Fruits, they are to be sold there.

a present of Cloths; and so they enter the City, where they pass their time together in Feasting for some days. The Governour of the City did in our time meet the Commissioners with some armed Bands, and thus conducted them into the City.

The Posts which go from Gamron to Is-Peria pahan are wonderful expeditious in their Posts. They are appointed by the Governour of Gamron, after he has made sufficient trial of their nimbleness, which is done by running with the rising of the Sun, to an appointed place till Sun sett; a certain Horseman being appointed to ride along with them, and to take care they don't rest by

The Grave
now of
Gamron

every Year certain Commissioners thither to take an account of the Governours Conduct; he commonly meets them at some distance off the City unarm'd, and if they find him to have transgress'd his Commission, they cut off his Head, otherwise he is regal'd with

just of Cloths and with the title of Kunnan; so soon as any Stranger of fashion arrives at Gamron, some or other of the Inhabitants ready to offer him his service, to attend him in the quality of a Porter, or as a Servant to show him the way; they are sure to wa

at your Lodgings every Morning, and follow you all day long wherever you go, for a very slender allowance.

Shepherds
near Gam-
ron.

I had the curiosity to take a view of the Shepherds and their Huts, with their Flocks of Sheep and Goats; for which purpose by the help of my Guide, I went some Leagues deep into the Country, where I found them feeding their Sheep in a very barren Ground; These Shepherds, who have no other Household Goods but a slight Coat, commonly manage a flock of 500 Sheep and Goats. Their Huts they set up at pleasure in the open Fields, they having no certain Grounds appointed them, but like the *Arabians* change their places according to the best conveniency of Pastorage; and tho' the Grounds betwixt the City and the Mountains are very barren, yet are the Sheep and Goats here very good, an evident sign that a small matter is sufficient to feed them. These Fields extend from the City to the Mountains, which surround them at some distance from thence. They have some Sheep of an extraordinary bigness, with two horns on each side of the head. Their He-goats have long curl'd hair, of which they make Camlets. Some have such long Ears that you may tie them together. *Persia* affords great Quantities of tann'd Goat and Sheep skins. Thus much of *Gamron*.

A little to the Right of the Harbour of *Gamron*, you may see the Isle of *Ormus*, at the very entrance into the *Persian* Gulph, as likewise the Islands of *Queixone*, *Kesem* and *Lacac*, of which we will give you a short description.

The Isle of Ormus. Some put the Island of *Ormus* under 25 deg. 30 min. of Latitude, and 22 deg. 45 min. of Longitude; others under 26 deg. 4 min. and some others under 27 deg. and 30 min. Northern Latitude. The Isle of *Ormus* is by some taken for the same, which by the Ancient Authors, as *Pliny*, *Pomponius* and *Dionysius*, is called *Ogyris*, and by *Protemy* *Tacchia*; it is situate in the *Persian* Gulph, about two Leagues distant from the Continent of *Persia*, having the Province of *Caramania* to the East, *Arabia felix* to the South and West, being divided from them only by the Straights of *Babarem*, and the Continent of *Persia* to the North; it is very near Triangular; its largest side which faces the N.N.E. extending from S.E. to the N.W. from the Chapel of St. *Lucy* to the point of Land where the Castle of *Ormus* is, being the nearest to the Continent, where formerly the *Portugueses* had a Fort call'd *Comorans*, built just opposite to the Castle of *Ormus*, which thereabouts is not above a League distant. The second side extends from the same Chappel, viz. from the

S. E. to the S.S.W. as — and so further to the W. and makes the Basis of the third and smallest side begins at the beforementioned Chappel; it faces the Country of *Mogulshan*, a name commonly given to the *Persian* Coast on that side, which is about two Leagues from the Isle. Its whole Circuit is about three Leagues.

The Western part of the Island, extending along the Sea shoar, where the Mountains end, is call'd *Karu*, where you see a few houses scattered up and down belonging to the Moors: At *Tuumbake* are a greater number of these Houses, but as wretchedly built as the former; except some few formerly belonging to the *Austrian* Fryars, where they used to divert themselves some times. Near to them is a fine Fish-pond surrounded with very fine Trees, and a large Cistern for Rain-water.

The whole Island is divided by a ridge of Mountains, extending from the East to the West, behind which there is nothing to be seen but white and barren Hills, producing nothing except very good white Salt. Among the rest there is a Mountain here call'd *Kyrkastaron*, or, *The Mountain of the Dead*; on the top of which the *Portugueses* had built a Chapel call'd, *our Lady of the Rock*; which Chapel is observed to rise higher and higher, because the Salt, Salt-Peter and Brimstone, which are contain'd in the Bowels of this Mountain, increase daily in quantity. The Inhabitants visit this Chapel with a great deal of Devotion, unto which they have made a pretty easie ascent by cutting steps out of the Rock, which otherwise is very steep. Near the Mountain, where the *Chapel* stands, is another, which runs upwards in form of a Pyramid. It is compos'd of one entire Mass of the best and whitest Salt that can be seen, and appears at a distance like a Mountain covered with Snow. Not far from hence is a Chapel call'd St. *Lucy*, built behind the Ruins of some old Towers, where formerly the Kings of *Ormus* used to keep their Brothers Prisoners, after they had be-reaved them of their eyes. About half-ways betwixt this and the City, was another Chapel dedicated to St. *Lucy*, with some Houses about it, whither the Inhabitants of *Ormus* used to retire during the Summer Season, as likewise to some others built near the Sea-shoar of Reed only, and covered with Palm-tree-leaves.

From this Chapel to the City is a large Plain, where the Inhabitants used to have their Cisterns to gather and keep Rain-Water in, which were always lock'd up; for not only hereabouts, but also all over the Island, the Ground is Brackish, which makes the Rain-water which is kept in these Cisterns much

is gathered from the
does it not come near
th-water that is brought
from the ~~Cambay~~, of the Isle of *Quixome*.
The remaining part of this Plain is taken up
with the Graves of the Mahometans, Pagan
and Jews which are buried here Promiscu-
ously without any difference; some of
these Tombs are covered with a kind of
a Chapel, but open on all sides. Hither
you see great numbers of Mahometan, Pagan
and Jewish Women, of all ages and de-
grees, which come to bring their Offerings
of eatables in flat small dishes to the Souls
of the deceased. And some of these are so Zea-
lous as to pay their constant Visits and De-
votions to the Tombs of some of their Pious
Men or Saints, that are in great reverence
among them, and their Tombs sumptuously
adorn'd.

a Not far from this Plain is another extend-
ing from the Mountains to the City, call'd
by the Moors by a peculiar name *Ardemina*,
i. e. The prospect over the Plain (in the
same Sense as the *French* say *Belvidere*)
where the Mahometan Courtiers, and other
Officers of the King us'd to keep their Tur-
naments, and running at the Ring on Horse-
back. This Plain extends to the West as
far as the Sea shoar, the way that leads to
Kanai, from whence the City has the fairest
Prospect.

arum-
ke.

Behind the Mountains, being the S.S.W.
and the W.S.W. part of the Island, call'd *Tu-
rumbake* is the fairest of all, tho' its Com-
pats is less betwixt the Mountains and the
Sea than that part beyond the Mountains.
Here you see a Country Seat of the old
Queen of *Ormuz*, adorn'd with Walks of
Palm-trees, and two large Cisterns or Basins,
call'd from the Place, the *Ponds of Turumbake*,
besides several lesser ones.

Their Water is the wholesomest and fresh-
est of the whole Island. There is another
great Basen belonging to this Seat, which is
continually supply'd with Water out of
three adjacent Ponds and a small Brook;
this Water is not near so Salt as that which
is kept in the Ponds, more to the E. and
N.N.E. where the Sun turns the Water in-
to solid Salt. This Country Seat was alrea-
dy in a decaying condition 50 or 60 Years
before my coming here, having only a few
Appartments left, wherein the King of *Or-
muz* us'd to lodge during the Summer Season;
Turumbake had at that time not above 15 or
20 Huts built of Reed close together, like a
small Village, and covered with Palm-tree
leaves after a wretched manner. Most of
the Houses of this Island are built after the
same manner, notwithstanding which, the
Inhabitants of *Ormuz* retire thither with their

Families in the Summer, being taught both
by Tradition and Experience, that the open
Country Air is much more wholesome dur-
ing the hot Season, than the City Air.

On the North side of this Isle lies the City
of *Ormuz*, which before it was subdued by
the *Portugueses* was very Populous, Foreign-
ers flocking thither daily from *Persia*, the
East-Indies and *Europe* it self, for the conve-
niency of Traffick. To be short, the City of
Ormuz was the most famous and richest trading
City of the World, before the *Portugueses*
had found out the passage by Sea to the
East-Indies, being inhabited and frequented
by the *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Abyssinians*, *Armeni-
ans*, *Tartars*, *Turks* and other Mahometans;
besides the *Italians*, *French*, *Dutch*, *English*,
Poles, and other *European* Nations. It was
much Inhabited by the *Portugueses*, but very
few *Spaniards*, because the first would not
permit them to go thither by Sea, and the
Turks stop their passage by Land, betwixt
the Mediterranean and the *Persian* Gulph;
some few dwell there under the Name and
Protection of some other Nations. The Na-
tives of *Ormuz* are all Mahometans, but of
different Sects, some being call'd *Kijays*, be-
longing to the Sect of *Hali* Sopin-Law to
Mahomet, whose Doctrine is followed by
the *Persians*; Others are call'd *Sany's*, fol-
lowing the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, *Osman* and
Osman, as the *Turks* do; the King himself
is of this Sect; besides which, divers sorts of
Pagans, as *Banians*, *Camboyans*, &c. inhabit here.

The City of *Ormuz* whist under the juris-
diction of the *Portugueses*, and before the *Per-
sians* made themselves Masters of it 1619, was
a very Stately, Rich and Magnificent place,
of which the Inhabitants us'd to boast, *That*
*if the World were a Ring, Ormuz must be con-
sidered as the Diamond*. For, after the *Por-
tugueses* had conquered this City, they were
very careful in adorning it from time to time
with most Magnificent Structures, to such a
degree, that all the Iron belonging to their
Windows and Doors were gilt; and it was
the common opinion in those days, that if
they had remain'd Masters of it till now,
they would have turn'd them into Massive
Gold. They had built a stately Church up-
on an Eminency, dedicated to the Virgin
Mary, with an adjacent Hospital call'd the
Misericordia. Next to this was the Exchange
or Custom-House, call'd by the *Persians* *Be-
necksal*; this was a fine Edifice surrounded
with Galleries on the out side. They had
likewise several Monasteries, amongst which
those of the *Austin* Fryars and *Carmelites*
were the chiefest. There is yet to be seen
a very high Steeple, a most noble piece of
Architecture, exceeding in Magnificence
all others of this City; the Mahometans

The City
Ormuz
the 1
guel
time.

under the
Persians.

call it in the *Arabian* *Alkoran*; on one side of the Castle stood formerly a famous *Mosque* which the *Portugueses* caused to be demolished, as being too near the Castle which prov'd the occasion of the most inveterate hatred against the *Portugueses*, not only among the *Moors* Inhabiting there, but likewise amongst the *Persians*, their King *Tahamest* or *Tahamas* Grandfather to *Schach Abbas* having been the Founder of it. No sooner was this City fallen into the hands of the *Persians*, but she was by them dispoiled of her Ancient Glory, and most of her Inhabitants, many of whom were kill'd in the Siege, the rest fled for shelter to some other place. All the Churches, Houses, and other Publick Edifices, were laid level with the Ground, except some few shops in the *Bazar* or Shopkeepers-Street. The *Dutch Ships* which unloaded there and returned commonly empty from thence, used to make it their Practice at that time to Ballast their Vessels with the finest Marble Stones: the Remnants of the stately Structures of this City, and would questionless by degrees have taken all that was left, had not the *Persian* Governor there prohibited the exportation of them under a severe Penalty. For the *Persians*, whose Intention was to lay the Foundation of the greatness of *Gamron* upon the ruins of *Ormuz*, did remove all the best Stones from thence, which they made use of in their best Buildings at *Gamron*. The Fortifications of the City of *Ormuz*, in the *Portuguese* times, in 1619, were but in a slender Posture, the Ditch about the Castle being fill'd up with dirt, having scarce 6 Foot of Water; besides that, it was not spacious enough for the Garrison. Their Commanders in chief, who were removed from thence every Year, had according to the custom of the *Portugueses*, but a slender share of knowledge in Martial affairs, the Governor at that time being an ancient Man, not trained up in the Wars, and not provided with experienced Engineers and Gunners.

The Castle
of Ormuz.

The Old four-square Castle was built on the utmost Northern or North-West point of the Land of the Isle, where it approaches nearest to the *Persian* shoar, two sides of it being wash'd by the Sea, the other two facing the City; betwixt which and the Castle, is a very fair Square, of about 300 Feet long, from whence you have a fine Prospect into the Sea. This Castle, whilst in the possession of the *Portugueses*, was not very large, being defended only by four Bastions, which as well as the Cortines, were built with a kind of small Flint-stones mixt with mortar and Sea-water; so that they were not proof against the Thunder of the Great Cannon. The Ditch was

likewise very shallow, tho' it might have been made deeper, without any great Cost, by reason of the nearness of the Sea, which waters it on two sides. In this Condition was the Castle of *Ormuz*, under the *Portugueses*, of which the *Portugueses* boasted, that that it was impregnable. After the *Persians* had made themselves masters of it, they were very carefull to repair the Old Fortifications, and to add some new ones; especially on the point of the Ditch, they made a half-moon, the Cannon of which Commanded the Plain and a Gallery; since which time they keep it always in a good posture of Defence, and maintain a considerable Garrison there, under the Command of the Governour of *Ormuz*, who residing for the most part at *Gamron*, appoints a Deputy for this place, who has his residence in the Palace formerly belonging to the Kings of *Ormuz*.

The Harbour of this Isle is a certain Bay, made by two Points of Land that jett out on both sides; upon one of these Capes stands the Castle, on the other the *Portugueses* had built a Church, dedicated to our *Lady of good Hope*; but this Point turns somewhat nearer towards the City, so that the Harbour where the largest Vessels, Gallies, and smaller Vessels used to cast Anchor, lies opposite to the North-East part of the City, betwixt the two Monasteries built by the *Portugueses*, one of which belong'd to the *Carmelites*, the other to the *Austlin* Fryars. The Tide where this Bay is deepest rises at high Water, near 4 feet high up above the Foundations of the Houses; notwithstanding which, at low Water, the shore is dry for above 200 Paces; and 150 Paces further, the Water is not 3 feet high where it is deepest; so that the largest Vessels are obliged to cast Anchor at 600 Paces from the City, and the Gallies at 500, which renders this Harbour very unsafe, especially if a Storm arises from the East, which often forces the Ships ashore; nay, this Harbour would be much more dangerous, were it not for the nearness of the Continent, which covers it on the N. and N. E. side, and the Isle of *Queixome*, which lies to the N.N.W. of it, and breaks the violence of the raging Waves. Some tell us of two different Bays belonging to the Isle of *Ormuz*, which afford a safe Harbour to Ships; the one to the East, the other to the West, being divided by a neck of Land which jett out betwixt them a considerable way into the Sea.

This whole Island is destitute of Water, except what some standing Pools or Ponds afford, which is always brackish, tho' some more than others; some, especially such as are near the Sea-side, being tolerably fit for use;

which they are from the Mountains, & that they participate of the same. It does sometimes not Rain in *Ormuz* for several Years together; the only Springs of Fresh Water they have, being in the Royal Gardens. *Ferra Gutka* who reign'd in 1560 in *Ormuz*, found out a Spring with fresh Water in *Surumbake*. Not far from thence near the Sea-side, arises a salt Water Spring from among the Rocks, call'd by the Persian Inhabitants *Abdarmon*, i. e. Medicinal Water, which has a Purging Quality, and cleanses the Bowels from all impurities. Here you see abundance of People drink the Waters at a certain Season of the Year; when they have a mind to be satisfied whether their Bowels are thoroughly cleansed, they cut a piece of an Orange or Citron, and if immediately after they go to stool they reckon themselves sufficiently purged. 'Tis true, there are three Springs here, which all having their rise among the Mountains, afford Water sufficient for three Rivulets, but it is as brackish as the Sea Water it self. Thus several Brooks are to be seen to the S. E. among the Mountains which carry a very clear Water, but so stockt with Salt, that in the Summer, when these Rivulets are dry'd up, you see vast lumps of Salt, which cover the Banks on both sides. The vast quantity of Salt which is to be met with all over this Island, being in some places burnt up and blackned by the violence of the Sunbeams, affords a dreadful sight at a distance. They have also a kind of Salt Clay, out of which they make Earthen Vessels.

The whole Isle is nothing else but a barren vast lump of Salt, which scarce affords either Grass or Trees, except what is brought forth by force in the Royal Gardens in the Plains, neither does it afford any thing for the sustenance of Human life. It has however some few Trees in certain places, but bear no Fruit except Dates, and another small Fruit growing on Thorn Bushes with green leaves; another kind of these Thorn Bushes they have with a pretty large stem, and small red leaves. In the opening of the Rocks you see now and then a large green and well spread Tree, notwithstanding several have positively asserted that this Isle did procure neither Tree, Herbs nor Grass. The Mountains are full of Rock Salt which is very Transparent, and contain likewise a considerable quantity of Brimstone. In some Winters the Salt is washed by the Rains down from the Mountains, which afterwards is again coagulated by the Sun, which is the only made use of here, for the Rock Salt being of too corrosive a Nature, does consume the Meat instead of preserving it. The Dutch Transport abundance of Salt from hence to

the *East-Indies*. The Isle also affords a certain kind of white Plastering call'd by the Inhabitants *Gueche*, and another that is red of the same kind, but not so good as the white. They have also a certain way, of preparing dung for Plaster-work, which they perform in the following manner: They take the uppermost part of an Old dunghill away, the rest they make up in balls, and let them dry in the Sun. This done, they burn them to Ashes with fire; the Ashes they beat for a considerable time, upon an even piece of Ground, and immediately after mix it for use; for, if they let the Ashes be cold, or keep them only two or three Days, they are not fit for their purpose; but this prepared and used keeps the water out of any place, for many Years. There are scarce any other Stones to be met with here, but Flint-stones, of which the greatest part of the Fortifications of the Castle are compos'd. There is also a kind of Black Glistering Sand to be found here, which the Portuguese used to Transport from thence to their Factories in the *East-Indies*. No Barley or Oats is to be seen here. Their Cattle they feed with a peculiar sort of Pease or Beans, which they grind, and afterwards steep in water, being otherwise too hard to digest. Of these they give a certain quantity every Night, to their Horses. But in the Morning they give to each horse two pounds of Black Sugar mixt with a Pound of Butter, and some Flour, which they make up into Balls; then they wash the Horses mouth, and Teeth, because this mixture sticks very close to their Teeth and Gums; in the day time they feed them with some Herbs, which they draw out of the Ground with Roots and all, and cleanse them very well from all impurities.

In the Bay and all along the Coast of *Sinkin* the Isle of *Ormuz*, they fish for Wood, of which they find great store in the bottom of the Sea, but not very large. This Wood is by the violence of the Currents of the Rivers arising from among the Mountains of the Continent of *Persia*, (which is not above two Leagues distant from hence) torn off and carried to the shoar of *Ormuz*; a thing most surprising and contrary to what is observed of this kind in other Islands lying near the Continent, or some other great Islands, whether the adjacent Rivers force abundance of Wood, which however always swims on the surface of the Water, and commonly is found rotten, whereas the Wood upon the Coast sinks to the bottom, and is not quite rotten, but affords the Inhabitants great store of Fuel, which has induced some to believe that this Wood did grow under Water.

On the *Region* that you meet and with certain kind of light porous stone under water, not unlike our Pumice Stones; especially near those places, where subterraneous fires are; which makes these Stones to be always white, in which they differ from the common Pumice, which are either blackish or gray; They are found here in such prodigious quantities, that they build their Houses of them, because they mix very well with the Mortar, by reason of their spongy substance, and very light; and when well Cemented with the Mortar, resist the violence of the Winds, which blow here exceedingly about the change of the Seasons, better than any other Stones. Some are of opinion, that these Stones were cast out by a burning Mountain, which seems not improbable, there being on the back side of a neighbouring Mountain found vast quantities of these Stones, as black as Coals. The reason why those on the Sea shore are white, seems to be, because they have for many Years, nay, for many Ages past, been scoured by the Water of their impurities; The Inhabitants call them *Sanchemay*, i. e. Rock Fish, because as many as are taken away, grow again in a little time, and furnish them with material for Building. They report that in former Ages this Island did burn for seven Years together, of which they shew the marks to this day; the Earth upon the Mountains being red, and in the Valleys spongy like Ashes or Quick lime; besides that, the whole Island is subject to frequent Earthquakes. The Mountains are all over covered with Salt, and the Grounds are full of Salt-Peter. As often as the Wind blows from the South-Weſt, there arises so violent a stink of Brimstone from the Mountains, as infects the whole Air. The heat is more intense at *Ormus* than at *Gamron*; for it continues at least five Months, viz. from May till September, and sometimes till the beginning of December; In the Winter Season the heat is somewhat allay'd by the Dew which falls all the Night long, but in the Summer the Nights are so excessive hot, that it would be impossible for the Inhabitants to abide here, if by several ways they did not abate in some measure its violence. For on the tops of the Houses they set certain Wooden Vessels like Bathing Tubs, big enough to contain two Persons at a time; in these they sit and sleep all Night in the open Air with the Water up to their necks. The cause of this intolerable heat, is attributed chiefly to the Nature of the Soil, which is not only Sandy, but full of Salt-Peter; which occasioning a continual loss of Spirits, the Inhabitants are forced to repair in some measure this defect, by continually keeping

themselves in cold Water, notwithstanding it be none of the best here; all the Water that is brought hither from *Bandel Kongo*, or the Isle of *Queixome*, being taken out of Ponds, and consequently not purified from its dregs, for want of motion; which is sufficiently demonstrable by its colour which is like Milk, and its Settlement which is sometimes two or three inches thick at the bottom of the Vessel it is kept in. During the violence of the hot Season you may see People of both Sexes and all Ages, flock to the City Walls; but the Europeans seldom venture at swimming in the Sea, the Water being so excessive salt, that it excoriates their Bodies; but they allay the excessive heat of the Nights by wetting their Quilts and Pillows with cold Water. It is further observable, that the Winds are so changable here, that you may in a quarter of an hours time remarkably feel their different effects; some by opening, others by obstructing the Pores of your Bodies. During the Summer Season the Winds blow for the most part E. and S. E. or W. S. W. but seldom from the South, the last of which is not so unwholesome as the rest; and what is more surprising is, That this Wind always cools the Water contained in any Vessels, but not the Chambers or Rooms where the Water is kept.

The Drink of the Common People is Water, those of the better sort drink *Spanish* ^{Their} Wine, or *Persian* Wines of *Shiras*, but these ^{Erink.} are very scarce and dear. They Distill also a Spirit of Rice and Sugar here, as well as in all other parts of the *Indies*. They have also a certain kind of Drink call'd *Tari*, which is drawn from a Tree, and as sweet as Must; this is the ordinary Liquor sold in Publick Houses, who pay a considerable Tax for their Licenses to the King. This Liquor is brought every day to Town in Casks on Horse back, each Horse carrying one on each side.

The Isle of *Ormus* was in Ancient times Govern'd by its own Kings, or Princes, descended ^{Original} from the race of these great Kings, that Ruled all over *Arabia*, *Persia* and the adjacent Countries. The first famous in their Histories, was, a certain *Arabian* Emir or Prince, call'd *Mahamed Dramku*, of the race of the ancient Kings that Ruled in *Saba*, or *Arabia Felix*. This Prince being extremely desirous to Conquer new Dominions, extended his Conquests to the *Persian Gulph*, where he landed with a great Fleet from *Kalayatta*, a City of *Arabia Felix*, and laid the Foundation of a City call'd *Ormus* or *Harmus* on the Coast of *Persia*. He left for his Successor *Solyman* his Son, who was succeeded by the following Kings: *Isa* the third in rank, Son of *Solyman*; the fourth *Lax Kari*, Son of *Isa*, who

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who sat the Court, and embraced a private Life. The 5th was *Katkebad* his Son; the 10th *Ifa II.* Son to *Katkebad*; the seventh *Mamud* Son of *Ifa II.* who suspecting *Mir Xabadin Molong* his Nephew, made him a Prisoner in the Castle of *Gati*; from whence he escaped to *Seugon*, and Married the Daughter of the Governour of that Castle. The 8th *Xaranta* Son of *Mamud*, he engaged in a War against *Molong*, but was slain in an Engagement with his Enemy.

The 9th, *Mir Xabadin Molong* was declared King in his stead; his Daughter *Sed Alkatum* was Married to *Emir*, or Prince *Seyfadin Aben Azar*, his Brother *Aly's* Son, King of the Isle of *Keys*, who dying soon after, his Son *Seyfadin* obtained the Kingdom of *Keys*. *Mir Xabadin* dying likewise not long after, his Vizier *Xarcar* made himself Master of the Kingdom of *Ormuz*; and those of *Keys* having at the same time deposed *Seyfadin*, he fled to *Ormuz*, where being well received by the Inhabitants, he besieged the Usurper *Xarcar* in the Castle of *Karcan*, whom he kill'd, and thereby became Master of the whole Kingdom. After *Seyfadin* had well settled his Affairs here, he undertook an expedition against those of *Keys* of whom he kill'd many, and made some of their chief Men Prisoners. From thence he went to the Isle of *Gerun*, (since call'd *Ormuz*) where he caused all his Prisoners to be slain upon a certain Mountain, which from thence was call'd *Kay Kastaron*, i. e. The Mountain of the Dead. He returned at last victorious to *Ormuz*, where he spent the rest of his Days in Peace. The 11th was *Xabadin Mamud*, Son of *Ifa II.* who succeeded his Uncle in the Kingdom. The 12th *Emir Roknadin Mamud*, *Xabadin's* Nephew, Son of *Hamud*, who was very victorious, and extended his Conquests as far as *Safar*, a Province of *Arabia felix*. He Reign'd 35 Years, and died 1278.

He was succeeded by his Son *Emir, Seyfadin Nocerat*, but was soon after forced by *Emir Kodbadin Thabantam* and *Emir Moechadin Fulad*, or *Pulad*, to Fly the Kingdom, and to seek for Shelter, together with his mother, by Sultan *Gehaladin Suraget Mex*, Governour of *Kernon*, by who's assistance he was restor'd to his Kingdom: But being a second time vanquish'd, by his Brother *Emir Kodbadin* was forced to save himself by Flight in a small Bark, in the Isle of *Queixome*. In the mean while, King *Seyfadin*, who had assisted *Kodbadin*, having caused him to be murdered, the Soldiers conceived such a hatred, against this *Seyfadin*, that they instantly recalled *Emir Seyfadin Nocerat*, chased away *Seyfadin*, and restored him to the Throne. Notwithstanding which he was not long after mur-

thered, by his two Brothers, *Emir Mahax* and *Emir Turkonxa*, together with his Sisters, *Bibi Banck*, and *Bibi Neyty*, who had Reign'd 12 Years, viz. 1290.

Masaud the murderer of his Brother, succeeded him in his Throne, being a very Courageous but Cruel Man, which brought upon him the hatred both of the Nobility and Common People, of whom he Caused many to be killed. This made them Implore the Assistance of *Emir Bahadin Ayas Seyfin*, formerly a Slave only of King *Nocerat*, but now Governour of *Kalayatte*, a Sea-port of *Arabia Felix*; who forced *Masaud* to Fly to *Kernon*, and from thence into *Syria*, where he Dyed, after a Reign of three Years. He was succeeded, by *Bahadin Ayas Seyfin*, who caused two Brothers of *Masaud*, to be beheaded, for endeavouring to Restore him to the Kingdom.

About that time, a great swarm of *Turks*, came out of *Turkestan*, Conquered a Considerable part of *Persia*, and by their frequent Inroads, into the Kingdom of *Ormuz*, Forc'd the Inhabitants to seek for Shelter, at the Command of their King *Azax*, in the Isle of *Queixome*. Whilst they were Roving about in the Neighbouring Seas, to find out a Place where to fix their Habitations, they happened to light upon a certain Island, 2 Leagues from *Queixome*, where meeting with a very Ancient-Man, living just on the point of the Isle, a Fisher-man by Trade, He advised their King, to settle there. The King approving of his Counsel sent to the King of *Keys*, the Proprietor of this, and all the other Islands in the *Persian* Gulph, to desire him to sell him the said Isle, for a certain Sum of Money, which being Granted, he settled there a Colony of his Subjects, 1200, and gave it the Name of *Ormuz*, after his Native Country. His successors afterwards extended, their Conquests over a Great part of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and over the *Persian* Sea, as far as *Basfora*; and maintain'd themselves in the possession of it, till this Island was conquer'd by the *Portugueses*. This King dyed, 1312 in the 22 Year of his Reign.

Some Historians give us the following account of this, and the succeeding Kings, of the Isle of *Ormuz*.

After this King had settled his new Colony, He surrendered the Government, to *Emir Arzadin Gordonxa*, Son of *Salbor*, and and *Bibi Zeineb*, a Nephew of the Ancient King of *Ormuz*, and retiring to *Kalaytte* in *Arabia*, there finished his Days in Peace. *Gordonxa* was engag'd in War, with the King of *Keys*: Because he had intercepted some Ships coming from the *East-Indies*, his Dominions: *Ormuz* he vanquish'd

and forced him to Fly his Dominions; but the King of *Keys*, Returning soon after, found means to make *Gordonxa* his Prisoner, under pretence of an Interview concerning a Peace, betwixt them; and *Bibi Sultan*, *Gordonxa's* spouse, committed the administration of the Government to *Malck Ganya Hadin Dinar*, son of her husband. Brother *Xamxa*, scarce five Months were expired, before the King of *Keys* came to *Ormuz*, with *Gordonxa* his Prisoner, where he was joyfully received by his Subjects, except *Dinar*, who being used to Rule, would not submit to *Gordonxa*, but forced him to retire to the Castle of *Minab*, on the Continent of *Persia*. Notwithstanding which, *Dinar* being sensible what affection the people bore to *Gordonxa*, and fearing his Return, he thought it his safest way to retreat in time to the Kingdom of *Makron*, betwixt *Persia*, and the Country of *Send* or *Ind*. After which *Gordonxa*, once more Returned to his Kingdom, where he dyed 1318.

He was succeeded by his Son *Emir Mobaradsadin Baravon Xa*, who together with his Brother, was by *Emir Xabadin Issuf* his Ge-Prison: *Issuf* afterwards mounted but was engaged in a war, im-iter, with *Emir Xa Kodbadin*.

Brother to the imprisoned King; *Dinar* came likewise with a strong flying Army, to his Assistance, from *Makron*, but finding *Issuf* too strong for them both, he Entred into a Confederacy with him; and *Issuf* after having caused the imprisoned King, his Mother, and one of his Brothers to be Slain, forced *Kodbadin* to Retire to *Kalayatte*, with *Bibi Marzam*, the spouse of *Ayas Ceyfin*. But *Kodbadin* afterwards Returned, unexpectedly to *Ormuz*, with a considerable force, and having made *Issuf* his Prisoner, he put the Crown upon his Head, and caused him, his wife and his two Sons, to be killed; after which he likewise made himself master of *Keys*. It happened that *Kodbadin* being abroad, hunting, on the Continent 1345. *Rud Xa Nofomadin*, in the mean while, got himself Proclaimed King of *Gerun* or *Ormuz*, but finding most of the Inhabitants averse to him, he quitted the Country. However it was not long before he Returned with a great Power, and having gain'd *Homer*, *Sadjadin*, *Kodbadin's* General, in joist with him. He forced *Kodbadin* to fly to *Kalayatte*. He had scarce stay'd there a Year, when word was brought him, that *Nofomadin* was Dead, and that by his Last Will he had enjoined his Sons, *Xembe* and *Xay*, to settle themselves at the Feet of *Kalayatte*, and to Surrender the Crown to him. But finding that the two Young Men, instead of performing their Fathers will, had seized upon

gained the Crown of *Ormuz*. He dyed 1347, in *Nakhsitan*, a Province of *Makron*.

He was succeeded by *Turenxa* his Son, (who writ the Lives of the Kings, his Predecessours both in *Verte* and *Persia*). He vanquished *Xembe* and *Xay*, and dyed 1378, after he had Reigned 30 Years. After him his eldest Son, *Salgar*, gained the Crown of *Ormuz*, who was slain by *Xabadin*, the second Son of *Turenxa*, after whom Reigned *Salgar*, *Turenxa's* second Son. Under his Reign, *Salgar's* Conquered all *Persia*, even to the Continent, directly opposite to the Island of *Gerun*, or *Ormuz*, which escaped his Hands, for want of Shipping; but *Salgar* lost all that he was possessed of on the Continent. For the rest he Reigned, in Peace, as did his Successor *Xauves*. Him succeeded *Seyfadin*, who Reigned 1507 when the *Portugueses*, after they had discovered the Passage by Sea to the *Indies*, first set footing in the Isle of *Ormuz*, under the Command of *Alfonso Albuquerque*, the King being then yet in his Minority, was under the Protection of one *Arar* or *Kegear*, his Fathers Slave, a brave but Cunning man; whose Chief aim was to let the young King bear the Title of King, but to keep the Administration of Affairs in his own hands. *Albuquerque* being not Ignorant of it, lookt upon this as a favourable opportunity to bring the City of *Ormuz*, under the Power of *Emanuel*, the then King of *Portugal*, or at least to make it tributary to him, by erecting a Fortress near it, by which means he might clear the *Persian* Gulph of all the *Turkish*, and other *Mahometan* Vessels, Trading to the *Indies*, and consequently Entail that whole Trade upon *Portugal*. He was about that time with six stout Men of War well Man'd, Cruising in those Seas; but thinking it below himself at such a juncture as this, to lie Privateering at Sea, he steer'd his Course the 20th of August 1507. towards the *Persian* Gulph, and sailing by the Cape *Resagar*, came to an Anchor before *Kalayatte*, (a Noble City, and the first on that Coast under the jurisdiction of the Kings of *Ormuz*) to provide himself with fresh Provisions. The Inhabitants dreading the name of the *Portugueses*, which was then already become famous throughout the *Indies*, entred into a confederacy with him, upon such conditions as *Albuquerque* was pleased to prescribe them. From thence he sail for *Kuriatte*, another City belonging to the Kings of *Ormuz*, on the *Arabia* Coast. Here the Inhabitants being of a free Opinion with those of *Kalayatte*, rather to defend themselves by force, than to submit to *Albuquerque*, tho' with very all



For *Albuquerque* having Landed so vigorously attack'd the City, *Garrison* after some Resistance were forced to leave it to his Mercy, which he burnt to the ground, with all their Ships he found in the Harbour. In the same manner he made himself Master of the *Maskate* and *Orifasant*, two strong and well fortified places, belonging to the King of *Ormuz*; and from thence directly taking his Course to *Ormuz* it self, the chief Aim of this Expedition, he sent word to King *Seyfadin* and *Atar* the Protector, That *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* having taken a Resolution, out of an hereditary Hatred to the *Mahometans*, the declared Enemies of *Christendom*, to make War against them, which should not end but with the total Conquest of either side, he was come to tell them, that if they were ready, according to the Example of several other *Asiatick* and *African* Kings, to pay his Master a certain Yearly Tribute, he would leave them in the quiet Possession of the Island, but if they refused to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for their Lord, he was come to denounce them War, which was not to end, but with their Total Destruction.

The King being sorely frightened at the last Success of the *Portuguese*, and dreading the same Fate, thought it his best way to cajol *Albuquerque* with fair Words into a Belief of his sincere Intentions of Peace; but at the same time, by the Advice of *Atar* sought to gain time, and to delay his positive Answer, till the expected Auxiliaries from the Continent of *Persia* were Arrived. No sooner had he received these Supplies, but he altered his Note, and in plain terms sent word to *Albuquerque*, that the Kings of *Ormuz* were not used to pay, but to receive Tribute from Foreigners; That in case the *Portuguese* would be contented with the same Privileges of Trading, other Nations enjoy'd there, they should be welcome; but, that if they once came to Hostilities, they should be convinced to their cost, what difference there was to fight with well appointed *Persians* and *Arabians*, and with an undisciplin'd Rabble of *Moors*. By this time *Atar* the Protector had got above 20000 Men together, part of which he Embark'd aboard the Merchant Vessels then in Harbour there, which he posted in a Line along the Shoar, to prevent the Enemies Landing, whilst he with the Men of War put to Sea with an Intention to Attack *Albuquerque* in the Rear; so soon as he should be engaged with the Merchant Men: But *Albuquerque* instead of Attacking the Merchant Ships, came up with *Atar's* Fleet and Engaged them so furiously, that in a

short time he sunk many of them, and burnt the rest, with a great Slaughter of Men on the Enemies side, whereas the *Portuguese* lost not above Ten Men during the whole Engagement. King *Seyfadin* being sensible that the Loss of his Fleet must of necessity draw that of the whole Island after it, sent immediately his Deputies to *Albuquerque* to Treat of Peace; They were kindly received by the *Portuguese* General, who gave immediate Orders, that the Fire which had seized by this time upon the Merchant Ships, should be extinguished immediately, and the next day a Peace was concluded betwixt them upon these following Conditions.

That *Seyfadin* King of *Ormuz* and all his Successors submit themselves to, and shall acknowledge the King of *Portugal* their Protector, and pay him an Annual Tribute of 15000 *Scraps*.

That *Albuquerque* shall have Liberty to pitch upon a Place, such as he judges most convenient for the erecting of a Fortress, for which purpose he shall be supply'd with ready Money, and other Necessaries by the said King.

Accordingly *Albuquerque* applied himself with all imaginable speed to the Building of the Fortress; but many of the Gentlemen Volunteers and other *Portuguese* looking upon it as a great Hardship, to spend their time here in Slavish Drudgery, whilst they mis'd their opportunity of getting a Rich Booty at Sea, from the Moorish Ships, (the main intent of their Voyage) began to murmur, and at last with the consent of their Captains, embark'd themselves aboard two Men of War, and in spite of *Albuquerque* return'd to the *Indies*. He was vex'd to the Soul, to see himself thus Disappointed in this great Design, but being forced to comply with Necessity, he follow'd the rest. But some years after he being sent from the King of *Portugal* in the Quality of Viceroy of the *Indies*, he did, after the Conquest of *Goa* and *Malacca* bring it to Perfection in the following manner.

He caused 1577 22 Men of War, and a good Number of Merchant Ships to be Equipp'd at *Goa*, and to have it rumour'd so broad, that he intended to go with this Fleet to *Aden* (a City at the Entrance of the *Red-Sea*) to prevent those of *Ormuz* to conceive any Jealousie of this Equipment. But no sooner was he come to *Maskate*, but he changed his Course, and Steer'd directly for *Ormuz*, where his Arrival caused an incredible Fear both in the King and People. For *Atar* being dead since, and King *Seyfadin* poison'd by *Noradin* Governor of the City, his Brother *Toro* or *Torunxa* had usurp'd the Kingdom from his Children.

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Noradin, who had both by this Act, and before heap'd up many Obligations upon this new King, got thereby the sole Administration of the Government into his own Hands, and daily appear'd in Publick with a strong Guard, consisting most of his own Kinsfolks. Those that bore the chiefest Rank among these were three Brothers, among whom was one *Hamades*, *Noradin's* Chief Favourite, a Man of about 35 Years of Age, Bold, Prudent and very Ambitious, and resembling in every respect the late deceas'd Protector *Atar*. He took effectual Care, by placing his Creatures in all places of Trust, whereby he Establish'd himself in the Management of the Government, so that not only *Noradin*, but also *Toro* himself durst not attempt to Act contrary to his Sentiments. From hence it was, that, tho' the League with *Portugal* had been kept inviolably hitherto, the *Portugueses* had been civilly receiv'd there, and the Yearly Tribute punctually paid, yet was the Power of *Hamades* so prevailing, as to have constrained *Toro* to accept of the *Persian* Turbant, sent him by *Ismael Sophi*, an evident sign, that *Hamades* his Inclinations were rather for the *Persians* than *Portugueses*. *Albuquerque* being not ignorant of what pass'd at *Ormuz*, resolv'd, by delivering King *Toro* from the slavish Submission impos'd upon him by his Subjects, to Confirm him absolutely in his Fidelity and Interest to the King of *Portugal*; for which purpose he surrounded the whole Island with his Fleet, to take away from them all Hopes of Relief, and immediately sent word to the King, that he was come thither with no other Intent, than to enter upon a new League betwixt the Kings of *Portugal* and *Ormuz*.

King *Toro* being not a little surpris'd at the unexpected Appearance of so great a Fleet, dispatch'd immediately his Deputy's to *Albuquerque*, to Treat with him concerning the Conditions of it; *Albuquerque* demanded, that, besides the Annual Tribute to be paid to the King of *Portugal*, Liberty should be given him to build a Fortress and a Factory House to secure the Trade of the *Portugueses*; and King *Toro* being willing enough to grant what he desired, the League was Confirm'd by a Solemn Oath on both sides. But *Hamades* who soon foresaw that the building of this Fortress would tend to the no small Detriment of his Authority, left no Stone unturn'd to prevent its Accomplishment, which *Albuquerque* being soon aware of, he caus'd this ambitious Favourite to be kill'd. After his Death, the *Portugueses* meeting with no other Obstacle, the Fortress was soon after brought to Perfection; King *Toro* readily furnishing them with Materials and other Necessaries. The next

Care of *Albuquerque* was, how to remove all the Opportunities of a Future rebellion among the Inhabitants of *Ormuz*; for this purpose, after having taken the Oath of Fidelity from King *Toro*, he removed all the great Cannon out of the City, and sent about 30 Persons of the Royal Family, who had their Eyes taken away before, and were maintain'd at the King's Charge, from thence to *Goa*, where they were to be provided for by certain Persons appointed for that purpose by *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. *Albuquerque* having thus settled the Affairs of *Ormuz* return'd to *Goa*, where he was no sooner Arrived, but dy'd. The *Mahometans* call this *Albuquerque* *Malandy*, because he was born at *Melinde* in *Africa*, call'd by them *Maland*. 1662.

It was not long before King *Toro* refus'd to pay the usual Tribute to the *Portugueses*, alledging that they did not defend him against the Violences committed by *Mokrin* his Vassal Prince of the Island of *Baharen*, who hinder'd the Ships from coming to *Ormuz*. *Sequeira* then Governour of the *Indies* for the King of *Portugal*, sent hereupon seven Men of War (aboard of which were 400 *Portuguese* Soldiers) to the Assistance of King *Toro* under the Command of *Anthony Korrea*; which were join'd by 200 Barks of the King's. Mann'd with 3000 *Persians*, under the Conduct of *Xaraf* his Admiral. *Mokrin* brought together an Army of 12000 Men, consisting of 3000 *Arabian* Horse, 4000 *Persian* Archers, and the rest of *Turkish* Firelocks, and some of his own Subjects, Arm'd only with Scymeters and Javelins; But being Overthrown and Slain in Battel, the Isle of *Baharen* fell into the Hands of the King of *Ormuz*, who gave it to one *Bardadi*, under Condition, that he should pay him an Annual Tribute of 40000 *Serafs*.

By this time *Sequeira* being sufficiently convinced, that the King his Master was circumvented in his Share of the Customs and other Taxes, appointed certain *Portuguese* Commissioners to have a watchful Eye over them, which so exasperated the Inhabitants, that King *Toro* in 1521 Revolted, and caus'd all the *Portugueses* at *Ormuz*, except such as fled into the Fortresses, to be kill'd; the same Treatment receiv'd the *Portugueses* at *Kuriatte*, *Soar*, and in the Island of *Baharen*, who were either all slain or Imprison'd. Then he attempted the taking of the Fortress, but meeting with a brave Resistance from the *Portugueses*, and dreading their Return with a good Fleet, he retir'd with all his Subjects and their Effects to the Isle of *Queixome*, and set fire to the City of *Ormuz*, which burnt four days successively.

But not long after *Xarab*, the Chief adviser and promoter of this Revolt, having received Intelligence of the coming of the *Portuguese* Fleet, and fearing to be call'd to a severe Account, kill'd King *Tore*; and in his stead put *Mamud Scha*, one of the Sons of *Seyfadin*, upon the Throne. This King being but 13 Years of Age, made a new League with the *Portuguese*; by virtue of which, he was oblig'd to pay an Annual Tribute of 20000 *Seraps* to the King of *Portugal*: The Inhabitants of *Ormuz* were to restore to the *Portuguese* all that they had taken from them; in consideration of which, the *Portuguese* were not to intermeddle with their Custom-House, or other Courts of Judicature. In the Year 1550, the *Turks* made an In-road into the Isle of *Ormuz* and laid it almost desolate. The King who in 1566, Reign'd in *Ormuz* was call'd *Siafirusia* of *Abnuxa Gialadin*; and in 1580, Reign'd one *Teraquixas*, who, tho' very Ancient, had a great inclination to Marry *Bisatme*, the Widow of *Rex Bradadin* his late Governour of *Mogestan*, thereby to be Master of her Treasure, which was very great; She gave him or Answer, *That she would comply with his desires, as soon as he had perfected his new Gardens & Tarumbake, and found out a new Spring of fresh Water*; both which the King having found means to effect in a short time, he was nevertheless disappointed in his expectation by the crafty Widow. He that Reign'd in *Ormuz* in 1606, was *Xegue* i. e. Prince *hjo*, or as some call him *Ajgias*, i. e. King *hjo*.

For tho' the *Portuguese* by the Conduct of *Albuquerque* had got into the Possession of the Island of *Ormuz*, ever since 1507, nevertheless the Succession of their Kings from father to Son, was kept inviolable under the protection of the Crown of *Portugal*; for so soon did the King of *Ormuz* die, but the Inhabitants set another of the Royal Family, tho' not without the consent of the *Portuguese* Governour upon the Throne, who was oblig'd to take the Oath of Fidelity to the King of *Portugal*, after which he was invested with the Crown and Scepter by the said Governour, who Conducted him in great Pomp to the Royal Palace, and afterwards gave him all the demonstrations of respect and honour, tho at the same time he durst not stir from the Island without his approbation.

The Ancient Kings of *Ormuz* were Masters of vast Territories on the Continent of *Persia* and *Arabia*; and among the rest of the Countries of *Lar* and *Mogestan* in *Persia*, the first of which is commonly call'd the *Persian* coast; and the Country of *Lar* being a mountainous Country of very difficult ac-

cess, serv'd them as a Bulwork against the *Persians*. For, after these had once taken from the King of *Ormuz*, the Country of *Lar*, and what else they were possess'd of on the Continent of *Persia* (whose Example was followed by the *Arabians*) the Isle of *Ormuz* was bereaved of its chief defence, and expos'd to the insults of the *Persians*.

It was the custom of the Ancient Kings of *Ormuz*, in order to secure to themselves the quiet possession of the Throne, to confine their next Kinsfolks, or such as had any pretensions to the Crown, with their Wives and Children, where they were well entertain'd, and kept till the King thought fit to dispose of them otherwise. They also used to blind their Brothers, and others descended of the Royal Line, because it was a fundamental Law amongst them, that no blind Man could Sway the Scepter. It was performed thus; They made a Copper Basin red hot, which they immediately after it was taken out of the Fire, held frequently close before the Eyes of him that was to be bereaved of his eyesight; which without any further Application, had the desired effect, without giving the least blemish to the Eyes in outward appearance, which look'd as clear as before. Some will have it to have been done with a red hot Iron.

The Kings of *Ormuz* possessed vast Treasures in former Ages; the Customs they received from all Goods Exported and Imported there, amounting to an immense Sum yearly; which empower'd them to extend their Conquests on the Continent of *Persia* and *Arabia*, which they afterwards lost again, by their own neglect. For whilst they themselves were drowned in voluptuousness, they left the sole management of affairs to their Favourites, who increasing in Pride as they did in Riches, at last left them nothing but the bare Royal Name, whilst they acted in the Government at their own Pleasure, disposing of the Treasury and all other Matters of Moment, as it suited best with their own Interest, whereby both the Power of the Kings and the strength of the Kingdom being weaken'd, they were no longer able to Cope as before, with their Enemies, and at last were forced to yield themselves Tributaries to the *Portuguese*, who were afterwards, viz. in 1622, chased from thence by the *Persians*, with the assistance of the *English*, under the Reign of their King *Schach Abbas*; which happened in the following manner.

The *Portuguese* at *Ormuz* had no sooner been adverted of the taking of the Fort of *Queixome* (Situate upon the Point of the Island of the same Name); but they sent Deputies in the Name of the King of *Ormuz* and

of *Goazi* to the *Persian Chan* of *Shiras*, to come with them to an amiable Composition; but with such evident marks of Fear, that the *Persians*, who had lately received advice of a Powerful Incurſion made by the *Usbeck* and *Nogayan Tartars*, and consequently would have reſted ſatisfied with the Conqueſt of the Iſle of *Queixome*, being ſenſible thereof, reſolved not to let ſlip this opportunity of Plundering as it were enpaſſent the City of *Ormuz*. Accordingly the *Chan* of *Shiras*, without tarrying any longer in the Iſland of *Queixome*, Embarked about 40000 *Persians* and *Arabians* under the Conduct of *Emanuelibey* his Lieutenant, in ſome Barks, who coming before the City of *Ormuz*, found it deſerted by the *Portugueſes* and moſt of its other Inhabitants, but met with a prodigious quantity of Merchandice, which they either could or would not bring into the Caſtle. The *Persians* ſecing themſelves thus Maſters of the City, without ſtriking a blow, and finding that under the Protection of the Houſes, they might open their Trenches, without any conſiderable danger from the Cannon of the Caſtle, ſet to work without delay, and ſoon carried them on to the foot of the *Lutia*, which being dry on that ſide, they paſſ'd without much oppoſition. Then they attack'd the Baſtion of *St. James*, which they undermin'd and made themſelves Maſters of it in a few days; the Gaſſion all this while not making one Salley, but were forced to ſurrender the Place the 3d of *May*, after a Siege of ten Weeks. They conſiſted of 400 Men, regular Troops, beſides Women and Children, which were ſome days before ſent to *Maskate*. The *Engliſh* had the chief hand in making the conditions for this Surrender, which were,

That all the Soldiers ſhould have their lives granted them;

*And that all ſuch as were willing ſhould be tranſported to Maskate in two Engliſh Ships appointed for that purpoſe; which was ſtrictly obſerved by the Persians; They made the King of Ormuz, and Goazil, with their Families priſoners, and Seized upon their whole Treafure, which in Pearls, and Gold, Amounted to above Two Millions, beſides a vaſt Booty of Precious Stones, and other Riches belonging to the Inhabitants, and 300 pieces of Cannon, all which fell to the *Persians* Share, who loſt a great Number of Men, in the Siege of this Fortreſs. The *Portugueſes*, before they Surrendered the Fort, took Care to make all the Cannon uſeleſs, by Nailing of it up. The King of *Ormuz*, with ſome other *Arabians* of Note, were carried Priſoners into *Persia*, together with the before mentioned, *Goazil Raia Noadina*. This Laſt was a young Lord, a*

Subject of the King of *Spain*, a very handſome Perſon, and well verſed in the *Persian*, and *Arabian* Hiſtories. He had at the Beginning of the Siege, Offered 10000 Crowns in Ducats and *Xeraſins*, to the *Persians*, to be tranſported to *Maskate* in *Goa*; and the unfortunate King of *Ormuz*, had likewiſe made an offer of his whole Treafure to the *Portugueſes*, to obtain the ſame Favour, which was reſuſed by the *Portugueſes*, notwithstanding they were both Vaſſals of the King of *Portugal*; which has given no Slender cauſe of Suſpicion, to ſome, as if the *Portugueſes* had invited the *Persians* thither, when they ſued for peace to them, in the Iſle of *Queixome*. The *Engliſh*, in conſideration of this Service, had the moiety of all the cuſtoms, and other Revenues granted them by the *Persians*. The Chief reaſon of the loſs of the Fortreſs of *Ormuz*, is attributed to the Revok of the Gaſſion in the *Portugueſe* Fort of *Queixome*, who in ſpight of *Ruy Freira* their Governour, ſurrendered it to the *Persians*. It was alſo alledged, that if the Governour of the *Portugueſe* Fortreſs of *Ormuz*, had, according to the advice of the other Commanders, filled the ditch betwixt the City, and the Fortreſs with water; by opening the Sluices the *Persians*, would have found it a much harder Teſk, to have approached ſo near to the Baſtion of *St. James*.

Before the *Portugueſes* had diſcovered, the paſſage by Sea, to the *Indies*, all the *Indian* Commodities, were brought into *Europe* by the way of *Ormuz*; whither they were firſt tranſported, out of all parts of the *Indies*; and from thence through the *Persian Gulph*, and along the River *Euphrates*, to *Baſſora*, which City lies upon the Confluence of the two great Rivers the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. From *Baſſora* they were by Land, carried by Camels, to *Bagdad*, a City upon the *Tigris*. From hence they Travelled with their Merchandices in Caravans through the deſerts of *Syria* to *Aleppo*, being a journey of forty days; and from *Aleppo* to *Tripolis*, in *Syria* bordering upon the *Mediterranean* (only three days journey) from whence they were tranſported by the *Mediterranean* into all parts of *Europe*. From hence it is evident that *Ormuz* in former Ages was the Staple of all the *Indian* Commodities. But ſince the diſcovery of the Sea paſſage to the *East-Indies*, by the *Portugueſes*, by the Cape of good hope, this way of tranſporting the *Indian* Commodities by Land, is laid aſide, tho' even to this day, certain *Indian* Merchandices, but eſpecially *Persian* Silks, are brought from *Ormuz* by Land by the Caravans, this Iſland by reaſon of its Situation, at the Entrance of the *Persian Gulph*.

1662 Gulph, and its two harbours, lying very commodious for traffick and Shipping, from the Eastern parts of the World. After the City of Ormus was fallen into the Hands of the Persians, most of its Traffick and Staple of the Indian Commodities, was from thence transferred to *Gamron*, a City upon the Persian Coast; built upon the ruins of *Ormuz*. We will not proceed to a short description of the Islands of *Baharen*, *Queixome* and *Kesem*.

1662 Isle of Baharen. Among a great Number of other Islands in the Persian Gulph, and under the Jurisdiction of Persia, one of the chief is the Isle of *Baharen*, or *Bahrem*, called by *Strabo* and *Pliny* *Tilos*, and is by some taken to be the same Island, Called *Ichera* by *Ptolemy*. It is Situate in the Streights of *Basjora* or the Persian Gulph, betwixt *Basjora* and the Isle *Genus*, or *Ormus*, about 60 Leagues distant from each, near the Arabian Coasts, over against the harbour of *Katifia*. This Island abounds in water, but is brackish, the best of all being found in certain ponds, or pools, in *Narab* in the midst of the Island; next to which that which is taken out of the Sea, is in most esteem which is performed in the following manner.

There are certain Springs of fresh water arising in the bottom of the Sea, at 3 Fathoms and $\frac{1}{2}$ deep. Near the City of *Manana* certain Divers go early in the morning in boats, about three fathoms deep in the Sea from the Shoar, and dive to the bottom of the Sea, fill their Earthen or Leathern Vessels with the water that Issues from the Springs, and so come up again and Return to the shoar; this they do with a great deal of dexterity, and nimbleness. These Springs are supposed to have been formerly on the Shoar, not far from the Sea-side, which since that time have been swallowed up by the inundations of the Sea, occasioned by Earthquakes. This Isle is very Fertile, abounding in Fruits of all Sorts, but especially Dates. But all the Rice, (which together with the Dates, is the General Food of the Inhabitants); is from the *Indies* Transported to *Ormus*, and from thence into this Island, which is famous throughout the *Indies*, by reason

1662 earl fish. of the Pearl fishery here, from whence the King of Persia, draws a Vast Revenue yearly, as may be gathered from thence, that after this Island, was fallen into the hands of one *Bardadin*; (who succeeded *Anthony Koria Makrin*, a Vassal of the King of *Ormus*) he promised to pay, a Yearly Tribute of 42000 *Seraps*. Besides this, the Pearl-trade here produces yearly at least 500000 Ducats, in ready Money, not to Reckon 100000 Ducats more, which are Shared betwixt the Persian Governour and the other Offi-

cers: For there is a great resort of Merchants to this place, which come hither from all parts of the World, to buy up Pearls, and to transport them to the *Indies*, and other places, the best and most precious Pearls in the World, been found near this Island of *Baharen*, and the Isle of *Gionfar* or *Giosfar* which both in bigness; and Roundness, far exceed those found near the other Islands of *Larif*, *Lafen*, *Barechato*, *Zezeirasilhar*, *Atul*, *Sevan*, *Djud*, *Danz*, *Emergencenon*, *Ancevi*, *Serechos*, *Delmesalmaz*, *Sirbeniaff*, *Aldane*, *Festebruetich*, *Cherizom*, *Dibei*, *Sarba*, *Agiman*, *Raz*, *Emelgezien*, *Rafagiari*, *Daoin*, *Rafaelchimes*, *Sirkorker*, *Kajab*, *Kongar*, *Mesenderendi*, *Lima*, *Debe*, *Chorf*, *Chelb*, *Sarat*, *Suer*, *Mestlar*, *Garajat*, *Teuji*, *Gulaf*, *Eurgarile*, *Sam*, *Gamada*, *Bacha*, and *Jadi*. All which afford Pearls, but they are not exactly round. Near *Meskate* about 33, or 34 Leagues from *Ormus*, are likewise very good Pearls to be found.

The Pearl fishery near *Baharen* begins sometimes in *June*, but Generally in *July*, and continues till the End of *August*. About 200 Barks go abroad together, viz. 100 belonging to the Isle of *Baharen*, 50 to *Basjora* and 50 to *Nihely*; their Rendezvous being commonly near *Katar*, a Sea-port of *Arabia*, 6 Leagues South of *Baharen*. The Pearls taken here, Exceed all the Rest in Goodness, Beauty, and Weight, tho' not in bigness. They Catch them by means of a Stone, which by its weight is let down 12 or 18 Fathom under water. They sell the Pearls by *Karats* and *Abas* three of which make one *Karat*; and by *Marikals*, or *Mirgals*, each of which contains 42 *Karats*. The Small Pearls are sold by *Mirgals*. Besides this General fishery near *Katar*, which Continues for two Months, there are several other particular Fisheries, near *Nihely*, *Baharen*, *Gulfar*, *Meskate*, *Teude*, and *Rozalgate*, in the Persian Gulph, which, tho' not of so great Consequence as the first, yet are commonly, greatly beneficial to the owners. As they take up the Oysters, they open them, when the Pearls drop out. It is Generally believed, that these Pearls, are progenerated by the May-dews, during which Month, the Oysters rise up to the Surface of the Waters, and Opening themselves receive a small quantity of dew, which being Coagulated, afterwards produces these Pearls. Certain it is, that if these Oysters are opened before *June*, the Pearls are soft and pliable like Pitch. Most of the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Baharen*; are *Arabians*, but the Garrison Consists of *Persians*, under the Command of a *Vizier* sent thither by the King of *Persia*. Formerly this Isle was under the Jurisdiction of the Kings of *Ormus*, and

nd in 1602, taken from them by the Portuguese. But when the Persian Sultan of Xiras had aid Siege to the Portuguese Fortrefs of *Converm*, He made himself Master of *Baharen*. The King of *Persia* alledging, that he had not taken it from the Portuguese, but from Vassal of the King of *Ormus*, who was his Vassal; so that ever since 1602 the Persians have been in Possession of it.

The Isle of *Queixome*, or *Queixime*, or *Queixons*, otherwise called *Kechmiche*, and by the Inhabitants *Bokt*, lies close to the Continent of *Persia*, being separated from it only by a small branch of the Sea: It has about two Leagues in Circuit, and is three Leagues distant from *Ormus*. Its two chief Places are *Arbez* and *Hemcal*, where the King of *Ormus* at the time when *Albuquerque* first appeared hereabouts, had strong Garrisons. The other Places of Note are, *Laphr*, the best Harbours of this Island, *Darbaga* not far from the *Laphr*, *Chau*, and *Sirmion* or *Sermion*. It bears plenty of Corn, but especially Barly, without which, the Inhabitants of *Ormus*, who are supplied from hence with it for their Horses, could Scarce subsist there. Here is also a most Excellent Spring of Fresh Water; to secure which, the Persians had Erected a Fort hard by, for fear of the Portuguese, who were then as yet Masters of *Ormus*. If we may believe some Historians, this Island was not Inhabited in Ancient times; partly by reason of the Frequent Earthquakes, that happened there, partly by reason of the vast Number of Serpents, and other venomous Creatures, which infected both Air, and some Trees, so, as to render the Island uninhabitable. Among these Trees, is one called *Baxama* or *Baxana*, the Fruit of which is so Poisonous that the least Taste of it, kills in an Instant; and its Shadow is so pestiferous, that it kills those, who abide there, in less than a quarter of an Hour. The Root of this Tree, is in several other parts, esteemed as the greatest Antidote that can be, but here it is Mortal, as are its Leaves, and Fruit called *Rabuzit*.

The Portuguese in 1622, Conquered this Island from the Persians; and on the point opposite to *Ormus*, Erected a Fort, fortified with a Wall, and Surrounded with a broad and deep ditch, but the Wall was very slight being sustained from behind only by some loose Earth. In short it was a Place of no defence; without any Great Cannon, neither in a Condition to bear the weight of them. It had three Ponds within its Precinct, being Chiefly built by the Portuguese, for that Purpose, because the Inhabitants of *Ormus*, were from thence supplied with Water. Scarce

had the Portuguese finished this Fort, but the Persians, out of the Country of *Lara*, in 1622, besieged it by Land, as the English did at Sea; The Portuguese Commander, *Ruy Freira de Andreala*, defended himself bravely for some time, and killed many of the Persians, who would have bought it perhaps at a dear Rate, had not the English Threatned to bring their Great Cannon against it; which obliged the Garrison who were not provided with them, to Capitulate, and to Surrender the Fort upon Honourable Conditions, which were not performed on the Enemies side. There are some others who have given us the following Account of the Occasion of this Siege.

The King of *Persia* had 1612, taken the Isles of *Queixome* and *Baharen* and the Fortresses of *Bandel* and *Mogistan* on the Continent, from the King of *Ormus*, which he refusing to restore, the King of Portugal sent his express Orders to *Ruy Freira*, that in case the King of *Persia* would not restore the Isle of *Queixome* and the Fortrefs of *Bandel*, he should declare War against him, and erect a Fort on the Point of the Isle of *Queixome*. Accordingly *Ruy Freira de Andreala*, who in the beginning of June 1620, came to *Ormus*, caused a Fort to be built on the Point of the said Island, surrounded only with a slender Wall made of Stone and Clay, or Loam; being scarce to be compar'd in strength to some Private Buildings: The Persians with the assistance of the English, having erected a small Battery against it, did play upon the Fort with their Cannon, which did strike such a Terror into the Garrison, that they refused to stand the brunt any longer, but forced *Ruy Freira* to capitulate. For *Emanuellican* Governour of *Shivas* being just then come with 5000 Men to *Bandel* or *Gamrou*, he sent part of his Forces under the Command of *Emanuellicy* to the Siege of the Fort of *Queixome*; *Ruy Freira*, as I told you, being forced to surrender, had obtained certain conditions from the English, for himself and the Garrison, among which the chiefest was, That the whole Garrison as well Portuguese as Arabians (the last of which were come thither from *Zulfa*, upon the Coast of *Arabia*, under the Command of *Emir Alikamai Zemar Mahomet*, and had done signal Services by Sallies and otherwise) should be safely conducted to *Maskate*, a City on the Coast of *Arabia*, belonging to the Portuguese; but this was but ill perform'd by the Persian General, who before the Portuguese were Embarked, caused all the Arabians to be beheaded, in spite of the Protestations of *Ruy Freira*, who accused the English with breach of Faith, but these excused themselves, alledging that these Arabians having formerly been

been Subjects of the King of *Persia*, it was not in their Power to prevent; No more than 20 out of 250 *Arabians* escaped with life, who were hid by the *English* Seamen. The Commander in chief of these *Arabians*, Emir Genedin being brought before the *Persian* General, was by his Orders stabled in his presence, by *Xaral* his Son-in-law, and then Governour of *Mogoflan*; but the *Portuguese* Garrison consisting of 200 Men, were, by the *English*, instead of conveying them to *Maskate*, set on Shoar in the Isle of *Ormuz*, from whence they got safe into the *Portuguese* Castle.

The Isle of *Tarek* is Situate three Leagues from the Coasts of *Arabia*, to the South of the Isle of *Ormuz*, and to the East of the Isle of *Ketchmiche*. It is destitute of Inhabitants, and very small in Compass, the *Dutch* who reside on the behalf of the *East-India* Company at *Gamron*, have planted there only a Garden near a Certain Pond, whither the Wild Boars and Staggs, which are here in great Numbers, come to drink; They also keep here, some Tame Fowl for their Recreation. It is now time we should leave *Gamron* and *Ormuz*, and proceed on our Voyage.

After we had taken in our Lading at *Gamron*; we set Sail from thence the 2d, of *June*, and with a favourable Gale, passed along the Coast of *Malabar*, towards the Isle of *Ceylon*; for before you come to the Coast of *Coromandel*, you are obliged to sail Round all that vast tract of Land. I had Letters by me, for the Governour of *Punto Gale*, a City of *Ceylon*, which I delivered to a Certain Master of a Small Vessel; without going ashoar my self. After we had provided our selves with Fresh water here, that the Rendezvouz of the *Dutch* Ships, was appointed to be at *Punto Pedro*, where Mr. *Rijklof van Goens* Commanded a Body of Troops, in order to Besiege the City of *St. Thomas*; whither we also directed our Course. But whilst the Great Train of Artillery was Embarking, and the Troops ready to go on Board for this Expedition, we received Intelligence, that the *Portuguese* had sold the City of *St. Thomas* to the *Jentyves* or *Pagans*; which made us also alter our Measures; and I went to *Jafencpatnam*, to dispatch my Business.

The City of *St. Thomas* is situate under 12 or 13 deg. 30 min. of Northern Latitude, 26 German Miles from *Negapatnam*; one and a half off the River *Ganges* near Cape *Komorijn*; and a days Journey, or five German Miles to the South of *Palidkatte*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, close to the Sea-shoar. The City of *St. Thomas* was otherwise called *Kalamina*, and by the Na-

tives *Meliapor*, which Name the *Portuguese* changed into that of *St. Thomas*; in Honour of that Apostle, which Name it retains to this day, not only among the Christians, but also the *Turks*, and *Indians*. *Meliapor* Signifies in their Language, as much as a Peacock, intimating, that as this Bird is the most Beautifull of all others, so, this City did in Beauty excell all the rest of the East. Some will have the City of *St. Thomas*, or *Meliapor*, to be the same called *Mapura* by *Ptolemy*. This City was quite desolate, when the *Portuguese* first came there, who Rebuilt it in 1545. Since which time it has Encreased to that Degree, that not many Years after, she was Accounted one of the finest Cities in all the *Indies*: Both in respect of the Magnificence of its Building; and the Number of Rich Inhabitants. It is Fortified with Stone-wall, strengthened by several Bastions; and had under its Jurisdiction above 300 Villages and Towns. It is one of the Richest Sea Port of all the *East-Indies*, its situation being in the midst of all the best Harbours of those Parts; which renders it the more Convenient, for the *East-India* trade. Whilst this place was in the Hands of the *Portuguese*; it was at first, Incorporated with the Diocess of the Bishop of *Cochin*, but afterwards erected into a Bishopdom, under the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Goa*. They had a Church here, Dedicated to *St. Francis*, belonging to the *Capuchins*, and two others, one dedicated to *St. John*, the other to the *Virgin Mary*. Where the *Mahometans*, and *Pagans* were Instructed, and Baptized. In the Suburbs, was the Church of *St. Lucy*, and in the City, the Monastery of *Charity* and *Lazarus*, besides three others. The *Jesuits*, of whom there was a Considerable Number here; had a Goodly College within the City, wherein the Children of the *Portuguese*, and of the Chief *Malabars*, were Instructed in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion. Next to this College, was a very large Parish, Inhabited by Christians, such as were by the *Jesuits* Converted from Paganism and Mahometanism, of which 120 were Baptized in 1694. Here you see also, the Famous Church of *St. Thomas*, this Apostle as the *Portuguese* pretend being Buried here; His Sepulchre is shown to this Day on the top of a Mountain, near a City, over which they have Built a small Chappel, which may be discovered at some distance at Sea. Close to this College, upon a pretty high Hill is a Chappel; which as they say, was *St. Thomas's* usual Sleeping place. The *Jesuits* *St. Thomas* shew their Reverence to this place, mas have Adorned that part of the Chap- Chappel.

del whole *St. Thomas* used to say his Prayers, with six Iron steps.

Here you see also Stone Cross, which they say is, that in the Apostles time did Heaven; for which reason they have covered it with an Arch, as they have done with the adjacent Spring, which arising from a Rock, is covered by another Arch resting upon four Columbs. The whole Chappel is likewise adorned with many Ornaments, and the Wood of the Chappel being look'd upon as a precious Relick; is frequently set in Gold, and carried away by the Devout Pilgrims.

We continued our Course along the Coast till we came to *Negapatnam*, where we were to unload part of our Cargo.

Negapatnam.

Negapatnam or *Negapatnam* is composed of *Naga*, which in the *Malabar* Tongue signifies a Serpent, and *Patanam* or *Patan* a City; because round about this place used to be seen a certain kind of very venomous Serpents, call'd *Cobros Capellos*; i. e. Head Serpents. It is Situate under the 9 deg. 45 min. and the Adjacent Cape under 11 deg. of Northern Latitude; beyond the Rocks of *Romanankir*, overagainst the Isle of *Manar*, just opposite to *Tripalikrin*, three Leagues from the City of *Trangubar*, and about 39 Leagues from the Cape *Comorin*, at the beginning of the Coast of *Bishnagar* and *Coromandel*. This City as well as its Castle call'd *Ragu*, acknowledge the *Portuguese* for its founders; the Castle being built for their better security against the attempts of the *Naik* or *Neyk*, Lord of the Circumjacent Country. They had several goodly Churches here, and a very fine Monastery belonging to the *Franciscans*, which was maintain'd at the Charge of the chiefest of the Inhabitants. There are to this day remaining divers fine Churches and other large Structures, with spacious Apartments, and Galleries according to the *Portuguese* Fashion. Next to the *Jesuits* College stood the Church of *Trangubar*. The City is pretty well Fortified with defensible Towers; surrounded with a good Moat: It is very Populous in proportion to its bigness, but most of the Inhabitants are of a tawny Complexion; being generally either *Mestizes*, i. e. such as are born of a *Portuguese* Father, and a *She Blackamore*; or *Kastices*, i. e. such as their Fathers were *Blackamores*, and their Mothers *Portuguese* Women. It is also inhabited by *Banyans* and *Mahometans*, who are the chiefest Traders here.

This City was the 23d of July 1658, surrendered to the Dutch by Composition.

For Mr. *John vander Laen* then Commander in chief of the Dutch Forces in those Parts, did, pursuant to his Orders from Mr. *Rijklof*

van Gorne, Admiral General of the Dutch Fleet, set sail from *Zeylan* in the Isle of *Ceylon*, in the 19th of June, to *Punto Pedro*, where he cast Anchor, and found the Yachts *Workum*, the *Naor*, *Star*, *Manar*, *Waterpals*, *Narapour*, the *liot the Amsteldam*, and the Chaloop *Ja* ready to join him; but the *Pidgeon* Yacht was run aground, and the *Workum* was fain to stay behind, having lost three of her Anchors. He took care to provide the Fleet immediately with as much Meat and other Refreshments as the Place would afford; and on the 20th, was likewise join'd by the Yachts the *Goes*, the *Pidgeon*, and the *Workum*. Next day Mr. *Lucas vander Dussen* took a Review of the Land Forces, which consisted of 500 Men, divided into 11 Companies, besides the Sea men. Mr. *Vander Laen* having summon'd all the Captains aboard the Admiral's Ship, where he gave them the necessary directions, how every one should behave himself in his Post, at their arrival before *Negapatnam*.

The 21st of July, the Fleet set sail from *Punto Pedro*, and arrived the 22d. early in the Morning in the Road before the City of *Negapatnam*, where he met with the Yachts the *Pipelen*, the *Naisepour* and a *Danish* Chaloop. Mr. *Vander Laen* ordered to set up the White Flag in the Yacht *Vander Goes*, and sent Mr. *Lucas vander Dussen*, with three Captains and an Interpreter in a Chaloop, and Credentials Letters to *Alfonso de Karvalho* the *Portuguese* Governour of *Negapatnam* and his Council, to summon the said City to a surrender upon honourable Conditions. About Noon Mr. *Vander Dussen* return'd, and gave an Account to the Admiral, that the *Portuguese* Governour and his Council, refused to admit any of the Company, except himself and the Interpreter; that he was very civilly received, and admitted to appear before the Council, where he had made use of all the Arguments he thought might induce them to surrender, desiring that they would send aboard the Admiral their Plenipotentiaries to treat about the Conditions. They desired time till the next Morning to consider of the Matter, and that the Admiral would be pleased to send another Chaloop to Morrow, because the *Jenyves* or Natives did stop the Passage of their Boats at the Mouth of the River. Accordingly the 23d. Mr. *Vander Dussen* with two Ensigns returned to *Negapatnam* in the same Chaloop with a white Flag, and brought back from thence *Manuel Karvalho* a *Jesuit*, *Lewis de Quintal Paisire*, and *Diego Berisero* two Captains, and *Antonio d'Almeida* a Lieutenant, instructed with Credentials and full Power from the *Portuguese* Governour, to treat about the surrender of

the City to the *Dutch East-India* Company upon Reasonable Terms. The Conditions proposed by them were these: That a Church should be allow'd to such *Portuguese* as were willing to remain there, with as many Priests as were requisite.

That the Inhabitants should have liberty to retire to *Bengale*; and that they might carry along with them all what belong'd to the Poor.

After some Contests on both sides, it was agreed to surrender the Place upon the following Conditions.

That the City of *Negapatan* belonging to his *Portuguese* Majesty, should be surrendered on *Wednesday* the 24th of *July*, to the *Dutch East-India* Company, with all its Territories, Cannon, Ammunition or Arms, as likewise the Keys of the Magazines and other Store-Houses thereunto belonging.

That Immediately as many Soldiers of the *East-India* Company shall be admitted into the City, as shall be thought requisite by them and the *Portuguese* Governour, for their mutual Security; and all Merchandises or what else may belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, shall at the same time be delivered without the least fraud.

The *Portuguese* Garrison now in the City shall March out with beat of Drum, Match& lighted Bullets in their Mouths, to a certain Place to be appointed by the *Dutch* Admiral *Mr. Vander Laen*, where they shall be disarm'd, except that the Officers even to the Ensigns shall have liberty to retain their Swords.

All the Inhabitants whether Clergy or Lay-men, Married or Unmarried, shall be left in the free Possession of all their Goods, except their Arms, as well moveable as unmoveable, Houses, Gold, Silver, Merchandises, Slaves both Sexes, till the last day of *October*, of same Year; against which time they shall provided with convenient Shipping, at the charge of the *Dutch East-India* Company, in order to carry them to *Goa*, or further to the North, if they please.

The Clergy-men shall then be at liberty to carry along with them all the Church Ornaments, or what else belong'd to the exercise of the Divine Worship, except the Bells, as likewise all the moveable Goods belonging to them.

The Lay-men, Soldiers and Merchants, may, without the least exception, Transport all their Moveables, Money, Gold, Silver, Jewels, Slaves of both Sexes, and all their Merchandises, provided the same don't belong to the King of *Portugal*.

The day of their departure being come, the *Portuguese* shall have their Swords restored to them.

Caspar Alfonso de Carvalho Governour, shall be Transported to what place he shall think fit.

Accordingly the 24th about Noon, seven Companies of *Dutch* Soldiers, one of *Ban* *daneses*, and one of *Laskaryns* under the Modler of *Negambo* took possession of the Gates of the City, at which time the *Portuguese* drew off from the Bastions, and Proclamation was made immediately, not to Molest, much less Robb the Inhabitants, under pain of Death.

Mr. Vander Laen himself, was received by the *Portuguese* Governour, who was not very well at that time; at the entrance of one of the Gates, where he had the Keys of all the City Gates deliver'd to him: From thence he went to take a view of the Bastions, and after having given the necessary Orders, he commanded the Inhabitants to appear the same Afternoon in the Court of the *Stads-house*, in order to be disarm'd, pursuant to the last agreement. They were no more than 670 strong, divided into 17 Companies, consisting of *Portuguese*, *Mestices* and *Topasses*, being all Inhabitants, not in the King of *Portugal's* Pay. Their Artillery consisted in 28 Brads, and 53 Iron Pickets of Cannon, small and great; their Ammunition in 8000 pounds of Gunpowder, Lead, and other things of this Nature in proportion; besides which, there were ten large, and eight small Bells in the Town.

Much about the same time the *Dutch* appeared before the City, the *Kapado Nagape*, or General of the *Neyk*, or Lord of the Country came to lay siege to it, but understanding that the *Dutch* were got into possession of it, he desired to be admitted into the City to confer with them, concerning the sudden surrender of it. His request being granted, he took a great deal of Pains to persuade the *Dutch*, that both the City, and all the *Portuguese* ought immediately to be delivered to the *Neyk* his Master, to make satisfaction for what they stood indebted to him; but this request was civilly refused by *Mr. Vander Laen*, who told him that he was very ready to cultivate a good Understanding with the *Neyk* and his Subjects, but that both in point of Conscience, as he was a Christian, and in honour he could not recede from the Articles of the surrender; By this time the hour approaching when the Inhabitants were to be disarm'd at the *Stads-house*, he invited the *Kapado* to go along with him, which he courteously accepted of: The Inhabitants earnestly intreated *Mr. Vander Laen* to permit them to be Transported to *Bengale* instead of *Goa*, unto whom he gave for Answer, That he would intercede for them in Writing with the *Dutch* Admiral General *vander Goens*. The 25th.

Publication

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages

Publication was made by beat of Drum, that every one without any exception of Persons or Quality, should deliver forthwith all his Arms at the Stadt-houfe, unless they would be excluded from the Benefit of the Capitulation; which was punctually performed the next day, which was spent altogether in receiving their Arms.

In the mean while the Neyk's Army had so inclosed the City, that we began to have some scarcity of Provisions; and the Dutch living at *Tranguabar*, a Danish Colony, began to be forely afraid of being attack'd by *Wardarajie Purnal*, who, as it was given out, was sent for, from the Country of *Tanjaor* by the Neyk to chastise those of *Tranguabar*; the Governour of which, *Esbeck Anderson*, had promised to cruise before the Bar of *Negapatan*, with three stout Yachts well man'd; instead of which he had sent only one small Chaloop; so that the Inhabitants fearing the worst, fled daily with their best Moveables into the Fort of *Danesburgh*. The 17th the *Kapado Nagapa* sent by the Neyk with an *Ola* or Letter from *Maniegal* appear'd in the City of *Negapatan*, where he delivered the following Letter to Mr. John vander Laen.

A Letter from the Neyk, to Mr. vander Laen.

THE 16th day of the Year *Welenby*. I Assy Para Neyk send to the Dutch Commander Moor this Letter; by which I would have them to understand, that the Portuguese Inhabitants of *Negapatan* have for these 12 Years last past, not payed their usual Taxes, but are run much behind. It is for this Reason, I sent my Army to attack them in the City of *Negapatan*, to demolish its Fortifications, and after the Inhabitants were reduced under my Obedience to grant them liberty to live as before, under my jurisdiction; having always lived in a good correspondence with the Dutch East-India Company, I desired their assistance by Sea; but now I am credibly inform'd, that you have made an Agreement with the Portuguese of *Negapatan*, who have delivered the City into your Hands; which is very displeasing to us; If you had a mind to maintain a good understanding with us, you ought first to have given us notice of it, and obtained our consent; but now you must surrender the City to us; therefore send one of your Deputies to Treat with me, and he shall be honourably received, and receive all the satisfaction that may tend to the maintaining a further good Correspondence betwixt us. If you do otherwise, you will have occasion to repent it; but as I know you to be Persons of Wisdom I don't question but you will surrender the City to our People; in Witness of which I have sent our *Kapado Nagapa* with this Letter.

Unto which Mr. Vander Laen sent this Answer.

Mr. vander Laen's Answer.

THE *Ola* or Letter delivered to us by your Highnesses Envoy *Nagapa*, I received with all imaginable respect, under the discharge of three pieces of Ordnance; out of which, having fully understood your Highnesses intentions, I am obliged to tell your Highness, That the Portuguese having surrendered to us the strong City of *Negapatan* without making the least Opposition, and under certain conditions, agreed on betwixt both Parties; we are bound by our Duty as Christians, to observe punctually in all respects the said Articles; it being unquestionable that without any injustice to your Highness, we have power to annoy the Portuguese, our Enemies, wherever we can meet with them; which makes us live in hopes that the friendship establish'd betwixt your Highness and the East-India Company will not suffer the least detriment upon this Account. What has the undertakings of the said Company not long ago against the Portuguese, in the Country of the Neyk of *Madura* and in other neighbouring Countries, and Kingdoms, which were never interposed to their prejudice, makes us believe that your Highness will not be displeased with the advantages obtained by us against the Portuguese, which as they tend to no other end than to increase our Trade in your Highnesses Dominions, so they must in time turn to your own Advantage. In the mean while we have Communicated your Highnesses Sentiments, by two several Yachts sent for that purpose, to the Directors of *Jasenapatan*, from whence we hourly expect an Answer, which we don't question will be to your Highnesses satisfaction.

In the mean while *Kamerapanijk* the adviser of this Siege was slain in disgrace with the Neyk.

The 30th Mr. Vander Laen received Letters from *Rijklof Goens*, dated the 29th, with the Ratification of the Capitulation, with Orders to send the Portuguese to the number of 150, according to their Request to *Bengale*, where they were likely to do them the least mischief, and they might soonest rid their hands of them. As to what concerned the difference with the Neyk, he advised to endeavour to compose the Matter by the means of some Presents; but if that would not succeed, to make his Forces retire deeper into the Country; in the mean time to give all the Courteous Entertainment to his Deputies, and to assure them, that he intended in a few days to be with them in Person, to adjust all matters in question betwixt them and his Highness; but if he committed any Hostilities against the City,

1 to stand upon the Defensive, and to pro-
 2 test in writing against his proceedings. In
 3 the mean while the *Neyk's* Forces continued
 in their Camp, which extended to the very
 Ditch of the City; and as it encreased daily in
 Number, so it occasion'd great scarcity
 within. The first of *August*, Mr. *Vander*
Laen was inform'd that the Commander in
 chief of the *Neyk's* Forces before *Negapatan*
 had received a Letter from the *Neyk*, di-
 rected to Mr. *Van Goens*, and in the after-
 noon, three Persons were sent into the City,
 to give Notice of the said Letter and some
 presents, which they desir'd might be re-
 ceived with all imaginable Demonstrations
 of respect. In compliance with which Mr.
Vander Laen commanded immediately Cap-
 tain *Wash* with his Company, and the *Mod-
 lier* of *Negombo* with his *Laskarins*, to post
 themselves in good Order without the Gates
 of the City, in Order to receive the Pre-
 sents with all imaginable Respect, under the
 discharge of three pieces of Cannon. They
 kept their Post till Evening, without
 seeing any Body, when a certain Person
 belonging to the *Neyk's* Camp came private-
 ly to the *Modliers*, and told him in the *Sin-
 galese* Language (for fear of being under-
 stood by others) that there was no *Ola* or
 Letter; nor any presents sent from the *Neyk*,
 the whole being only a Stratagem contriv'd
 on purpose to draw some of our Forces
 without the Gates into an Ambush; which
 they had been disappointed in, by our
 Forces not stirring from the Gates, upon
 which the *Modliers* and Captain *Wash*
 return'd with their Troops into the City,
 and the *Neyk's* Forces retir'd back into the
 Country. This *Neyk* Besieg'd *Negapatan*
 a second time, 1660. in September; but the
 French Garrison making a vigorous Sally,
 in which they kill'd 400 of his Men, they
 came to a Composition for that time, not-
 withstanding which, he appear'd before it
 gain in the next following Year.

The Country hereabouts bears such great
 plenty of Rice, that abundance of it is
 Transported from hence to other Places.
 But they have great Numbers of Lewd
 Women and Idle Fellows here.

Not far from the City is a *Pagode*, with
 a Stone Steeple, call'd *Tina*, the Pinnacle of
 which reaches to the very Clouds; the In-
 habitants believe that it was built by the
 Devils, and that in one Night. In the
 Suburbs to the North, which are of Mag-
 nificent Houses, there are likewise many
Pagode's or *Pagan* Temples, wherein you see
 many Idols of a terrible aspect, made only
 of Clay. Thus far concerning *Negapatan*.

From hence we pursu'd our Voyage
 towards *Palinkatte*, and saw the lofty and

most ancient *Pagode* call'd *Tyripopeliri*, which
 stands within the precinct of a Fort at a
 little Distance from the Sea-shoar, and of
 which I had the Curiosity to take a full
 View. It is an ancient Structure, the front
 of which is adorn'd with many Statues Ar-
 tificially cut in Stone. It is surrounded by
 a Wall with a Gallery on the top of it,
 over which are placed a great Number of
 large Coffins, which rest upon Statues of
 divers Figures, some representing a Horse,
 others somewhat else. The Walls are made
 of large blue Stones, which are brought
 thither a vast way, out of the Country, and
 most Artificially join'd together. The *Indi-
 an Pagodes* or Temples, seldom have any
 Light but what comes through a hole in the
 Frontispice; notwithstanding which, I ven-
 tur'd in, and found several Lamps burning
 there, by the Light of which I ascended by
 a pair of Stairs of Wood, to the top of the
 Temple, from thence to take a view of the
 circumjacent Country. But scarce was I
 come to the Stairs-head, when I saw my
 self in an instant surrounded by thousands
 of Batts, that were striving to get out thro'
 the hole in the Frontispice, so that I was
 glad to get away from this unwelcome
 Company, which to avoid the brightness of
 the Sun-beams, shelter themselves by day in
 these dark lurking Holes.

We soon set sail again, and Coasted it
 along the Shoar, which is flat and sandy here,
 till the 15th of *June*, when we arrived at *They come
 Palinkatte*, where I delivered our whole
 Cargo of Gold and Silver we had taken
 in, in *Pessia*, to the Director *Lawrence
 Pit*.

The *Dutch East-India Company* has a strong Fort here, with four Bastions of
 Stone Work, call'd *Geldria*, of which they have
 been possess'd ever since the Year 1619.
 without the Castle is a Plantation or Town,
 which to the Land side is defended by an
 Earthen Wall, which is but indifferently kept,
 but the Houses within are very close and well
 built. It is Inhabited partly by *Hollanders*,
 partly by *Jentives* or *Pagan* Natives; the last
 of which live for the most part upon Trade
 with Painted and White Callico's and Li-
 nen. The Rice which grows in this Coun-
 try in great plenty, is as well as all other
 sorts of Grains brought Weekly to Market
 here. The Fort is on one side wash'd by
 a River, which swells very high in the Rainy
 Season, when the Merchandises may be un-
 loaden here, by the help of Lighters. But
 in the Summer Season the River being quite
 dry'd up, the goods are forc'd to be carried a
 Shoar on their Backs. This River abounds
 in Fish in the Wintertime, most of which
 die in the Summer; which makes the Inha-

Ships catch them before that time, and dry them in the Sun, and so Transport them to other places. The North Monsoon begins here in October, and holds all the November and December, with such violence, that the Ships can scarce ride in the Road. In January the Monsoon changes, and the fair Season returns.

As to the City of *Paliakatte*; its Inhabitants are for the most part *Mestices* and *Kastices*; *Mestices* are such, whose Parents were Married with Foreigners; as for Instance, when a Hollander Marries an Indian Woman, or an Indian Man a Dutch Woman; but the Children of the *Mestices* are call'd *Kastices*. Thus many of the Natives, especially of the *Thioles* have Married Dutch Women, as on the other hand, several *Hollanders* are Married to Women of the *Thioles*; from whence is come a numerous off-spring of *Mestices* and *Kastices*. Many *Bramans*, *Banyans* and *Panekayers* or *Thomists* and *Jews* live here; of great Traffick; for every Month comes hither the *Kassila* or Caravan of *Agra*, The *Banyans* and *Jews* are the chiefest of all the Traders here, this City being a place *Golconda*, *Suratte* and *Cambaja* by Land; both *Christians* and *Mahometans* bring to this place their Merchandises from the *Red-Sea*, the *Persian-Gulph*, from *Suratte*, *Goa*, *Malabar*, *Sumatra* and *Malacca*. There is great plenty of Fish at *Paliakatte* and a Neighbouring Country furnishes them with all other sorts of Provisions.

After we had dispatch'd our Business here, we pursued our Voyage towards the great City of *Masulipatnam*, where we were to load Wood and other Materials for the Building of our Fort at *Paliakatte*. We set sail the 20th of July, and came to an Anchor before *Masulipatnam* the 22d, I went a Shoar the same Evening to take care of our Loadings, which consisted for the most part in Timber and other Materials for Building, besides some Callicoos, which took us up till the 14th of August, when we were ready to set sail again. In the mean while I had sufficient leisure to take a full view of the City of *Masulipatnam*. It lies near the Sea Shoar upon a Branch of the great River *Kisna*, a few Leagues from *Nagapatnam*, being surrounded on all sides with Water. It is closely Built and well Peopled, it being the only place of Traffick in Callicoos, Indigo, Diamonds, and other precious Stones, in the Kingdom of *Golconda*. To the Land side, North West of the City, is a standing Pool, over which is built a Bridge of 2000 Paces long, in the midst of which stands a House, for the conveniency of the Passengers, to repose themselves there. This Bridge rests upon very thick Posts, which are covered with

Shells of 12 or 14 Feet long, without any leanings on either side. Most of the Inhabitants are *Pagans* and Merchants. The *Persian Mahometans* have here likewise a Mosque Built of white Stone, after a very antick Fashion, in the very Center of the City. The Houses are all of Wood cover'd with Pan-tiles, the King having expressly forbid the Building of Stone Houses, for fear of encouraging his Subjects to Revolt; who, tho' *Pagans*, wear white Callico Vests, and Turbants like the Moors. They use Rice instead of Bread, and drink commonly Water; they have also great plenty of all sorts of Fishes, Ducks, Geese, and Tame and Wild Fowl. Both the *Dutch* and *English East-India Company's* have each a House here, with their respective Flags on the top of them. The *Franciscans*, who are all *Portugueses* have here a Monastery; over against the City, on the Continent, is a Village, where the Governour has a Country Seat, where he Diverts himself sometimes.

The River of *Kisna* arises very deep in the Country, and exonerates it self with one Branch about five Leagues below the City of *Masulipatnam* into the Sea, where it is but shallow; but the other turns to *Masulipatnam*, which is much deeper. This River is not joyn'd to the City by a Bridge, but they pass it in Boats; It has plenty of Fishes, as likewise Crocodiles, it swells sometimes to such a height, during the Rainy Season, that you may pass in Boats through the Streets of the City; but in the Summer Season it is so shallow, that near the City it is scarce four Feet deep. About half a League to the West is a Champaign Country; and on the East side the Country is Planted with Palm and Syry Trees, behind which you may discern the tops of the Mountains. We left *Masulipatnam*, and the 29th return'd to *Paliakatte*; where meeting with several sorts of Commodities, that were wanting at *Batavia*, I made all the hast I could to have the Ship Loaded; but when we were almost ready to depart, the Yacht call'd the *Parroket* arrived in the Road, with Advice, that the Ships the *Houfe* of *Zwijeten*, the *Sea Horse*, the *Exchange*, the *Stadsbouse* of *Amsterdam*, the *Rising Sun*, and the *Emerging Moon* were at Sea, being sent from *Holland* with Men and all sorts of Ammunition to assist in the Expedition against the Coast of *Malabar*. This soon made us alter our Measures, every one having received Orders to join the said Fleet, so that after we had unladen our Ships, we set Sail the 20th of September for *Colombo*, the general Rendezvous of our Fleet. We stop't at *Pado Pundo*, where having provided our selves with fresh Water and Fuel, we came to

The River
Kisna.

to an Anchor the 7th of October before Colombo, where we were employed among the rest to take the great Train of Artillery aboard of us. The Commodore Roodbaes in the mean while went out before the rest with seven Ships only, ordering the rest to follow him to Manepaia, one of the seven Sea Port Villages on the Coast of Madure, where all our Ships were to meet, which we did accordingly on the 15th of November. Mr. John vander Weis, Mr. Symonson and my self were made not only Supervisors, but also Treasurers of the whole Train of Artillery: Being provided with every thing requisite for such an expedition, we set sail from thence, and came with the whole Fleet the 7th of December to an Anchor, about two Leagues to the South of the City of Kelang or Koulang. The remaining part of the day was spent in landing our Soldiers and other necessaries, and bringing the Ships as close as possible could be to the Shoar. The 8th we March'd in Battle Array into the Country, and the Negros had thrown up a small redoubt, within half a League from the City, from whence they fir'd thick upon our Yachts, but without any great loss, yet they ply'd us so warmly near the Shoar, that we were forced to cut our way throw the Woods, to attack them from behind. Immediately all our Carpenters were set to Work, to cut down the Bushes and Trees, whilst the Seamen were employed in leveling the Grounds, to make way for our Artillery. After we were advanced a little way into the Wood, we came into a small plain, to the left of which leading to the Sea side we saw a Stone Houfe, where we halted a little to take Breath, because the Seamen had been hard put to it, in drawing the Cannon through the deep Sand, along the Sea side. The Enemy at the same time kept within his Strong hold, but as we advanced further they charged our Vanguard, who were order'd to break in upon them, they bravely stood the first brunt, but afterwards retreated again to their Fort. In the mean time our Cannon having join'd us, we prepar'd for a general Attack, which was carried on so vigorously, that the Negros deserted the Fort, in hopes of saving themselves by Flight, but were most of them either kill'd upon the spot or in the Flight. A strong party of them happen'd accidentally to fall in with Captain Polmans Company of Firelocks, who were sent thro' the Woods to attack the Fort from behind; Here you might have seen them Fight like desperate Men, the Engagement was very terrible considering the Number of Men on both sides; at last they were overcome with 100. Kill'd and as many Wounded on

their side; we had no more than three but a great many Wounded, who sent aboard the Ships to be taken care. We found two Iron pieces of Cannon in this Fort, which we Nail'd up, and beat th Carriages in Pieces: After we had placed Guards in all convenient Posts thereabout the Souldiers repos'd themselves under the shadow of Trees; but within two hour after, we continued our March to the City of Kelang, passing all the way by a great many fine Plantations, surrounded on all sides with Walls; the Road betwixt them being very narrow. As we advanc'd to the City, the Enemy fir'd briskly upon us from a small Fort near the Water side, where they had set up the Portuguese Standard, but perceiving us notwithstanding this to March undaunted towards the Walls, their Hearts began to fail, and betaking themselves to Flight, left the City to our Mercy, which we took without the least Resistance. The Officers and Souldiers, each according to their respective Qualities had their Quarters and Posts assigned them; we rested the next day, but every one being animat'd by the last success in taking so considerable a City without opposition, long'd for Action, so that before the Morning the whole Body being put in Battle Array, without the Water Gate, the chief Minister of the Camp, Mr. Baldeus, made a short but very fervent Speech, and the Commanders exhorted them to Fight courageously, for the honour of their Country and Religion; which being joyfully accepted by the Soldiers, who promised to hazard all for the Service of the Company, the Drums and Trumpets began to sound the March. Mr. Tibrand Goskeled Commanded the Van, and Commodore Roodbaes the Reer, being both Persons of known bravery; Mr. Reiklof van Goens, Commanded the main Battle; we carried some Field Pieces along with us, to serve us upon occasion. We were forced to March through narrow Ways, where scarce four could march a Breast, and finding that the Enemy gall'd us from an adjacent small Fort, some Companies wheel'd to the right and the rest to the left, whilst the Seamen undauntedly approach'd with their Scaling Ladders, and mounting the Walls, took the Fort with little resistance. We found here no more than two Iron pieces of Cannon ready Charg'd; notwithstanding all this they skinn'd us briskly with our foremost Troops as they were advancing beyond the Fort, but gave way by degrees, and retreated to the Royal Palace, where they made another halt and engag'd our Troops a second time; but with no better success; for being once seiz'd with a Panick fear, they soon gave Ground, and left the

Place to our Mercy, which we Plunder'd and Destroy'd. They had however in the mean while attack'd our Rear severally, because our heavy Cannon could not come up soon enough with us, by reason of the narrowness of the Way; the Enemy making use of this Advantage, attack'd us very furiously, but were bravely repuls'd by the help of our Field Pieces, which being charged with small Shot, were discharged among them, with such Success, that many of them remained dead upon the spot; and by this means we kept them so long in play, till we received a reasonable reinforcement, when they betook themselves to their Heels, and left us absolute Masters of the Field. In the mean while our Troops were advanced to the River, where they made themselves Masters of another Fort, in which they found 2 Brass and 10 Iron Pieces of Cannon. In a certain Pagode next to the Royal Palace, call'd *Matta del Reyne*, we found a great Chest with Gun-Powder, which being set on Fire, in an instant blew up and destroy'd this ancient Structure, covered on the top with Brass. Then our Troops beat the Country, both to the right and left, burning and destroying all they met with. In an instant we saw whole Woods in a Flame, the Bamboo canes making a most terrible Noise, and burning like Brimstone; a miserable spectacle to the Enemy, who from the other side of the River saw the Flame consume in an instant, what had cost them many Years Labour. John Piccard my Nephew, a Captain Lieutenant, and William van Teylingen were sent with some Chaloops up the River *Arwick*, to pursue the flying Enemy on that side; but these took another way; most of them wading throw the River, where they could not come near them with their Chaloops. Mr. Piccard then Landed his Company on the other side, where he set 40 Houses on Fire, which occasion'd a fresh Consternation among the flying Enemy. After we had thus ravaged the Country, we return'd to the beforemention'd Pagode, where our Troops repos'd themselves for a while, and the same Evening return'd Conquerors to the City of *Koulang*. The 12th, all the Ship Carpenters were sent for a Shoar, to cut down the Trees, that stood upon the City Walls, and Orders were given for breaking down part of it, and to bring it into a narrower Compass, which was put in Execution immediately. About the same time the Natives sent some Deputies to sue for Peace; by what we were inform'd, that at the time of our Arrival, there were not above 30 true born Portuguese in the City, who fled immediately, and that the Negroes, who were near 8000 strong, having had some notice

of our Design near 15 days before, had resolv'd to kill all the *Hollanders* they met with, except a few, whom they intended to preserve to send them aboard their Gallies; But the Scene was alter'd; In the mean while we continued with breaking down and removing, which had almost proved fatal to the Ship the Sea-horse, which happened to take Fire, and was in great danger of being burnt by the violence of the Flame, had not the Sea-men quenched the Fire.

By this time it being resolv'd to prosecute the career of our Victories, the Commodore *Roodhues* with eight Ships, sail'd towards the City of *Cranganor* to block up the Entrance of that River; the rest being to follow with all convenient speed. The 10th I went on board the Commissary *James Borchorst*, with whom I had some earnest Business, but scarce was I come thither, but on a sudden there arose such a Tempest, that with much ado I could get a Shoar again; for the Wind arose first from the Land side, with most violent Rains, but soon after chop'd about, with such violence, that it tore Roots of Trees out of the Ground, and untild abundance of Houses. By this sudden change of the Wind, our whole Fleet consisting of thirty Ships great and small were in no small danger of being Shipwrack'd. The Ship the *Stadthouse* was driven among the Rocks, where having lost her Rudder she gave the Signal of being in utmost distress, but no Body durst venture to bring her off. The Ship the *Achilles* was likewise forced from her Anchors among the Rocks, but by good Fortune happened to cast Anchor again, not far from the *Stadthouse*. The Ship the *Ensmus* was also got a drift and was in great danger of running upon the Shelves; several of our small Craft were beaten to pieces by the Sea, and many others much endamaged. The Ship the *Stadthouse* continu'd in great Distress all that day and night, striking several times against the Rocks, but next Morning, the fury of the Tempest being somewhat appeas'd, we sent out some Boats to her Assistance, which brought both her and the *Achilles* safe from among the Rocks, into the open Sea. So that at last, through God's Mercy all our great Ships escap'd the danger of this Storm without any considerable damage except what was in their Rigging, which however fell most upon the smaller Vessels.

The 24th the Garrison of the conquered City of *Koulang* consisting of 663 Men, both Soldiers and Mariners, under the Command of Captain Cox, and Henry Walling, being provided with all necessaries, during our intended stay before *Cranganor*, Mr. Van

Goens set Sail the same day with the Ships the *Walnut-Tree* and the *Vieland* towards *Cranganor*, Commodore *Gorske* being to follow with the rest; we were in the mean while busie with refitting the Ship the *Stadt-houfe*, and I stay'd a Shoar with Mr. *Gorske* till such time that the Gun-powder, of the *Stadt-houfe* and several other Ships, which had got wet in the last Storm, could be dry'd again; about the same time we were inform'd, that the *Negros* had receiv'd a good Summ of Money, to Fight against us, but when they perceiv'd we wear in earnest, they left the *Portugueses* in the lurch, who as we told you before, left the City of *Calang* the same Afternoon, when we Land'd. The 29th we set Sail in the Ship the *Exchange* to follow the Fleet; by an Express sent us from some of the *Malabars*, we were desir'd to stay till the next day, which we refus'd, it being not our Business to tarry here for Matters which might well be deferr'd till another time. The next following day we pass'd by *Kalkulang*, the Governour of which came aboard of us, with a present of fresh Provisions, which we accepted. The next we Coasted it along the Shoar, where we cast our Anchor, because one of our Vachts approach'd to near to the Shoar, that we feared she would run her self into danger, which made us detach 20 Soldiers in a Boat, to her relief if occasion should require. The 1st of *January* 1662. by break of day, we found our selves within a League of the City of *Cochin*, and soon after Sail'd so near the Shoar, that we could hear the Centinels Speak. We saw five ships lying in the Road, the foremost of which carried *English* Colours. The same day about Noon we came into the Road, at the entrance of the River *Pallipport*, and the next day having embark'd our Men in Boats, and our Ammunition with two Field Pieces in another, we landed them without any opposition, except that the Enemy Discharg'd some of his great Cannon against us, from *Cranganor*, but without any loss on our side.

We had posted our Forces in three several places, the better to cut off all Correspondence betwixt the Enemy and the Country. The next following day we brought two Guns of Rice, and two brass Guns a Shoar, and soon after our whole Train of Artillery, with all other necessaries requisite for such an Undertaking. For some time we had kept the place Block'd up both on the Land and River side, but now we began to open our Trenches with such success, that in a short time we carried them on under the Cannon of the City; the Garrison being all the while not idle on their side, but endeavoring

to hinder our approaching, by their continual Fire out of their Cannon, and Fire-arms, which they did with such Dexterity, that they kill'd many of our Men in the Trenches; among the rest a certain Soldier had his Arm and Shoulder shot off at once, notwithstanding which, Mr. *Van Goens* order'd him to be dress'd, which the Surgeon did accordingly, who told me at the same time; That since he must infallible die, he would give him something that might ease his Pain; I ask'd the poor Wretch how he did, he answered me without any alteration in his Countenance, *Pretty well, I don't find my self very ill*, tho' he dy'd in a few hours after. Fourteen days after we had carried our Trenches to the Body of the place, during which we had several smart Skirmishes with the Enemy, it was resolv'd to venture a general Assault; pursuant to this Resolution, I was sent with two Servants to confer with Commodore *Gorske* and Mr. *Roadbates* concerning the most convenient place, the Assault was to be made in. I was sometimes to Wade up to the middle in Water, and met with Captain Lieutenant *Piccard*, who had the advanced Guards. He forewarn'd me, not to approach too near the City, from whence they fir'd without intermission; but I was forc'd to venture at all, being oblig'd to be with the Admiral General again the next Morning. I went close under the Walls of the Place, the Sentinels ask'd me in *Portuguese*, who was there? I answered in the same Language, *a Friend*, and so escap'd the danger. Mr. *Gorske* and *Roadbates* had been before inform'd concerning the Condition of the Place, by a certain *Negro*, and where it might be most conveniently Assaulted, of which they have given me a circumstantial Account, I return'd forthwith, and was with the Admiral by next Morning, who thereupon resolv'd to Assault the City, and as he left me said, *To Morrow the City shall be ours*. So soon as every thing was prepar'd for the intended Assault, I went on board the Fleet, to keep a watchful Eye over the Ships, which were of the utmost consequence to us all.

In the mean time our Forces mounted the Breach, and Assaulted the Town with great fury under the favour of the smoak of their Cannon and Fire-arms, which by the Wind was forced towards the City; I saw from a board the Ships the Smoak approach nearer and nearer to the place, which I look'd upon as a good omen on our side; The Enemies Defended themselves with a great deal of bravery, for a considerable time, but our Men pushing on the Assault with the utmost Vigour, they were at the last forc'd to give way, and to leave us Masters of the

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Consultation about the Assault

City. Mr. Polman and Shuilenburgh, two of our Captains were dangerously Wounded, 80 Common Souldiers were kill'd in the Assault and a great many more Wounded. The loss on the Enemies side was much greater, 200 *Portugueses* being slain during the Action, besides a great Number of *Negros* who were all thrown into the River, and carried back and forwards several times by the Tides, a most terrible Spectacle to behold. For we found the taking of this place to be another piece of Work than that of *Koulang*, and we were upon the point of founding the retreat, had not the Commanders by their own example animated the Souldiers to do their utmost; it being almost surprising, how with so small a force, we were able to attack and conquer so strong a place as this. After the City was plundered, it was laid level with the Ground, except one Stone Tower, which standing upon the River, was preserv'd entire, and a Garrison put into it, for the security of the River.

Island Desolate.

A description of this City.

The Redoubt Pal-port.

This City of *Cranaganer* (for there is another on of the Coast of *Malabar*, nearer to the Sea-shoar) lies about four or five Leagues to the North of the City of *Cochin*; being the capital City of a Kingdom of the same Name, bordering to the North upon *Cochin* and to the South upon *Koulang*. It was very famous among the *Indians*, by reason of its Antiquity; being Situate upon the banks of a River, about a League from the Sea-shoar, defended by a Wall of Earth, and a Stone Breast Work; which had seven Bastions and the Wall of Earth three more. At the Point near the River is remaining to this day a strong stone Tower, for the defence of the River, which served instead of a Bullwork on that side; on the other Point, was a small Fort, which Commanded the River, and all Ships going out or in. Several goodly Stone Houses were in this City, and among the rest a Church, excelling all the rest, on the opposite side of the River, towards the side of *Cochin*, is the Redoubt call'd *Pallipont*, built for the better defence of the River; upon a long Island, call'd *Baypin* extending to the River of *Cochin*. The Royal Palace is not far from hence, in a very pleasant Country; The King then Reigning being a Prince of great Bravery, and well versed in Military Affairs, in the flower of his Age.

After the taking of *Cranaganer* it was concluded by the Majority of Voices to Attack likewise the famous City of *Cochin*, not questioning but that the same of our late Victories, would open as likewise a way to the Conquest of this Place, before the Enemies of this could recollect themselves, from the fear they were in at that juncture. Accordingly we de-

camp'd from thence and sat down before *Cochin*, our forces as in the last Siege were again posted in three several places, from whence the Attacks were to be carried on against the City; Mr. *Tibbrand Gornke* had his Post assign'd him near the Sea-shoar; Mr. *Roodbaes* upon the bank of the River; and the Admiral Generals Quarter was betwixt both. But the Garrison of *Cochin* were not so much Frightn'd, as we had Flatter'd our selves, but made a brave Resistance. We did all we could to persuade the *Negros* that we were not come hither with an intention to hurt them, but the *Portugueses* our Enemies; but in vain, for they all appear'd in Arms against us, and several times Attack'd us like Mad-men; throwing themselves in among our Ranks, tho' they were sure to die in the Attempt; and thrusting themselves upon our Swords and Pikes, not like Men, but rather like Wild Boars or enraged Bears. Not far from the Royal Palace, was a very large *Pagode*, where the *Negros* had Fortifi'd themselves; Our Men, notwithstanding their fury, Attack'd them in this Advantageous Post, with so undaunted Courage, that they chas'd them from thence with the loss of 400 *Negros*, and many more Wounded. The Old Queen would fain have hid her self in a corner on the top of the *Pagode*, but was found out, and brought a Prisoner by Captain *Henry Rede* into our Camp. But after we had spent near two Months in the Siege, the Waters beginning to rise more and more every day, which fill'd up our Trenches to the middle, and our Forces by the several losses we had sustain'd in divers Engagements and Attacks, and thro' the Garrisons we had been oblig'd to put in the conquer'd Places, being considerably diminish'd in Number, it was thought most expedient, to raise the Siege for this time, and to return with a greater force against next Spring. Accordingly we Decamp'd without any Noise and in one Night got all our Men, Artillery and Ammunition aboard, without being perceiv'd by the Enemy, who were not sensible of our departure, till next day about Noon, as looking upon our Motion, only as a faint, to draw them out of the Town, into an Ambush; But when they found how Matters stood, the Discharged all their Cannon round the Walls, unto which we gave no answer for that time, but delay'd it till a more convenient opportunity. The next thing the Enemy had to do, was to slight our Works and Trenches, which they did immediately, and to cut down all Trees and Edifices which they had found to be an obstacle to them during the Siege, they also took effectual Cure to have their Fortifications repair'd and strengthen'd, as we questioned but they

The Siege rais'd.

662. should give them another Visit, with the next fair opportunity; in which they found themselves not deceiv'd.

After the raising of the Siege of *Cochin* our Land Forces and Ships were order'd to such Places, where their presence was judged to be most necessary at the present juncture, Mr. *Tibrand Gierke* sail'd with a Squadron of Ships to *Batavia*, and the rest steer'd their Course to other places thereabouts, I went aboard the Ship the *Exchange* and pass'd by the City of *Kalkoulang*, in my way to *Koulang*, where I was appointed chief Director of the Company; At the same time, it was thought convenient to strengthen the Fortifications of *Kalkoulang*, and to put a good Garrison in it, under Captain *Polman* and several other Commanders till we could dispose our Forces in more convenient Quarters.

I arrived at *Koulang* the 7th of *January* where I gave immediate Orders for the Repairing of the Castle, and such Houses, as belonged to those that were in the Company's Service; and settling every thing that might tend to the re-establishment of Traffick with the Queen of *Koulang*, and other Neighbouring Princes, unto whom I was sent as a Deputy, to treat with them concerning the most convenient Methods, and to enter into a Confederacy with them for that purpose.

The first Treaty that was set on foot after the taking of the City *Kalkoulang*, was with the Queen of *Koulang*: which was soon concluded upon these Conditions. That her Palace and great Guns should be restor'd to her; for the Rebuilding of which and other Damages sustain'd, she was to have a certain Summ of Money to be paid her by the Company; who's Interest it was, rather to purchase a Peace upon reasonable Terms, than be at the Charge of a War.

The City of *Koulang* or *Koulang* or *Kou-lon* and *Koylang*, the Capital of a Kingdom bearing the same Name, is situated upon the Sea-shoar of the Coast of *Malabar*, under 9 deg. of Northern Latitude, about 13 French Leagues (Linshot 73 24) to the South of *Cochin*. It is surround'd with a Stone-wall of 13 or 20 foot high, and 8 Bastions; Its Suburbs which are very large and stately, are by the *Portuguese* call'd *Koulang China*. For *Koulang* is separated into two Bodies, one of which is call'd the Upper or *Malabar Koulang*, the other the Lower *Koulang*; In the first the King and Queen kept their

merly in the Possession of the *Portuguese*, as lying nearer to the Sea-side; Here the Fryars of *St. Paul* and the *Franciscans*, had each a Monastery, adorn'd with stately Chappels and Steeples. Besides which, there were four other *Portuguese* Churches here, Dedicated to as many *Romish* Saints; They had no less than seven goodly Churches, amongst which was the famous Church, built many Ages ago by the Christians of *St. Thomas*, which was left standing, after we reduc'd the place into a narrower Compass; In this Church is the Tomb of a certain great *Portuguese* Captain, who was Governour of *Koulang* 60 Years. The Houses of the Inhabitants were very stately and lofty built of Freestone; Among which the *Stadthouse* surpass'd all the rest; it was two Stories high, and had very curious Stone Steps on each side. But the Castle, the Residence of the *Portuguese* Governour, surmounted all the rest in Magnificence; This I took up for our own Lodgings, it lies very near the Sea-side, at one end of the City, being cover'd on the top with Coco-leaves, as likewise two of its Turrets, the third being Til'd with Pan-Tiles. Just upon the Sea-shoar is another four-square Tower, where I set up the Company's Flag, on the top of a Mast. In the midst of it is a very lofty Edifice, which the *Portuguese* used for a Chapel, which I order'd to be made up into divers convenient Chambers, and to be fitted for the use of the Company's Officers. This Castle is the strongest, the *Portuguese* ever were Masters of on the Coast of *Malabar*, being built some hundred Years ago, by the famous Engineer *Heitor de la Cusa*.

This City as I told you before, was drawn into a less Compass by the *Dutch*, which they fortifi'd on the Land-side, with two half, and one whole Bastion. Most of the Churches and other publick Edifices were pull'd down, except the Castle, *St. Thomas's* Church, and some Monasteries, which remain'd standing within the said Precinct. Behind most of the Houses here are very Pleasant Gardens, Planted with *Cocon*, *Mango's* and other *Indian* Fruit-trees; and about the City you see very fine Balins cut out of the Rocks, unto which you ascend by Steps: They have also some Ponds with fresh Water, their Water being else for the most part Brackish and full of Salt-peter. The Air is very Wholefome in this Country, which is low and full of Rivers, which afford a convenient Passage from hence to *Kalkoulang*, *Cochin* and *Ceylan*;

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Cranganor; and is accounted the best both for Fruitfulness and its pleasant Situation, in all the *Indies*. This part of the Country affords abundance of Pepper, which twists it self round the Trees; the Fruit is gather'd in *January* and *February*. The Harbour is very convenient for small Vessels, but not for great ones, because the South Wind blows directly upon the Shoar, and forces the Waves with great violence thither. They call it *Koydanel*. Near the Sea-side you see great store of Stonelike Rocks, but they lie loose upon the Sand, and are frequently wash'd away by the Sea. About a League to the West of *Koulang*, the great River *Egnick* disembogues, into the Sea.

The *Dutch* were once before Masters of the City of *Koulang*; till the *Negros* took the opportunity of Murthering Captain *Henry Glanning* their Governour there, as he was taking a Walk without the Gates, and afterwards Massacred all the *Dutch*; since which time the *Portugueses* got into possession of it. On the side of *Koulang China*, along the Sea-shoar, the *Jesuits* had built a great Village for the *Parvees*, a poor sort of *Malabars* living upon Fishing; where the Governour of the King of *Travankor* and Prince *Baryette Poile* kept their Residence; which are about a mile in Circuit, and surrounded with an Earth Wall, with some Points like Bastions, on which are mounted good store of great Cannon, which Command the Roads, without which there is scarce any access to them. If we may believe the *Malabars*, the *Maldiv* Islands, which lie about 60 Leagues deep in the Sea, just over-against the Place, were formerly part of the Continent and Town from thence by the Sea; and as a confirmation of their Opinion, shew certain Rocks, betwixt the Shoar, and these Islands, upon which they assure us stood at that time a goodly Church. The best Houses, are built along the River side, with very good Gardens, stock'd with all sorts of Trees, Fruits, Flowers, and Herbs, but especially with Citrons, which grow here not on Trees, but Shrubs; their Houses are seldom above two stories high, their Stairs within of Stone, their Rooms above Stairs are Pav'd with Green and Yellow four square Stones, the ceiling of which is commonly of *Indian Oak*, some being finely Carved, others Painted: They commonly have an Arbour or Summer-house belonging to each Garden, which is commonly near the River-side; where they

spend generally their Evenings, and divert themselves with Angling.

The Mouth of the River *Kulchan*, or *Mangal*, or *Mangar*, upon which this place is built, is a very large Bay, where Yachts of 300 Tuns may come close to the Shoar and unload, being 28 Feet deep at high Water; but of very difficult entrance if the Winds be not favourable, because they blow the Waves directly upon the Shoar. In the midst of this Bay you see three vast Rocks laying all together in a Ridge. During the Rainy Season this River frequently overflows the Neighbouring Country, and carries away a great deal of the adjacent Grounds; These violent Rains are occasion'd by the Clouds, which gathering among the tops of the Mountains, break out into sudden Storms and Tempests. The Country is flat and marshy hereabouts, and the Air not altogether so Wholesome as at *Koulang*.

By this time the Season for Action drawing near, and every thing being prepar'd for a vigorous Expedition, the Siege of *Cochin* was resolv'd upon the second time. For which purpose Mr. *Jacob Hufst*, one of the Members of the Great Council of *India*, with Captain *Peter du Pon* and *Henry van Rode* set Sail the 25th of *October* 1662. with 11 Ships from *Batavia*, Mr. *Van Goens* being ordered to follow with three more, with all imaginable speed. No sooner had they landed their Men, but they began to Form their Attacks, notwithstanding they found the place much Strengthened by some additional Fortifications, since the last Siege, and put them so to it, that the Belieg'd being enclos'd on all sides, and beyond all hopes of relief, were forc'd to Capitulate, and to Surrender the City, after a Siege of three Months; after the *Portugueses* had (with the Consent of the King of *Cochin*) been in possession of it above 150 Years. The *Portugueses* had not long before forc'd *Momada-dab*, the lawful King of *Cochin* to leave the City, in whose stead they had set up an Aunt of his of the House of *Godarmes*; but whilst our Forces lay before *Cochin*, the Dethron'd King stay'd with me, at *Koulang*, in order to his solemn Coronation after the taking of the place. I had taken all imaginable Care to have his Room hung with Tapestry, and furnish'd with other moveables, the best the Place afford; he came often to Visit us, being commonly clad in White Calico, with his Hair ty'd in a Knot on the top of his Head, Ringed on his Fingers, and

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1662. a Golden Chain hanging down before him. He spoke the Portuguese and Malabar Tongues, and was of a pleasant Conversation. But scarce a few Days were pass'd, when finding himself not very well, he desir'd to go to the Queen of Koulang, for his Diversion; which I was very unwilling to Grant, being sensible that his Person being committed to my Care, I might be call'd to an account by his Subjects who much esteem'd him; if any sinister Accident should befall him; But at his reiterated Instances, and the earnest request of the Queen of Koulang, who was an excellent good natur'd Person, and engag'd her Word to bear me harmless, I conducted him thither, but he found no considerable Alteration in his Health, for when not long after a Yacht was sent to Koulang, on purpose to fetch this Prince to the Camp before Cochin, he was so very Weak, that he would fain have avoided going thither; but there being positive Orders given for his coming, I sent him my Palakin or Letter, and conducted him with some of our Officers aboard, but before he could reach Cochin, his Sickness increas'd to that degree, as to put an end to his Life. His Brother, who was aboard the same Yacht, being the next Heir to the Crown, was after the taking of the City, Crown'd King of Cochin by the Dutch, his Crown, which was of Gold, having the Cypher of the East-Ind. Company, engraven on one side. He kept his Residence not far from Cochin, in a place Situate in a very pleasant Country, call'd by the Dutch, Malabar Cochin, had his Guards, Musicians, and all other things belonging to a Royal Court, according to the Custom of that Country.

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The City of Cochin by the Portuguese call'd *Cochin*, and generally *Kakochin*, is the Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name, and indeed of the whole Coast of Malabar. It is Situate under 10 deg. of Northern Latitude 4 or 5 Leagues to the South of Koulang, extending along the Bank of the great River Koulang, or Kalebhan, or Mangat, or Mangar. Some Authors make mention of two different *Cochins*; viz. the Old Cochin lying about a League and a half from the Sea-shoar; the Portuguese call it *Cochin Dacima*, or *Arabia*, i. e. the Higher Cochin, because it lies higher up the River; by the Dutch it is call'd the *Malabar Cochin*, where the King keeps his Residence; being Situate upon the Banks of a River, and pretty well Peopl'd, and adorn'd with several, goodly Structures and *Paedres*, according

to the Custom of the Malabars. The other Cochin, call'd commonly the New Cochin is scarce a League distant from the Sea, just at the entrance of the same River; it was for many Years together in the Possession of the Portuguese, who had Fortifi'd it with a Stone Wall, and several Bullworks, and Beautifi'd it with several fine Edifices, Churches and Monasteries. In the Suburs towards the Land-side were several goodly Churches, and a little nearer to the Sea-shoar the Monastery of St. John. Here the *Austrian Fryers*, *Franciscans* and *Jesuits* had likewise their several Convents, all Magnificently Built, with very pleasant Gardens and Walks; the place being Inhabited only by Portuguese. But since this City was Conquer'd by the Dutch, the greatest part of it was laid Desolate, and the rest Fortifi'd with regular Stone. Bastions, Curtines and a very broad Ditch, so that it is now look'd upon as impregnable. Among other Steeples, that of St. Paul being magnificently Built of square Stones, exceeded all the rest as well in Height as Beauty, which is since demolish'd with all the other Churches, except one, where divine Service is exercis'd according to the Tenets of the Reform'd Religion. The Houses here are cover'd with Tiles of about the Breadth of a Hand, and are fastned to the Laths by small Hooks. Some make their Windows only of a kind of Lattice Work, others of Canes very Artificially twist'd together; others make use of large Shells in which the Pearls grow, these they Shave and Flatten, and make Windows of them, as we do of Glass.

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After we thus had made our selves Masters of the greatest part of the Malabar Coast, and had taken all imaginable care, to re-establish the Commerce in those Parts, it was judg'd necessary for the better obtaining of this end, to enter into strict Alliances with the Kings and Princes of the Adjacent Countries; For which purpose Mr. James Hughton chief Councillour of the Indies, of Ceylon, and the Malabar Coast, having sent me the necessary Instructions and Credentials, I provided my self with all things requisite for such a Journey, and the 21 of January 1664. embark'd aboard a small Vessel, with one Serjeant, several Soldiers, an Interpreter, and divers Mariners, which carried us up the River as far as to the City of Kulkolang, where we Arriv'd safely the next day. So soon as I had provided my self with a conveni-

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ent Lodging, I gave notice of my Arrival, by our Interpreter to the King, who soon after returned in Company of a *Residoor* from the King, to fetch me to Court. Accordingly I and Mr. *Willing*, who resided there in the Quality of Under Factor of the *East-India Company*, were introduced by the said *Residoor* into the Kings Presence, whom we found surrounded with a good Number of Courtiers, that constantly attend his Person. After the first Ceremonies and Compliments, such as are usual in this place, were pass'd, I surrendred my Credentials to the King, who receiv'd them with a great deal of Respect and seeming Satisfaction. After he had perus'd them, he gave Orders to one of his *Residoors*, one of his chief Favourites to treat with me concerning such Points as I should propose to him, tending to the maintaining of a good Correspondence betwixt us and them, and to make his Report to him. This Prince had the Character of a very Sincere Person, which appear'd both in his Countenance and Actions; but leaves the chief Management of all Affairs of Moment, to the beforemention'd *Residoor*, who knows how to make his Advantage of it. After I had Treat'd with the *Residoor*, as far as my Commission would give me leave, I desir'd to be dismiss'd, under pretence of fetching new Instructions, which being Granted, I took leave of the King, and with Mr. *Willing* pursu'd my Journey to *Porka*, whither I had sent a Serjeants with six Soldiers before. But at our Arrival there, being inform'd that the King of *Porka* was ten days before gone to his Palace call'd *Kudda Malair*, or *Koramallur*, or *Koromallo*, about Ten Leagues distance from hence, I resolv'd to go thither. We were forc'd to go by Water, through several Channels and Rivers, the Country hereabouts being full of both, like the Province of *Holland*, which affords scarce any Passage by Land, but by the Dikes, all the rest being Rice Fields, curiously Planted with Trees on all sides.

We were forc'd to have our *Manshoel* (Vessel) drawn through a narrow Sluce, which open'd us the Passage into a large Lake, which to the North is about two Leagues broad; from thence we enter'd into a Channel of about a League in length, its entrance is somewhat narrow and so full of Flags, that there was scarce room enough to manage our Oars. At the end of this Channel you see very pleasant Rice Fields, which extend to

the foot of the Mountain, and are stock'd with prodigious Quantities of Wild and Water Fouls. The Inhabitants hereabouts have a certain way to drain their Fields, which makes them bear Rice all the Year round; so that whilst they are Sowing and Planting in one Field, in another the Rice is half Ripe, and in another its come to its full Maturity; which renders this Country both very Fruitful and Populous. The Mountains produce some Pepper, but in no great Quantity. This part betwixt the Channel and the Mountains is Water'd by a very fair and large River, Beautif'd on both sides with many fair Houses, Gardens and Trees, which afford a very agreeable Spectacle to those that pass by that way the Houses being all Built among small Groves. After we had spent several hours in coming up the River, we in the Afternoon cast Anchor before the Court of the King of *Porka*, Situate upon the Right side of the said River, near a Village inhabited by Christians of *St. Thomas*, who enjoy great Privileges here. As we were passing up the River, not far from the Court, we saw a large Crocodil Sunning himself upon the sandy Bank; I Order'd our Souldiers to fire at him; which they did, but he escap'd under Water. This Creature was us'd to set upon the People as they pass'd by that way, and consequently much dreaded by them. The King of *Porka* was at time Rebuilding his Palace, in which they say he had already bestow'd 20 Years; It was but an odd Old Fashion'd piece of Structure, surrounded with Walls of Earth and a dry Ditch; I sent our Interpreter to notifie our Arrival, and to provide us a Lodging, who being return'd, we scarce had set a Foot a shoar, but the chief *Residoor* of the King came to conduct us to Court, where he introduced us into his Presence. After the usual Compliments I deliver'd him my Credentials, which he receiv'd with extraordinary marks of Respect, Ordering the *Residoor* to entertain me till he had Read, and Consider'd of them. In a little while after he return'd with some of his Attendants into the same Apartment, where he ask'd me whether I had any other Commission to Treat with him, and I answering that I had, he declared to me, that his Inclinations had been always for us, even whilst we appear'd in Arms on that Coast, though at the same time he was not insensible, that some had endeavour'd to persuade us to contrary, but that time and oppo-

662. should discover the good Sentiments he had for us. He told us further, that he had caus'd the Flaggs of the *English* and some other Nations to be taken down, and the *Dutch* Flag to be set up, for which they threaten'd him with an open War, in his own Territories, and refus'd to quit the Country, which made them to be look'd upon but with a very indifferent Eye by all the Neighbouring Princes. Having afterwards given him a farther Account of the occasion of my coming, he told me that he should be very glad now he was convinc'd of the intentions of the Company, which were agreeable to his, to speak with Mr. *Hustart* himself, I return'd for Answer that the Company was sensible of his favourable Sentiments to them, and had always put a great value upon his Person, inviting him at the same time to *Cochin*, to visit Mr. *Hustart*, the last of which he Modestly Declin'd, alledging that for several reasons he could not come to *Cochin*, but that if Mr. *Hustart* would come either to *Porka*, or any other Place under his Jurisdiction, he should be very ready to Treat with him concerning such Matters, as tended to their mutual Advantage. The King further ask'd me, whether I desir'd an Account of my Negotiation in Writing, which I having accepted of, he said it it should be sent to my Lodgings, and at my departure Conducted me in Person to the Door of his Apartment, from whence the *Residoor* carried me to his Lodgings, and treated us with all sorts of Refreshments, a very welcome Entertainment to some of my Attendants, who had not met with the like since the beginning of our Journey. Towards the Evening the *Residoor* brought me the Writings, with whom whilst we were taking a View of the Court, I had abundance of Discourse concerning the intended Treaty.

This Palace of the King, is a four square Structure, of about 40 Paces in the Square, in the midst of which is a Court, about which the Apartments, (of which there is a great Number) are Built; they are all four Square, their chief Ornaments within being the Carving of Leaf and other Work in all sorts of fine Wood; In some of these Lodgings you see fine Cisterns for the convenience of Bathing, you ascend to them by certain broad Stone Steps, like our Grave Stones. In one of these Lodgings is a very large *Bason*, surrounded with such Stones, which are about 20 Feet broad, and a Foot and a half thick, which have been brought thither with in-

credible Pains and Charges, a great way out of the Country. The Palace it self is cover'd with small Tiles, of a Hand broad, the Windows being made either of twisted Canes, or Shells, which transmits the Sight.

After my return from thence to *Konlang*, I went further to *Cochin*, to give a verbal Account of my Transactions to Mr. *Hustart*, who thereupon Order'd me to go once more to the Court of the King of *Porka*, in order to set Matters there upon a sure Foundation; Accordingly I set out the 3d of *February*, with some of my former Attendants from *Cochin* to the King of *Porka*'s Court, where within an Hour after giving notice of my Arrival, one of the King's *Residoors* came to introduce me to the King, whom that time I found in a most Magnificent Array, (after the *Malabar* Fashion) in the midst of his Courtiers. After the usual Respect pay'd, I deliver'd to him my Credentials, which he having receiv'd, he Order'd all his Attendants and my Interpreter among the rest to withdraw, because he had a mind to Discourse with me alone in *Portuguese*, which he understood very well. I told him that I was sent on purpose for my Masters to his Majesty, to assure him of their Friendship, and to pay the Money Stipulated by the last Treaty, which Summ, though it much exceeded the value of the thing receiv'd, yet notwithstanding all this my Masters had thought fit not to recede from what had been promis'd in their Name. The King gave for Answer, That it never had been a Custom to weigh the Pepper at *Cochin* (which I had desir'd should be done) and that therefore he hop'd the Company, would not introduce any Novelties in his Territories; assuring us withal, that he would be ready to Assist the Company, and their Officers upon all Occasions, besides several other Assurances too tedious to be inserted here. I soon understood his meaning, to wit, that he would not have the Pepper Trade Transfer'd to *Cochin*, which was a Matter of no great consequence, so I did not insist any longer upon it, but agreed, that that the Pepper should be receiv'd and Weigh'd at *Porka*; assuring him, that the Company had never had the least intention to impair any Bodies Right, as his Majesty might easily be convinc'd, as well by this as several other Transactions and Treaties, made lately with other Kings and Princes. The King appear'd to be highly satisfi'd thereat, desiring that a Factor, might be sent thither forthwith,

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The Author goes a second time to the Court of *Porka*.

His Audience.

Place of the King's Chamber.

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Departs
from
thence.

with, to Buy and Receive the Pepper; which I having promis'd to the King, he Order'd *Residoor* to receive the Money and granted me leave to Depart.

The next following day, just as I was ready to Depart a *Residoor* come to my Lodgings, which was an old Chappel, and presented me, from the King with several Refreshments, according to the Custom of the Country, and knowing this *Residoor* to be a Person in great esteem with the King, I requested his favour in behalf of the Company, which he promis'd to do.

The King
of Porka
and Go-
vernment.

The King then Reigning at *Porka* was a Person of 30 Years of Age, very stately and well made. He was Adorn'd with many Jewels, of Diamonds and Rubies, which he wore on his Hands, Arms and Ears, according to the *Malabar* Fashion. He is a most absolute Prince, acknowledging no Superior, every Foot of the Country being his own, and at his Disposal. Justice is Administred here with extraordinary severity, especially on the Account of Theft, which makes this Crime scarce ever to be heard of here, of which I saw the following Instance my self; whilst I was paying the Money to the beforemention'd *Residoor*, I was call'd away to the King, and seeing above 50 Persons in the same Room, I charg'd one of my Attendants, to take care of the Money; The *Residoor* having taken notice of it, Laught heartily; and told me; *You need not give your self that trouble, no Body will dare to touch the Money; tho' it was untold and unguarded, for we know scarce what Thieves are; which surpris'd me not a little, knowing that the Malabars in general are the errants Thieves in Nature.*

Theft un-
known in
Porka.

The King-
dom of
Porka.

The Kingdom of *Porka* or *Porkah*, otherwise *Perkatti* has borrow'd its Name from its capital City; It borders to the North upon the Kingdom of *Cochin*, to the South upon that of *Kalkalang*, it has *Takken Berkenker*, to the North East, and the Sea to the West, being about twelve Leagues in length; its capital City is *Porka* or *Porkah*. Another of the chief City is *Koramallur* or *Koromallo* Situate upon the same River with the Cities of *Cochin* and *Koulang*. The Kings of *Porka* were in antient Times great Idolaters, who Worship'd at least 900 Idols, unto each of daily Sacrifices were offer'd, and Visits made them about six or seven a Clock in the Morning, till twelve at Noon. It was not till the Year 1590. that the *Romish* Religion was openly profess'd here with consent of the King. Tho' many Years before, the Christians call'd

of *St. Thomas* liv'd in these Parts. This King granted considerable Privileges to the Jesuits; such as the Building of Churches with Crosses on the top of them, and the necessary Bells, near unto which no *Pagodes*, *Jewish* Synagogues, or *Mahometans* *Mosques* were to be erected; they had also Liberty to Baptize as many as were willing to embrace the Christian Religion; all which was punctually observ'd. The King of *Porka* who Reign'd 1599. was call'd *Nambralo* or *Numbrane*, which imploy's as much as the *Hgh Priest* in the *Malabar* Tongue. In the Year 1640. one *Siam Baatsbery Vanbaar* Reign'd over *Porka*. They claim a superiority over the King of *Cochin*, against whom they waged heavy Wars in former Ages; But now a days the Kings of *Porka* are under the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch East India Company*, being forc'd thereunto by their Victorious Arms; The chief Strength of the King of *Porka* consists in his small Frigatts, of which he has 500, and are made use of, when the Fields are overflown with Water; Formerly the *Portugueses* were Masters of the Pepper Trade here, with the King's consent; but finding, that they intended to Fortifie themselves in several Places, he engaged in a War against them, which lasted three whole Years. The *Dutch* never came to *Porka* till 1642. under the Reign of *Siam Baatsbery Vanbaar*, being then not above 24 Years Old; they were very kindly receiv'd by him, a Treaty being concluded betwixt them at that time, by which the *Dutch* had the Pepper Trade granted to them. This part of the Country is very Fruitful, but unwholesome, most of the Inhabitants being Afflict'd with thick swell'd Leggs, occasion'd by the drinking of brackish Water, Blindness is also a common Distemper here, which by some is ascrib'd to their feeding so much upon hot Rice. Most of the Inhabitants live by Husbandry, tho' during the Rainy Season, most of the Rice Fields hereabouts as well as all along from the Cape *Comarin* as far as *Pokare Biarbar* lay under Water. This Country produces also a considerable Quantity of Pepper Yearly, which is for the most part bought up by the *Englsh*, who have had a Factory here many Years ago. Deeper into the Country live abundance of Christians, who were formerly Converted by the *Portugueses*, these buy up the Pepper in the Country, which they are oblig'd to deliver to a certain Merchant, appointed for that purpose. he



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these may not unlikely be the same mentioned by them as the most War-like Nation of all the *Indians*, *Alexander the Great* having receiv'd a mortal Wound, as he was attacking one of their Cities. Now a-days they don't inhabit any Cities, Towns or Villages, but only certain Enclosures in the Valleys betwixt the Rocks; their Houses are built of Canes, very low, and plaster'd up with Loom or Clay. Some of them live in the Woods, these make their Houses of Wood, which they remove from Tree to Tree, to secure themselves against the Elephants and Tygers. The first they catch in Holes, cover'd with the Branches of Trees, with some Earth on the Top; They also Cultivate the Ground, but in a very slender manner, tho' their Valleys would be very fruitful if they were duly manag'd. They have but one Wife at a time, who goes abroad a hunting with them, or wherever they go; whereas the Pagan *Malabars* Marry generally, several Women. They chiefly differ from the other *Malabars* in their Complexion, are just and honest, good natur'd, charitable, without Deceit; for the rest, courageous, ingenious and cunning; they pretend to converse with the Devils, only out of Curiosity to know the Event of things. the Custom of the other *Malabars* and *Indians*, who hurt others by their sorceries, being unknown to them. They pay a great deal of deference to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, and if they happen to be defiled, they look upon it to be an ill Omen. Upon their Festivals they wear a long Gown, with a Turbant, as the Mahometans do; but at other times they go half naked, like as the other *Malabars* do. They have holes in their Ears and Noses, in which they hang Gold Rings and Jewels; a Custom common also to the Pagan *Malabar* Women, who look upon this as their chief Ornament, especially to wear such things in one of their Nostrils. At their Feasts and Festivals the Maidens play upon Rush-pipes and small Flutes and Drums; Theft is a thing unknown among the *Malabars*, every one living in his house in a profound Security with open Doors; some times the Inhabitants of a whole Enclosure, transfer their Habitations to another. Part of the *Malabars* acknowledge the King of *Turbula*, part the King of *Pug-nati Perimal* for their Superiours, unto whom they pay some Yearly Tribute, yet with the entire Preservation of their Liberty, they being govern'd by their own Laws, under Captains or Judges of their Nation, call'd by them *Arley*, each of them has commonly 5000 or 6000 under his District; Besides which, each Enclosure is govern'd

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by its own Judge call'd *Pandera*, unto them they pay strict Obedience.

Before 1599, when they began first to be instructed in the *Remiss* Religion, by the Assiduity of the then Archbishop of *Gon*, they were all Pagans, but since that time, a good number of them have embraced Christianity; Eight of their best Men, among whom were three *Pandara's*, with their whole Families, first received Baptism, who being follow'd by many others, a Church Dedicated to St. *Michael* was built in the Village of *Priata*. Before their Conversion, they had no Temples erected in honour of their Idols, neither did they Sacrifice with feasting, dancing and such like Ceremonies, but each Family had its domestick God, unto whom they paid their Devotions. They are much more esteem'd among the *Malabars*, than their common People, neither are they look'd upon as unclean by them, no more than the Christians of St. *Thomas*, if they happen to touch a *Nethis*; They keep scarce any Commerce with the neighbouring Nations, even not with the *Thomists* themselves, who live at the foot of the same Mountains. Their Weapons are the same as the rest of the *Malabar* use, viz. a Bow and Arrows pointed with a broad Iron. They use also *Scimitars* or Hangers, and a peculiar sort of fire arms, such as are no where else to be seen among the *Malabars*. On the foot of the Mountain inhabited by the *Malabars* call'd *Karatkara*, bordering upon the Kingdom of *Karanurata*, stands a Church belonging to these *Thomists* or Christians of St. *Thomas*, dedicated to St. *Austin*, because the Inhabitants owe their Conversion to certain Fryers of that Order.

Malabar as I told you before, is a Country abounding in divers sorts of Fruits, such of *Malabar* as the *Indies* commonly afford, of which we will give you a short Description here.

All along the Sea-shore of *Malabar*, and the Rivers near the Sea side, the *Indian Palm* or *Cocoe-trees*, grows in sandy and brackish grounds; The *Malabars* call it *Tenga*, the *Brahmans* *Mado*, and in the *Malabar* Tongue it is call'd *Kalappa*. Its Trunk which is of an Ash Colour, rises sometimes to the height of 95 feet; such I have several times measured my self near the City of *Koulang*; It has commonly 16 Inches Diameter, tho' sometimes it is so thick, as scarce to be grasp'd by a Man; and is of the same thickness from the Bottom to the Top; the Wood is spongy, and the Pith as white as Paper. However the Trunk does not grow up straight, but is jointed, without any Branches, but only on the Top, where

Cocoe

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commonly sprout forth 16 or 18, and in a very large Tree sometimes 28, which bear green large Leaves like Reeds, being about a fingers length broad, and about two foot long. The Root of this Tree is very small in proportion of its Bigness, and does not reach deep under ground, but creeps just under its Surface, so that it seems next to a Miracle, how these high Trees are able to withstand the fury of the Winds. The Fruit, call'd commonly *Cocoe-Nuts*, after the *Portuguese*, who call them *Coquo* and *Cocoe*, grow at the Ends of the Branches, about 6, 8, or 10 in a Bunch; a Bunch weighing sometimes from 60 to 100 pounds weight; Each ripe Nut exceeds the bigness of a lusty Man's Head, being of a triangular figure, and cover'd with a double Peel; The first is an Inch thick, consisting of many threads, extending length-wise round the Fruit; The outside is of an ash Colour, but inwardly inclining to Red; The next Peel is hard and brown, which contains the Peel. Before they are ripe, they are of a pale Yellow Colour, and afterwards turn dark Green, having at one end a bunch of small Leaves, resembling our Turnep Leaves. The Pith is white, inclining to yellow, about an Inch thick, and to the second Peel, the remaining hollow-ness being fill'd with Liquor, and containing according to the bigness of the unripe Nut, a pint of Liquor, which in the ripe ones diminishes by degrees, and encreases the Bulk of the Peel. This Liquor is good to drink, the Pith is sweet, and of no ungrateful Taste, only a little flat. The Blossom, which is not unlike that of the Chestnuts, appears at the ends of the Branches, which produce the Fruit, which ripens in three Months time. The Pith dried may be kept, and transported like Chestnuts; if it be powder'd and mixt with Sugar and Cinnamon it tastes very well, augments the Seed, and is a strong Provocative. When the *Nayros* are to gather the Nuts, they climb with most wonderful Nimbleness to the Tops of these high Trees, where they cut off as many Bunches as are ripe, and let them fall down upon the ground. Besides the Fruit, this Tree affords also a certain Liquor call'd by them *Sauy*, and by the *Europeans* Palm-Wine; When they are to gather this Liquor, they only cut off one of its Branches, from whence issues the Liquor, which falls into a Vessel of *Bamboe*, hung under it for that purpose; if they draw too much Liquor at a time, the Branches turn brown, and the Tree produces no more Nuts. These Trees being planted in a straight Line, the *Nayros* lay Sticks reaching from one to the other,

by which means they get to the Branches, where they have fastned the Vessel that receives the Liquor. This Liquor, whilst fresh, is very good to drink, and will inebriate like Wine; but if kept in the Sun, turns to Vinegar in an hours time. But tho' they take never so much care of it, what is gather'd about noon, will turn by night, taste fourish the next day, and turn quite to Vinegar the day after that. The Liquor which distils from the young Trees, is not so strong and spirituous as that gather'd from the old ones, but the first afford a greater Quantity. After this Liquor has been kept 24 hours, they distil a Spirit of it, with the Addition of a small quantity of the Oil of Clove; this is by the *Indians* call'd *Arack*, and by some *Tula* or *Mype*. Out of this Liquor they prepare Vinegar thus: They put the Vessels in which the Liquor has been gather'd, in Lime 15 days, during which time, it ferments, casting gross Sediments to the Bottom; the clear is very good Vinegar. Out of the same Sugar they make a kind of Liquor call'd *Jagra*. They put a small quantity of Lime in the Vessel which contains the Liquor, as much as is sufficient to make it turn red; For, if you put in too much Lime, the Liquor turns whiter and whiter, but if you put too little, it does not change its Colour. The Liquor thus mix'd with a sufficient quantity of Lime, must be boil'd and stir'd continually with a Spoon, till it comes to the Consistency of red Sugar; where it is to be observed, that if there be not Lime enough added, it will produce no Sugar, but if too much, part of it will settle to the bottom, which must be taken out before you can boil it into a Sugar: If you intend to make white Sugar or *Jagra*, you must take care to pour the Liquor mix'd with the Lime out of one Pot into another (to separate the superfluous Lime) which you must repeat three times; as for instance, if your Liquor be gather'd in the Morning, you must pour it into another Vessel by noon; and repeat the same a second time about two a Clock, and a third time before night, and then boil it. What Liquor is gathered in the night time keeps longer than that gather'd in the day-time. Whilst it is fresh, its Taste is not much unlike our Whey, unto which the Inhabitants add some Raisins, and make it taste like *Spanish Wine*. The Trunk of the *Cocoe* Tree is used for Timber in the Buildings of Houses and Ships, the Branches and Leaves to wate upon and to cover Houses with, as also by the Basket-maker. Out of the hard Shell of the Nuts (some of which are of a pale, others of a dark brown Colour

62. they make drinking Cups and other Vessels, which they polish, and sometimes are edged with Silver. The hairy Substance, call'd *Keyel*, is used by the Rope-makers, these Ropes don't rot easily: They also make Matches of them, which burn very fiercely. In the *Maldive* Islands (where these Trees are found in vast quantities) they sometimes equip whole Vessels out of the Cocoe Trees; The Body of the Vessels being made of the Trunk of a Tree, without any Nails or other Iron-work; the Sail and Ropes of the hairy Substance, the Provisions consisting of the Liquor and Kernels of the Cocoe Nuts, their drinking and other Vessels being made of the Shell, and their Hammocks, Quilts and other Implements of the Leaves. In short, this Tree furnishes the *Indians* upon occasion, with all that is necessary for their Subsistence; being very fruitful in marshy and low grounds, but bears not so great a quantity of Fruit neither so big in the mountainous Countries. The Cocoe Tree is in its prime from the 25 to the 30 Year, and affords the most Fruit and Liquor; From the time it begins to bear, the ripe Fruits fall off, and others grow continually in their stead, but when it begins to grow old, the Fruit grows lesser and lesser. This Tree will continue till it is 100 Years old; when the small Branches and Leaves begin to turn yellow, it is an infallible sign of its decay. It is produced out of the Kernel of the Cocoe Nut; These the *Indians* put into the ground till they begin to sprout, then they make as many holes as they intend to plant Trees, and of such a depth, that the tops of the Leaves don't reach beyond the Surface of the ground; then they throw a handful or two of Sand (unless it be in sandy ground) and half a handful of Salt in each hole, upon which they put the Kernel, which they cover with the same ground, they had taken out of the hole before, and every other day water them, till they are sure the Nuts have taken Root. They plant them with the point downwards, out of the opposite part of which at first shoot forth two or three broad Leaves, after which comes the right Leaves, and soon after the small Sprouts, which fall off as new ones succeed, till the Tree comes to its full growth. The young Tree commonly begins to bear in the fifth Year after its planting; great care is taken that the Horse-Flies don't spoil the young Trees; This is a kind of Worm not unlike our Hornets, with two sharp Horns, but not so big; This Worm gets to the Pith of the Tree, which he consumes till the Tree dies, unless he be taken out in time, at which the *Malabars* are very

dextrous, and then the Tree will recover. It has been observed, that this Tree in the third Year after its planting, has its Branches in their Perfection, and from that time the Branches begin to fall off. Those Branches are at that time about five or six Yards long tho' the Stem, on which the growth is not above two foot high, and about a foot in Circumference. Every Month you see commonly a new Branch come forth, and then the old ones fall off, but in the Summer and dry Seasons, they fall off more frequently than in rainy weather; these Branches come to their full growth in three Months. I caused above 4000 Cocoe-trees to be planted near *Keyland*, but most of them came to nothing, being not carefully look'd after by my Successors. There are divers kinds of this Tree, which are distinguish'd by the Fruit, but especially by the watery Substance found within the Shells of the Nuts.

Malabar produces prodigious Quantities of wild Cinamon Trees, but the Cinamon is neither in Smell nor in Goodness comparable to that which grows in the Isle of *Ceylon*; This Island, and that of *Floris* being the only ones, where the true Cinamon grows. The *Portugueses* call this wild Cinamon *Canella del Mato*, i. e. Wood-Cinamon, the *Malabars* *Larva* or *Bahena*, as also *Kaunema*, i. e. Sweet Wood, from the word *Kau*, which in their Language signifies Wood, and *Nema*, i. e. Sweet, the *Malayans* *Kas Mani*, the *Zingalese* or Inhabitants of *Ceylon* *Kurudo* or *Kurundo*, and the *Arabians* *Qeurfaa* and *Querfe*, as also *Kesfak*. Before the *Dutch* got into the Possession of *Ceylon*, they us'd to transport this Cinamon, but since that time they make no account of it. The Tree is of the bigness of our *Orange Tree*, less or more, but not large as the *Cinamon Trees* in *Ceylon*. It has abundance of Branches, Leaves not unlike the *Laurel* Leaves, but broader, of a paler Colour, with three distinct Veins. The Blossom is white, almost without any Scent; the Fruit not unlike the wild *Olives*, first Green, afterwards inclining to Red, and when ripe, black shining. It has also a Kernel not unlike the wild *Olive*, which is cover'd with a Pulp like the same, out of which issues a kind of green Oily Liquor, of the same Scent as the *Laurels*, biting and bitterish upon the Tongue. The Rind of this Tree, (or the Cinamon it self) is thick, without any remarkable Taste, tho' the small Sprouts or Tacks are somewhat bitter, yet don't come near to the Cinamon in the Isle of *Ceylon*.

Out of the Rind of the Root, they prepare a kind of Volatile Salt, which they call *Camphir*; swimming upon the Surface of the Water,

Oil of Cinamon and volatile Salts.

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Water, of a yellow Colour, clear, strong, and well scented; sharp upon the Tongue, and very penetrating, being so Volatile, that if exposed to the Air, it evacuates immediately. This Camphir is exceeding white, excelling the common Camphir in its Scent; The Particles of this Camphir are insensibly mix'd with the Oil, whilst yet warm, immediately after its Distillation; but as soon as the Oil begins to cool, they adhere to one another in divers shapes, and settle to the Bottom. This Camphir is very Volatile, and so fiery, that it takes fire in an instant, and leaves not the least Impurity behind, after it is consumed. The Oil approaches very near both in Smell and Taste to the Camphir, and is so Volatile, that if some of it be dropp'd upon woollen Stuffs, even of the nicest Colours, it evaporates immediately, without leaving the least Spot behind. It is also very combustible, burning with a white and blue Flame; If put upon the fire, it evacuates in an instant, and turns into a white Smoak, which is very apt to take fire. This Oil mixt with Gunpowder, will set it on fire by degrees, yet not till a great part of the Oily Substance be evacuated. If mix'd with Sulphur or Salt Peter, or with both, it will take fire immediately and consume the Sulphur and Salt Peter, remaining without the least Alteration. If you put the Oil upon the fire, and receive the Flame which evaporates from thence in a thick Cloth, a white kind of Salt will settle in it, which is the Camphir itself. This Oil will also in time separate some of those camphirous Particles, which falling to the Bottom, render the Oil more clear and pure. The Oil drawn out of the Malabar Cinamon, is clear, transparent, yellowish and well scented, swimming upon the Water; whereas out of the common Cinamon of Ceylon, besides that Oil which rises on the top of the water, another is also drawn, which sinks to the Bottom. The Oil distill'd from the Leaves, is thin at first, turns yellowish by degrees, and transparent, and of a greenish Colour at last, being very sweet, but sharp at last, having something of Cinamon, it sinks to the bottom of the water.

Its Virtues. The Oil made out of the Rind of the Root, with its Volatile Salt (the Camphir) is endow'd with greater Virtues. It is a Sovereign Remedy against all Lameness, if applied outwardly, and gives immediate Ease in the Gout; it may also be taken inwardly with very good Success; being a great Remedy against Malignant Fevers, a great Sudorifick, expelling the Wind, procuring an Appetite in the Stomach, and consuming the Stone both in the Kidneys

and Bladder, and is good in the Cough, and many other Chronick Distempers; To be short, it is the most Universal Remedy made use of there by the Dutch (in their Hospitals. The Camphir is very proficuous in all Distempers in the Womb, promotes the monthly Terms, and is a great Sudorifick, being us'd in all respects like the common Camphir. The Oil distill'd out of the Bark of the Tree, is an excellent Remedy in all Distempers of the Stomach, and in the Cholick, proceeding from a cold Cause; The Water of Cinamon is Cordial; The Oil of the Leaves is good against the Cholick, if applied outwardly to the Belly, and helps Lameness.

In the Woods of Malabar about Kana-Zua or nor, grows a certain Shrub in great plenty, rumbe call'd Zua by the Malabars, at Surate Dekan, and Cachora by the Canarins; by the Arabians and Persians Zerumber, and Zeruba by the Turks. If planted or sow'd, it will grow also in many other places. By some it is reckoned a kind of Ginger, and not without Reason, its Leaves resembling those of the Ginger, only that they are somewhat larger; as is also the Root, which being cut in pieces and dry'd, is thus transported into Foreign Parts.

On the Coast of Malabar in the Isle of The T. St. Cruce, belonging to the Kingdom of call'd Cochim, near the River Manatte, grows a certain Tree call'd Macre by the Brahman Physicians, by the Christians there Makgyre, and by the Portuguese *Arbore de las Canaras* and *Arbore Sancto*, i. e. the Tree of the Bloody Flux, and the holy Tree. The Saints of this Country have this Saying of it; *Kura Santea Macre Nistusa garul*. i. e. Macre was discover'd to Mankind for their Benefit by the Angels. Galen, Dioscorides and Pliny call it Macer, and Avicenna Talisfar; This Tree spreads its Branches in a large compass, being bigger than our Elm-tree. Its Leaves are seven foot long, and two broad, the uppermost side of a pale, and the undermost of a dark green Colour. It is generally believ'd, that this Tree produces no Fruit, but only a kind of Seed, of the bigness of a Farthing, thin, yellowish, resembling in taste the Kernel of an Almond or Peach-Stone, cover'd with a white Skin. It is enclosed in a kind of a bladder composed of two different Peels. This Bladder comes forth in the middle of the Leaf, resembling that which in May sprouts forth on the Elm Trees, except that it is somewhat broader and flatter. The Leaf of this Bladder, is of the bigness of other Leaves, but not so much pointed at the end, and narrow towards the Stalk; of a deep yellow Colour, cover'd with a kind of curl'd down, from the Stalk to the end.

end. The Root of this Tree is not unlike that of the *Stene Palm Tree*, with large and thick Robs, spread at a great distance; The Rind of those Roots is thick, rough, of an Ash colour without, but white within; containing a Juice like Milk, whilst fresh, but turns yellow; when dry it is very astringent. This Tree delights in few but sandy grounds, and kills all other Trees or Shrubs near it. The Rind of the Root of this Tree is in vast Esteem among the *Malabars* as well as among the *Chinefses*, *Javanefes*, *Malabars* and all *Bengale*; being look'd upon and made use of in their Hospitals, as the most Sovereign Remedy in the World; against Looseness, and all manner of Bloody Fluxes. The *Indian Physicians*, as well *Brahmans*, *Canarins*, as *Malabars*, cure with this Rind whilst fresh, powder'd and mix'd with Butter-milk, the Bloody Flux; some infuse half an Ounce of the Rind dry'd and powder'd in a quartern of Whey for 12 hours, which they give the Patient twice a day, viz. in the Morning and Evening, immediately after they give the Patient Rice to eat, boil'd without Salt or Butter, and after that a Chicken boil'd in the Decoction of Rice Flour. If the Distemper be very urgent, they add some *Opium* for the strengthening of the Stomach, and to stop Vomiting, they mix a little Mastic with this Rind, give it in Mint Water. They tell you that a small quantity of this Rind, excels much in Virtue a considerable number of the *Myrobalan* Rinds, or of *Areka*; nay, they prefer it before the *Koru* of *Malabar* it self. The Fruit, or rather Seed, expels all sorts of Worms, and dissolves the Stone in the Kidneys, being look'd upon likewise as a great Preservative both against the Stone and Cholick; Besides the Tree *Macer*, other Trees grow here very different in kind, but agree in Virtue with the *Macer Tree*.

The first of these two is by the *Malabars* call'd *Kurodopala* or *Kuro*, and *Koru* by the *Canarins*, by the *Brahmans* *Kuva*, and by the *Portugueses* the *Malabar Shrub*, its Use having been first shewn them by the *Malabars*. This Tree or Shrub is not unlike a small Orange Tree, especially as to its Leaves; except that the Vein in the middle of the Leaf, out of which come 8 or 9 on both sides is somewhat thicker. The Blossom is yellow, and without the least Scent. *Garcias* says this Tree is somewhat less than a common Crab-tree, its Leaves like a Peach-tree, with a white Blossom. It has a pale, green and smooth Bark; out of which, if cut with a Knife, issues a Milk-like Juice, more viscous than that which comes forth out of the *Macer Tree*, bitterish of taste; the *Malabar Physicians* assign

it a cooling quality. This Tree affords an infallible Remedy against all kinds of Bloody Fluxes; provided the gross ill Humours have been purged away before, without which the Patient will soon have a relapse. The *Malabars* (according to *Garcias*) prepare a compounded Water out of the Root unto which they attribute great Virtues against the Bloody Flux, they take 8 Ounces of this Root well beaten to Powder, and infused in Whey and the Liquor of boil'd Rice, unto this they add the Seeds of Pursley, black Cummin and Coriander each an Ounce and a half; of the *Myrobalan* Rind 7 Drachms, and fresh Butter 2 Ounces; This they distil, and mix a quartern of this distill'd Water with half a quartern of *Arak*, and give it the Patient. They apply this Water also in form of a Clyster in the night time, by reason of the excessive Heat of the days in those Parts. Inwardly they commonly give it twice a day, viz. in the Morning about six a Clock, and in the Afternoon about two. Their Diet is Rice mix'd with Far; and Chickens boil'd in the Decoction of Rice, which they call *Kenje* in their Language, but the use of Wine is absolutely forbidden, unless it be in an inveterate bloody Flux, to keep up the Spirits. Some give only the Juice of the Shrub, whilst green, of which they give a quartern and a half in the Morning, and as much in the Evening; and to take away the bitterish taste, allow the Patient to drink a little Whey after it. In case of necessity they mix some *Opium* with it. It is also a good Remedy to strengthen the Stomach, and to stop Vomiting, if taken in Mint Water, or mix'd with some Mastic powder'd. The Root taken inwardly with the Decoction of Rice, or applied outwardly is very good against the Piles. The Decoction of the Leaves, and those of *Tamarinds*, make an excellent Fomentation for swell'd Legs, held over the hot Steam, and a Cloth dipp'd in the same Decoction is with good Success applied in the Looseness and Dropsie.

The third sort of those Vegetables which are us'd here against the bloody Flux, is call'd by the *Malabars* *Pavate*, and *Vasa Veli* by the *Brahmans*, and *Canarins*, and *Arbor contra las crispulas*, i. e. The Tree against the St. Anthony's Fire. It is a Shrub not above 8 or 9 foot high, with a few Branches and Leaves, resembling the small Leaves of Orange-trees before they come to their full growth, green on both sides; The Blossom is white and small, the Seed round, in bigness like to that of the Mastic-tree; dark green at first, which turns black as it ripens. The Stem and Tacks are of an

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Jambos or Jambouro.

Ash-Colour, the Root without either Scent or Taste, except that it is somewhat bitterish.

Among the Fruit Trees of Malabar, that which the Inhabitants call *Jambos*, and the Portuguese *Jambouro*, must not be pass'd by in Silence. The *Malabars* and *Canarins* call the Fruit *Jambali*, the *Arabians* *Tufa Indi*, the *Turks* *Alma*, and the *Persians* *Tufat*. It is the common Opinion, that this was first of all for the Pleasantness of its Blossom, and Excellency of its Fruit, transplanted from *Malacca* (where it is found in great plenty) into all the other parts of the *Indies*. There are two kinds, resembling one another in most respects, except in their Fruit, which is somewhat different. Both are not unlike, as well in shape as bigness to our *European* Apple Trees, and will grow without much Cultivating in any ground, and bear Fruit within 5 Years; they take Root very deep, a thing seldom observ'd among the *Indian* Trees. These Trees are of a pleasant Aspect, spreading their Branches to the height of a good Plumb-tree, The Bark, as well of the Tree as of the Branches, is of an Ash Colour and smooth; the Wood brittle; the Leaves also resemble those of the Plumb-tree, but are somewhat more pointed at the end, being a Palm in length, and not unlike the Iron point of a long Pike or Lance; the upper side is dark, and the undermost pale green, with a straight Vein in the middle, which sends out divers others on both sides. The Blossoms are both for Scent and Colour like our *Roses*, but inclining more to a Purple Colour; The first is of the bigness of a large Pear, or of a Goose Egg, or rather bigger; They are of two sorts, one of which is a dark red inclining to black, generally without Stones, excelling the other in taste; the other is pale red, has a longish white Stone, of the bigness of a Peach Stone, cover'd with a white rough Skin; This tho' inferior to the former, yet is of a most pleasing taste. Sometimes the first is absolutely red, and these are of a purple Colour, and smells like a Rose; The Fruit is cover'd with so thin a Peel, that no Knife can separate it from the Pulp, which is accounted cold and moist; and so are the Blossoms, notwithstanding which, they are very well scented; and for that reason in high Esteem among the Inhabitants. The Fruit is commonly eaten before Dinner, or at the beginning of a Meal; neither are they useless in Physick, both the Fruit and Flowers preserved, being prescribed in violent burning Fevers, having besides their cooling quality, a certain Virtue of comforting the Spirits. This Tree may well be accounted among the number of those,

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which by the Excellency of their Fruit, and the agreeableness of their Flowers, surprises the Beholders; for, whilst you see one side of the Tree bare of Leaves and Blossom, the other is stor'd with Fruit, which last till the other side begins to renew its Leaves; so that in one and the same Tree, you see a continual Spring and Autumn at once. Thus you never can cast your Eye upon this Tree, but you meet there either with Blossom or Fruit; and as the Blossom drops underneath on the ground (which is frequently cover'd with those purple colour'd Flowers) others come forth in their stead; and whilst some of the Fruit are ripening, others are to be gathered. The best way to gather their Fruit, is, to shake the Tree, then they fall with ease, but if you endeavour to pull them off, the Tacks are apt to break.

The Fruit *Karkapuli* call'd *Kerkapoli* by the *Canarins*, is in shape and bigness like an Orange; they are green at first, afterwards turn yellow, and when ripe, white, of sweet taste, but a little rartish. In the Center of the Pulp lies the Seeds, flat and long, of the bigness of a Joint of a Finger, and are of a dark brown Colour.

Karkapuli.

The Tree which bears this Fruit is very tall, call'd *Koddam Pulli* by the *Malabars*, sometimes *Otta Pulli*, and by the *Brahmans* *Koddar Pulli*. *Danubos*, by the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Ceylon* *Chorakas*; The Fruit is eaten, and used in Physick among the *Indians*, being accounted an excellent Remedy against Looseness, especially if occasioned by too much *Vener*y. Besides which, the Fruit before it is quite ripe, or the Juice of it mix'd with Butter-milk, or the Fruit dry'd and powder'd mix'd with Butter-milk and boil'd Rice, is excellent good to acuate the Appetite of the Stomach. This Juice also, as well as the dry Fruit powder'd, is accounted a good Remedy against the Dimness, Catarracts, and other Infirmities of the Eyes; they apply the Juice mix'd with some other Herbs to the Nail of the great Toe, on that side, where the defect of the Eye is. The Midwives give it to Women lately brought to Bed, to expel the After-birth, and produce plenty of Milk for Suck. This Fruit, when dry'd, is transported to Foreign Countries. There is another kind of this Tree, bearing a round Fruit and sweet, of the bigness of a Cherry, call'd *Karkapuli* by Mr. *Dinshuten*; This Tree is call'd *Karna Choraka* by those of *Ceylon*, i. e. *sweet Choraka*; Out of the Bark of both of these Trees, if slit with a Knife, issues a Gum, call'd *Gurra*, but that which comes from the *Karna Choraka* is the best.

The use of *Aloe* Leaves is very frequent among the *Malabars*, a Purge they boldly

The use of Aloe Leaves along the Malabars give

give not only to Children, but also to Women with Child. They take of the Aloes Leaves 3 Ounces cut very small, these they boil with two Drachms of black Salt, over an easie fire, and after they have strain'd it, add to it an Ounce of Sugar, and so let it stand the whole night in the Air. The next Morning about six a Clock they give the Patient this Decoction cold, ordering him to abstain from sleep, and to walk about to promote its Operation; Three hours after he hath taken it, they give him a little Chicken Broth, with a few Grains of Mastic in it, and an hour after that allow him to eat, and to take a little Wine of the smallest sort. They either increase or diminish the Dose of the Decoction, according to the Constitution of the Patient.

There grows in Malabar a certain Fruit of the bigness of a Hazle Nut, but is not quite so round and white; It grows on the Tacks of a certain Shrub, which they sow; It has no peculiar use in Physick, tho' Serapio ascribes to it a Virtue of augmenting the Seed, and promoting the Birth in Women; the same the Malabars do to this day, who call the Fruit *Cheviqne lenga*, and in some places *Kuoka*, and those of *Cambaiak Karpata*. If *Garcias* may be credited, this is the same Fruit described by *Serapio* by the broken name of *Habel-culcul*, whereas it should have been *Hab-alcul*, which signifies as much as the Seed of *Culcul*.

The Tree call'd *Kumbulu* by the Malabars, and *Bon-Varo* by the Brahmins, grows very tall, with a Trunk of that Thickness, that a Man can scarce grasp it. The Leaves are a Span, and two or three Inches long, and two Palms broad, woolly at the end of the Stalks which are round, long and thick; at the Extremities of the Tacks, which sprout forth out of the Branches grow certain yellow Flowers in Clusters on short Stalks, consisting of five round and thick Leaves. After these comes a Fruit that's like a Pear, full of Juice, the Pulp being of a yellowish Colour, and a sweetish taste, but the Juice when press'd out is deep yellow. They are green at first, next of a pale yellow, and turn reddish at last; In the Center of the Fruit is a white, smooth Stone, shap'd like a Pear, with a small Kernel in it. The Decoction of the Root mix'd with a little Rice, is a good Remedy against the Ague, which often follows the Gout or Rheumatism. Taken in Butter-milk, or mix'd with the Oil of *Sirchelem*, it expels the Wind, and eases the Pain; and the Juice of the Leaves taken with Butter-milk, is good against the Colick.

The Tree call'd *Ganschi* by the Malabars, and *Schiwanni* by the Brahmins, grows

in sandy Grounds a great height and thickness, so that a Man can scarce grasp the Trunk, which as well as the Branches has a Bark of an Ash colour without, but green within. The Leaves hang on long, round and green Stalks, being above a Span in length, and two Palms broad, of an oblong Figure. The Blossoms fastned to Stalks which are pale green, sweet, round and thin, each Flower consisting of no more than three, and seldom of four Leaves. After these comes the Fruit, which is of a triangular Figure, flattish, and of a green Colour, hanging on long and green Stalks, the Seed being triangular, and the Pulp very substantial; The Decoction of the Root is used against the Gout, and apply'd to the affected part.

Of the Tree *Palaga* there are two kinds; The Tree one is call'd *Palaga-Pajaneli* by the Malabars, and the other barely *Pajaneli*. The *Palaga-Pajaneli*, called *Davandiku* by the Brahmins, is very tall, with a Trunk enough for a Man to grasp, having an ash-coloured Bark, as well as the Branches, which grow streight upright of a considerable thickness. The Leaves hang on Stalks which shoot forth both out of the Stem and Branches of the Tree. On the extremities of the Branches grow certain clusters of Flowers, shap'd like Bells, consisting of six thick Leaves; whitish or pale yellow within, and streak'd with red on the out-side, the Scent of which is offensive to the Nostrils. The Fruit, which follows the Flowers, is about three Spans long, of the breadth of a hand, and an Inch thick, with a dark green Peel. The Pulp, juicy and tender at first, but grows hard at last; the Seed is very flat. The Bark of the Tree powder'd and mix'd with Wine, applied to a Wound, or broken Bones, heals them. The Decoction of the Root, is good against the Dropsie; and the Leaves, whilst yet very young, mix'd with Malabar-Saffron, cures all sorts of Ulcers, if apply'd to them outwardly.

The second kind of the *Pajaneli*, called *Davandiku* by the Brahmins, is likewise a very tall Tree, whose Branches shoot forth upright to a great height; it delights in sandy Grounds: The Root spreads at a great distance, having a thick ash-coloured Rind. The Trunk is of that thickness, that a Man can scarce grasp it, of a brittle Wood, with a dark ash-coloured Bark. The Flowers are, like the former, shap'd like Bells, but have no more than 5 Leaves. The Fruit is the same: Of the Juice of the Leaves, and that of the Fruit *Karka*, or *Mirobalans*, mixt together, the Malabars make a black Dye. to Dye their Mourning

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Cloaths with. The Decoction of the Rind of the Root, dispels hard Tumours if they be Fomented with it.

Of the Tree *Pala*, called *Santeru* by the *Brahmans*, there are four kinds ; 1. *Pala* ; 2. *Kurutu Pala* ; 3. *Kadaga Pala* ; 4. *Kaikotten Pala* : The first kind, called only *Pala* is a high Tree growing in sandy places, and spreading its Branches into a great circumference : The Root, which has a dark yellow Rind, reaches very deep into the Ground, and contains a milky Juice : The Trunk is two or three fathoms thick, the Bark of an ash-colour, as is likewise the Bark of the Branches. The Leaves grow four or five together on Stalks of an oblong Figure, and towards the Stalks full of a milky substance ; The Flowers grow in clusters, having five whitish Leaves of a strong Scent, but offensive to the Brains. The Fruit which comes immediately after the Blossom, do likewise hang in clusters on small Tacks, being green Husks of about two Spans length, but small and flat, full of a milky Juice or Substance, as is the Tree it self, which produces Fruit but once a year, viz. in *January*.

The second kind of *Pala*, is by the *Malabars* called *Kurutu Pala*, by the *Brahmans*, *Kudo* ; being a Tree from six to twelve foot high, the Trunk about the thickness of a foot, with an ash-coloured Bark, as well as the Branches. The Leaves come forthout of the Branches, with their Stalks, being of an Oblong figure, and pointed at the end. The Flowers grow on the extremities of the small Tacks, are white, and bigger than those of the first kind, and have five long Leaves. The Fruit grows likewise in clusters, being of an Oblong figure, dark green at first, and as they ripen turn yellow. The Husk contains five, six, or seven Seeds. The Tree bears Fruit all the year round ; but most in the rainy Season. The Bark of the Tree beaten to Powder and taken in warm Water, is good against the Loose-Piles, but if taken in Milk, stops the Bloody-Flux.

The third kind of *Pala*, called *Kadaga Pala* by the *Malabars*, and *Alego-Kygo* by the *Brahmans*, is no higher than the *Kurutu Pala*, and delights in sandy Grounds : The Root does not go so deep underground as that of the *Pala*, the Bark is of a dark brown colour. The Trunk is of a foot circumference, like the second kind, but the Leaves and Blossom being also like the same. It bears long Husks, like the *Pala*, but are somewhat thicker, of a green colour, a Span long and full of a milky Liquor. The Bark of the Trunk beaten to Powder, and taken in Butter-Milk, stops the Looseness ; and the Rind of the Root,

taken in the same manner, cures the Bloody-Flux. The Decoction of the Seeds is given in Burning-Fevers, and kills the Worms. The fourth kind, called *Kaikotten-Kala*, is *Kala*, very near the same with the third.

There are two kinds of the Tree called *Parva* by the *Malabars* ; the first they call *Tindaparva*, and the second *Anaparva*, and the *Brahmans* *Bendarli*. The *Tindaparva* grows to a great height in sandy grounds, having a thick whitish Root, with a soft Rind : The Trunk is so thick that a Man can scarce grasp it with his Arms, having an ash-coloured Bark as well as the Branches, which underneath the Bark are of a dark brown colour. The Leaves which are long, and pointed at the end, hang on very short Stalks ; as do likewise the Flowers, consisting of four pale-green and pointed Leaves. The Fruit are a kind of round Berries, with a very thin peel, green at first, afterwards inclining to white, and turns red as they ripen. In the Peel is enclosed a round Kernel. The Root beaten to powder and taken inwardly, is a sovereign Remedy against Epileptick Fits ; and the Decoction of the Leaves disperses all pain, if the affected parts be well fomented with it.

The Tree *Kavalkan*, as the *Malabars* call it, and *Bankar* by the *Brahmans*, grows in stony and sandy grounds ; Its Root, which is very thick, and covered with an ash-coloured but softish Rind, stretching very deep underground. The Trunk is so thick, that a Man can scarce grasp it with both his Arms, covered with a thick Bark, of an ash-colour without, and pale-green within. The Wood is also white, and may be drawn into Tread. The Leaves are of an Oblong figure, a Span and 2. or 3. inches long, pointed at the ends, hanging on long round and green Stalks : The Flowers consisting of five small Leaves sprout out in clusters, with green and hairy Stalks. The Fruit comes forth in bunches, three, four, or five together, being of the shape of an Egg, with a thick and hard Rind, containing nine or ten Beans of the length of a Finger each, but round and smooth, with a double Peel : These Beans when roasted, are good Food : This Tree bears Blossom but once a year, viz. in *May*, and is not used in Physick among the *Malabars*.

Of the Tree *Ambalam* there are two kinds The Tree in Malabar ; One is simply called, *Ambalam*, or *Koduko Ambado*, (i. e. *Sweet Ambado*) by the *Brahmans* ; the other, *Kat Ambalam*, or *Pee Ambalam*. The Tree *Ambalam* grows to a great height in sandy Grounds, with its Branches not spreading but upright. The Root which is very large stretching with many Twigs underground. The Trunk is of a great circumference, covered with

with a very thick Bark ; the Wood being very soft : The Leaves hang on small green Stalks or Sprouts, in Bunches of five together ; they are generally as long again as they are broad, smooth and soft ; and of a light-green on both sides. Those Leaves which are nearest to the small Twigs, are not so large as the rest, of an agreeable scent, and tartish, not unlike the Rind of the *Indian Mango's*. The Blossom or Flower do likewise come forth out of small and green sprouts, are of a whitish colour, shaped like Stars, having five or six Leaves. The Buds of these Flowers are round, and green at first, but turn white before they open ; which when it happens, the Leaves fall from the Tree, which continues bare as long as it stands in Blossom, but as the Fruit grows new Leaves come forth by degrees. The Fruit grows in clusters, being of an Oval figure, and pretty hard, not unlike to the *Indian Mango's* : Before they come to maturity, their Rind is dark brown, and full of sour Juice, but when they begin to ripen, turn light green, and at last yellow, of an agreeable tartish taste, and are Eaten by the Inhabitants. In the mid't of the Fruit is a very large Stone. This Tree bears twice every year, viz. in *January* and *May*. The Root if thrust into the Matrix stops the superfluous Monthly times. The Bark powdered and taken in Butter-Milk, is good against the Looseness ; and so is the Juice mix'd with Rice. The Decoction of the Wood is a good Remedy against the involuntary Emission of the Seed ; and the Juice of the Leaves mixt with that of the Fruit intill'd into the Ears, eases the pain in those Parts.

The second kind of the *Ambalam*, *Kat Ambulam*, or *Pee Ambulam*, as the *Malabars* call it, and *Kaduko Ambado* by the *Brahmans*, resembles the first in a great many respects, except that its Leaves are less ; and so are the Fruit, being somewhat rounder, and the Taste a mixture of sour and bitter, which is the reason they are never eaten. *Kat Ambalam*, or *Pee Ambalam*, signifies in the *Malabar* Tongue, as much as *Wild Ambalam*, and *Kaduko Ambado* among the *Brahmans* as much as the *Bitter Ambado* from its taste.

The Tree called *Agaty* by the *Malabars*, and *Agasto* by the *Brahmans*, runs up to the height of ten or twelve yards, the Branches growing straight upright : The Trunk is so big in circumference, that a Man can scarce grasp it, having a very soft Wood, and the Pith much tender. If an Incision be made into the Bark, a certain

watery Substance distills thence, which turns to Gum afterward. The Leaves come forth out of small and green Sprouts or Buds, being near a Span and a half long, and growing two and two on long green Stalks. The Flowers consist of five small Leaves, and grows in clusters on Stalks of a pale-green colour. After the Blossom come thin, straight and green Husks of about a Span in length, and an Inch in breadth, having a thick Peel ; in which are enclosed certain Beans, not unlike in taste to, but somewhat smaller than, our *French Beans*, being white at first, but turn pale-green by degrees, and are very good Food. This Tree bears Fruit twice or thrice in the Rainy Season, and indeed, the whole year round, but not so frequently in the Summer. The Juice of the Bark of this Tree, either by itself, or mix'd with Honey, is an excellent Remedy against all the Inflammations of the Throat and Mouth. The Juice of the Leaves taken into the Nostrils like a liquid Snuff, cures the Quartan Ague.

The Tree call'd *Appel* or *Nalla-Appella*, The Tree Appel. by the *Malabars*, and *Karo-Neroloe* by the *Brahmans*, have a very thick and hairy Root, the Rind of which is of a Saffron colour. The Circumference of the Stem is of five or six Palms ; the Branches growing directly upright : Its Wood is white, but the Peel dark red. The Leaves sprout forth out of the Branches, in small green and square Buds, the Stalks being round, very short, and of a pale-green colour, commonly two and two together : The Leaves are of an Oval Figure, round near the Stalk, and pointed toward the end. The Flowers grow in clusters, consisting of four round white and small Leaves each. The Fruit are round Berries, having a round, Stone in the middle ; are pale-green at first, but when ripe, turn black. The Tree bears but once a year. The Root of this Tree powdered and taken in Water, stops the Looseness ; and Boil'd in *Sea-Water*, and applied outwardly, appeases the Pain of the Gout. The Decoction of the Leaves is a good Remedy against the Pain of the Belly and Stomach, occasioned by Wind ; the same effect has the Oil drawn out of the Root, if anointed on the painful part : This Oil is yellow and transparent, of an agreeable Scent, and a picquant bitterish taste.

The Tree call'd, *Schageri Kottam* by the *Malabars*, and *Sahali* by the *Brahmans*, Schageri-Kottam. seldom exceeds the height of six foot, and delights in sandy Grounds : Its Stem is of

the thickness of a Man's Arm, the Root red within, and black on the out-side. The Leaves sprout forth out of the Twigg, and hang on round, and green Stalks; they are very large, and pretty long, broad towards the Stalk, and pointed at the ends; the upper-side dark green, and the undermost side of a pale green colour. At the very extremities of the small Twigg, grow the Flowers in clusters, on small Stalks, consisting of four or five great Leaves, of a white, and pale yellow colour. The Fruit is in shape like an *European Pear*, dark green at first, and when ripe, turns black; it is of a sweetish taste, and eaten by the *Malabars*. The Juice of the Leaves boiled with Sugar, and taken inwardly, strengthens the Liver, and stops the loose-ness.

Kolinil.

The Tree call'd *Kolinil* by the *Malabars*, and *Scheera Punka* by the *Brahmans*, does not grow above two or three foot high, its Stem being not above three or four inches thick, the Branches spreading round about it. The Wood of the Stem is very hard, and the green Bark which covers it, of a piquant bitterish taste. The Leaves come forth out of small and green sprouts, hanging on very small Stalks; they are of an Oval Figure, round at the ends, and somewhat pointed towards the Stalks, of a sharp and bitter taste: The Blossom is like our Bean Blossom, having each four Leaves: The Fruit is a kind of a small, smooth, and long husk, yet not above two or three inches in length, are green in the beginning, and dark red at last, having within them certain Beans, which are green at first, and black at last. This Tree produces Fruit twice a year, once in the Winter, and once in the Summer. The Root powdered and boiled in Milk, or the Juice of the *Cocoa Tree*, is a good Remedy against the *Falling Sickness*.

Atu, or Fig-trees.

There are four kinds of Figg-trees in *Malabar*, call'd by one general name *Atu*; the first they call *Atty-Alu*, the second *Itty-Alu*, the third *Aréalu*, and the fourth *Peralu*.

Atty-Alu.

The Fig-tree *Atty-Alu*, call'd *Roembadoc* by the *Brahmans*, grows to a great height, spreading its Branches at a good distance: The Trunk is of that thickness, that a Man cannot well grasp it; the Fruit is round, but flat, and lesser towards the Stalk, and somewhat hairy and rough, not unlike our Figs: Before they are ripe, they are green and full of a Milky Juice, but turn red when ripe, and are not so juicy. Within the pulp, you see small Kernels like in our Figs, and as soon as they are

ripe, the *Palmires* get into them. These Figs are the only ones that are eaten by the *Malabars*, and eaten raw when ripe, are accounted good against the *Loosens*: If the Inhabitants may be believed, these Trees are produced out of the Seed of the Fruit, after it is eaten by the Ravens, and discharged again with their Dung.

The second sort *Itty-Alu*, and *Aréa Goli* by the *Brahmans*, is the smallest of all the four kinds, its Trunk being to be grasp'd by any ordinary Man. It bears a small and round Fruit, which is green, whilst not come to maturity, and full of a Milky Juice; but when ripe, turns yellow. It has also abundance of Kernels, like the first kind.

The Tree of the third kind, call'd *Aréa* *Aréalu*, and *Bipaloe* by the *Brahmans*, is as tall as the former, spreading its Branches very loftily, at a good distance: The Trunk is of such a thickness, that two Men can scarce grasp it: The Fruit is like that of the *Itty-Alu*, small and round, and not forc'd, as that of the *Atty-Alu*. These *Pagans* have Dedicated this Tree to their Idol *Vishnu*, who, they say, was born under this Tree, and took of its Blossoms: For this reason it is, that they surround it with a Stone Wall, and Worship it: The Christians call it the *Devil's Tree*.

The fourth sort, call'd *Peralu*, and *Vad-Peralhoe* by the *Brahmans*, exceeds all the others in height; for which reason, the *Brahmans* have given it the name of *Vadhoe*, i. e. large. The Fruit is much the same with that of the *Atty-Alu*, but very round, and of a very high red colour, being covered with a kind of a *Lanugo*, or Woolly substance when they are ripe.

Of the Tree call'd *Paniti* by the *Malabars*, are likewise four different kinds, viz. *Pariti*, *Bupariti*, *Kudupariti*, and *Schem-Pariti*. The Tree *Bupariti*, call'd *Valli-Kari-Kaposi* by the *Brahmans*, is a very high Tree, with very lofty Branches, growing in the shape of a Crown round the Tree, which is never infested with any Insects. The Leaves resemble in shape, a *Man's Heart*, of the bigness of the Palm of a Man's Hand, somewhat pointed at the end, of a lovely green on the upper-side, and a pale green on the other: The Flowers are of the shape of Bells, consisting of several white Leaves. After these, comes a certain round spongy Fruit, which emits a gummy Liquor, if an incision be made with a Knife: For the rest, the Tree produces Flowers all the Year round.

Pariti, or the Tree of the second kind, call'd *Karikapresi* by the *Brachmans*, grows to the height of 18 foot, the Trunk being however within the compass of a Man's grasping. The Flowers are like those of the *Bupariti*, only somewhat lesser; and after these come certain Oval Sponges, covered with a *Lanugo*, or hairy substance. The Blossom bruised and mix'd with Womens Milk, and infused into the Ears, cures the Head-Ach.

The Tree *Kudupariti* of the third sort, call'd *Kapissi* by the *Brachmans*, runs to the height of 12 foot, tho' its Stem is not above two Palms thick. The Flowers are likewise like Bells, of the same shape and colour as the precedent, only that they are a little lesser, and inclining to green. The Spongy Fruit are three corner'd, pointed at the top, and within distinguish'd by three Skins in as many different Concavities, each of which contains three or four Seeds enclosed in a thick white *Lanugo* or woolly substance: This Tree is never without blossom throughout the whole year. The Leaves bruised and mixed with Cows Milk, and apply'd outwardly to the Head, cures Sleep, and consequently cures the Head-Ach. The Fruit bruised and taken inwardly in Water stops the Bloody flux. The fourth sort is very near the same with the third.

Of the Tree *Mandaru* are likewise four different sorts, viz. *Chavanna Mandaru*, of which two bear the same name; *Velutta Mandaru*, and *Kanschenapou*. The first call'd *Chavanna Mandaru* by the *Malabars*, and *Tambido Mandaru* by the *Brachmans*, grows up to the height of 24 foot, spreading its Branches far round out. The Trunk is not above a foot thick. The Leaves hang on very short stalks, being even in two at the upper end, like Goats Feet, whence the *Portugueses* have given them the Name of *Pee Capra*. The Flowers have five Leaves of an oval Figure; among which, the largest and broadest is rounder than the rest, white on the outside, and of a Purple colour within; the other four are more Oval, of a pale red colour without, but high red within; two of those next to the biggest Leaf, are on the inside whitish towards the bottom, but the other two all over of a rose-colour within; from which Rose-colour the *Malabars* have given the name *Chavanna Mandaru* to this Tree. In some of those Leaves you see streaks as of blood, which they say are the remnants of the Blood of St. Thomas,

who preach'd the Gospel on the Coast of *Malabar*, and in the Isle of *Ceylon*. After these come certain flat, long, and smooth Husks, of the length of seven or eight Inches; in which are enclosed flat and long Beans, which at first are ripe, but afterward turn dark red. This Tree produces Flowers all the year round, but in the rainy Season in greater Plenty. The Flowers preserved with Sugar, are used with good Success, for a Laxative, as we do with our Rose-Sugar. The second sort of the *Chavanna Mandaru* is a very tall Tree like the first, with such like Branches, a Trunk of the same thickness, and the same Leaves, only somewhat larger. The Flowers have five oval Leaves of a Purple colour both in and outside, with white streaks. The Husks of this Tree are the largest of all the four kinds; being two Spans long, an Inch thick, flat and smooth; The Beans are the same both in shape and colour as the first; and this Tree blossoms at the same time, and in the same manner. The Flowers of this Tree eaten raw, are Laxative; The Bark, Flowers, and Fruit, bruised together and mix'd with the Liquor of the Decoction of Rice, is a sovereign Remedy to bring to Maturity, and to open all sorts of Tumours. The Bark chew'd, cures the Tooth and Head-Ach.

The third sort, call'd *Velutta Mandaru* by the *Malabars*, and *Dove Mandaru* by the *Brachmans*, is not above six feet high, and an Arm thick; the Leaves are Cloven like those of the first, but the Flowers white without the least Scent, and five round Leaves. The Husks are not so big as those of the others, viz. not above four or five Inches long, and an Inch thick, for the rest, flattish and smooth. The Beans are long and round, of a yellowish colour, neither so big nor so red as those of the *Chavanna Mandaru*. This Tree blossoms two or three times every year, but chiefly in the Rainy Season. The Flowers bruised and mixed with some Pepper, and applied outwardly to the Head, cures the Head-Ach; and if you wash your selves with the Decoction of the Root, it lays all sorts of Itching of the Skin.

The fourth sort call'd *Kanschenapou* by the *Malabars*, and *Kansennu* by the *Brachmans*, is a Tree which runs up to the height of 12 foot or more, with lofty Branches, but the Stem is not above half a foot thick. The Leaves are Cloven like the rest, but not so big, very strong scented if rubb'd betwixt your Fingers, efpe-

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especially in the night-time: The Flowers consist also of five Leaves, of a pale-yellow colour without the least Scent. The Husks are the same with those of the *Charina Mandarin*, very smooth on the outside, but somewhat hairy whilst very young. The Beans are small, in shape and colour resembling those of the *Pelatta Mandarin*. The Tree bears Flowers twice or thrice a year, but most plentifully in the Rainy Season. The Decoction of the Root, taken inwardly, is a good Remedy against the Worms and Inflammations of the Liver, and the Piles. The Bark powdered disperses Tumours, cleanses the Wounds, and is an excellent Narcotick.

N. Tree
Nilikamaram.

The Tree called *Nilikamaram* by the *Malabars*, and *Aruali* by the *Brachmans*, grows up to the height of 24 foot, tho' its Trunk be no bigger than a Man's Arm, which as well as the Branches, are covered with a black Bark. The Leaves sprout forth out of thin and round Twigs, with very short Stalks; they grow two and two together, of an oval Figure, and very small, being dark green on the upper side, and light green on the other side. Every night the Leaves close up, like Tulips; The Flowers grow on small Twigs in clusters, consisting of six very small Leaves. It bears a round, but flattish Fruit, of a pale-green colour when ripe, and somewhat transparent; the Pulp being likewise green and very juicy, of an agreeable astringent taste: In the midst is a Stone, distinguish'd into six different Concavities, each of which contains a small triangular Seed or small Kernel. The Fruit is much used by the *Malabars*: The Water distill'd from this Fruit cools the Liver, and dry'd and powder'd, and mix'd with sower coagulated Milk, stops the Bloody Flux.

Odollam.

The Tree called *Odollam* by the *Malabars*, and *Oro* by the *Brachmans*, grows to the height of 18 foot, its Trunk being so thick as scarce to be encompass'd by a Man with both his Arms, with crooked Branches. The Wood of the Stem is very soft, and the Pith red, the Bark of an ash-colour, bitter, and very hot upon the Tongue. The Leaves grow scattering upon the Twigs and long Stalks, are of the shape of a Tongue, thick, smooth, dark brown on the upper side, bitter and biting upon the Tongue. The Flowers grow in clusters like Cornets, on long, thick, and green Stalks, having five very white and pointed Leaves. It bears a kind of ground-Apple with a green and smooth Rind, un-

der which is a white Pulp of a waterish taste. The Stone which is in the midst is shap'd like the Heart of a Man of a pretty large size, with two Kernels within it. Some will have this Tree to be the same which the *Indians* call *Mongas*.

The Tree called *Nuruti* by the *Malabars*, and *Katu* by the *Brachmans*, rises up to a great height, its Branches spreading very lofty round about it: The Trunk is so big, as scarce to be grasp'd by a Man, the Wood white, with a thick Bark, which is green without and red within. The Leaves are scattered here and there on the Twigs with short, round, and green Stalks, of the length of a Span, and the breadth of four or five inches, of an oval Figure, pointed at the ends, not unlike the Laurel-Leaves. The Flowers sprout forth six or seven together out of the extremities of the small Twigs, consisting of three rows of small Leaves. The first row makes up a Star of five small, pointed, and dark-brown hairy Leaves. The second row contains five round and small Leaves of a rose-colour, and the third or outermost row, five pointed green Leaves. The Fruit grows on short and thick Stalks, being of an oval Figure, having a rose-coloured rough Peel, and within a large yellowish Stone, containing 10 or 12 Kernels of an oleaginous substance. This Tree produces both Flowers and Fruit in great plenty all the year round: From the Kernels or Seeds an Oil is drawn, which has an Anodine Quality, and applied outwardly, cures all sorts of Scuffs and Itchings: The same Oil, mixt with a certain fruit, the *Malabars* call *Palego*, kills the Corns in the Feet, if applied to the affected part.

Of the Tree call'd *Kaniram* there are *Kanir* four several Kinds: One is called *Kaniram* only; the second *Karakaniram*, and the third and fourth *Vallikaniram*. The Tree called *Kaniram*, and by the *Brachmans*, *Karo*, grows up to a great height, with lofty and far spreading Branches. The Root is very thick, exceeding bitter, and covered with a yellow Rind. The Trunk is of that thickness as scarce to be grasp'd by two Men, having a dark ash colour'd Bark. The Leaves, which are of an oval Figure, are very broad in the middle, and pointed towards the ends, of a bitterish taste and an odd scent, grow two and two over against the other; The Flowers sprout forth in clusters, having each five or six pale-green and pointed Leaves. No sooner

From hence we went to the King of Malabar, or *Calicut*, the Capital City of the same Name, three Leagues to the South of *Cochin*, upon the same River. I and Mr. *James Hufart*, under Factor of *Koulang*, got on Horse-back early in the Morning, and Arriv'd at 10 a Clock before Noon at *Cannopoly*, where we took up our Lodgings in a House near the River side, which the Dutch East-India Company, some Years before had purchas'd from the King. It is pretty large, but not very convenient, being Built according to the Malabar Fashion, with abundance of Corners and Inlets oddly contriv'd: The Gardens are well Planted with Palm-trees, for the use of the House. I had no sooner given notice of my Arrival, but I was sent for to the King. After the usual Compliments, to be paid to the Malabar Kings, I deliver'd the following *Ola* (Letter) from Mr. *Hufart* to the King.

James Hufart, Councillour of the Indies, Governour and Director of the Isle of Ceylon, and the Malabar Coasts, sends his Ola to the King of Marten.

Illustrious Prince,

*N*othing could be more Wellicome to me, than to understand at my first Arrival in these Parts, that your Majesty had always liv'd in a good Correspondency with our Company. To shew your Majesty, what an extraordinary value we set upon your Friendship, we have sent Mr. *John Nieuhoff* Captain of *Koulang*, in order to enter with you into a more strict League and Friendship. We hope your Majesty will give him entire Credit, in what he shall propose to you, which I shall be ready to acknowledge upon the like Occasions.

God preserve and give your Majesty a long and a happy Life.

Cochin

2 Feb. 1664.

James Hufart.

After which I gave the King a more particular Account of my Commission, unto which he answer'd that he would consider of it till the next day; accordingly I was sent for at the appointed time, when I found the King surrounded with a great Number of his Courtiers; and among the rest some Mahometan Merchants; He Order'd immediately two of them, and one of his Captains, who was in great esteem with him, to Treat with me concerning the

Company; but as I was sufficiently inform'd that most of the Mahometan Merchants here drove considerable Traffick to *Canavor*, to the no small prejudice of our Company, I did not think fit to Treat with them, if possibly I could avoid it, which made me to tell the King, that I had no Commission to Treat with the Mahometan Merchants, but with His Majesty; That the Company at present offer'd Peace to the whole Coast of Malabar, in which, if his Majesty was desirous to be included, and to enjoy the benefit of a flourishing Trade, he might himself Treat with me, but if not, Grant me leave to Depart. The King after a little pausing, desir'd that my Propositions might be drawn up in Writing, which I did accordingly; our demands were,

To forbid the importation of Amson, the Peeling of the wild Cinamome, and the exportation of Pepper.

These Propositions the King Order'd to be Read aloud in our Presence, which the Mahometan Merchants endeavour'd to oppose with all their might: and the greatest part of the day being spent in Messages betwixt the King and us, by the Residoors, who gave an exact Account of all what pass'd to the King, he gave leave for us to return to our Lodgings, and Order'd us to attend him again the next day. But early in the Morning a certain Person of Quality, who bears the second Rank in that Kingdom, came along with the beforemention'd Captain, to tell us, that what we desir'd, was absolutely to the prejudice of the King and Kingdom, which I endeavour'd to put out of their Heads, by telling them, that we were come with no other intention, than to establish a free Commerce with them, as we had done with most of the other Malabar Kings and Princes before, and which would turn to their great advantage; notwithstanding this they were for making several Alterations in each Point, and five or six Messages pass'd betwixt the Court and us; At last they ask'd what quantity of Pepper we desir'd Yearly? we answer'd them that it was no matter about the Quantity, since we were for buying all. This Point was vigorously oppos'd by the Mahometan Merchants, who said would have perswaded the King to reserve part of it for them; but by degrees we overcame all these difficulties, the King having granted us all we demanded, except the Peeling of the wild Cinamome, which we did not so much insist upon being a thing uncer-

tain whether it would quit the cost to the Undertakers or not, because it was in the Kings power to set what Price he pleas'd upon it.

The Kingdom of Marten.

The Kingdom of *Marta* or *Marten* is very near as big as that of *Kalkalang*, extending to the North as far as *Porka*; to the South it borders upon the *Indian Sea*, and to the East, it is surrounded by high Mountains, and walk'd by the same River, upon which *Cochin* and *Koulang* lie: The capital City is likewise call'd *Marta* or *Marten*. But to the South near the Sea-shoar is another City call'd by the Inhabitants *Panderatonte*, and *Pesse* by the *Portugueses*; here we built a House by the King's consent, for the convenience of the Pepper Trade, which is always weigh'd here. There is another City belonging to this Kingdom call'd *Padiogabo* or *Maulikara*. This King possesses some parts of the Country in common with the King of *Kalkalang*, a thing not usual on this Coast, where are so many petty Kingdoms, that it requires no small time, to distinguish and know them from one another. The Country is well Peopld, here, abounding in Pepper, Pease and Beans, and the Fields near the River side, in Rice and Salt-pits. The King is a Sovereign Prince, he that then Reign'd being of about 60 Years of Age, very large of Body and a stern Countenance; Upon his Head he wears a Bonnet of Scarlet Cloth lin'd with Callicoe; he keeps constantly 1200 *Negros* in pay; His Residence is at *Carnopoly*, a place surrounded with an Earthen Wall of 20 Foot High, but appear'd much decay'd at that time: This Kingdom has long ago, been inhabited by Christians, who however were forc'd to live there 12 whole Years without a Church, viz. till the Year 1581. when the King then Reigning, not only gave them Liberty to build a Church, but also to cut Wood in the Adjacent Forests, Dedicated to the Pagan Idols. He also gave Permission to his Subjects to turn Christians, and the Jesuits had full Power Granted them, to exercise the Church Censure, and to inflict it upon those that were Baptiz'd by them. The said Church was Dedicated to St. *Andrew*, because it was finished upon that Saints day.

Upon the Banks of the same River, where the Kingdom of *Marten* lies, is also the Kingdom of *Batyma*, with its City call'd *Katyapery*. It is commonly reported in these Parts, that the King's of *Batyma* made a Law, by which a Man was empower'd to kill any Woman, that should refuse him a Kindness.

By this time our Negotiation being brought to an entire conclusion, I offered the usual presents to the King, which he ordred to be taken by him who bears the second Rank in the Kingdom, who, as well as several others of his Courtiers having been very instrumental in promoting the Treaty, we thought fit to engage to our Party by some small presents. At last we were appointed to attend before the Court in the open Air, where the King first, and I afterwards Sign'd the Treaty with our own Hands, in the presence of a great multitude of People, that were flock'd thither on purpose to be Spectators of this Ceremony. This done I took my leave of the King and his chief Courtiers, and the same Evening went aboard our Vessel, which about a League from thence did ride at Anchor in the River. A certain Lord Commanding over the Country here, a Vassal of the King of *Marten*, came on purpose to Meet and Compliment us and presented us with some Fowls, *Pyfang* and other refreshments; of whom I likewise took my leave and return'd to *Koulang*, where I arriv'd the 9th of February.

The Am leaves Marten

Return Koulang

Whilst I was Negotiating with the King of *Porka*, the King of *Kalkalang* sent for me to his Court, where he Presented me with a very fine *Brocade Silk-Gown*, made according to the *Indian* Fashion; Is pref. testifying his joy for the good Success we had had in our Negotiation with his Neighbour; I return'd my hearty thanks to the King for this and all other favours I had receiv'd at his Hands, and went back agen to the King of *Porka*.

But to return to *Koulang*; no sooner was I arriv'd the 9th of Feb. at *Koulang* but the Queen of the same Name, sent the next day her chief Captain to receive the Customs and Cannon she pretended to be due to her by Vertue of the late Treaty; I was willing to surrender the Cannon, according to our Agreement, but could not consent to the other; and in the mean while we were preparing our *Manjio* (Vessel) for a Voyage to the King of *Travankoor's* Court, the *Residoors* of the King of *Goemree* and *Barieste Pule* desir'd an interview with me, whom I gave a meeting accordingly in Company of Mr. *Cher de Venne* Book-keeper of the *Dutch East-India* Company. We saw above 300 *Negrees* all in a Body, who with one Voice cry'd out for the Customs, which made me after many Debates and Disputes, tell them, that I would go home, with an intention to return the next Day to them, provided they would

Is pref. ted by King Kalko lang.

662. ¹⁶⁸ lift from these Things, that were not granted them by the Treaty, nor were ever likely to be granted, and so return'd to Koulang. The 14th of February, I embark'd at nine a Clock in the Evening for *Atingen*, where the King of *Travankoor* kept his residence then, being come thither some days before. With break of day we found our selves near the Village of *Mappul*, about five Leagues to the East of *Koulang*, but not daring to approach the shoar with our Vessel, we were forc'd to hire an *Indian* Boat, which carried us safely a shoar, notwithstanding the violence of the Waves that rowld against the shoar. We Travell'd for about a League along the Sea-side till we came to a large River, which carried us in three hours Rowing to the Court; Here we understood that the King was just then ready to go to *Kalkolang*, I gave immediate notice of my Arrival to his Majesty, who sent for me by one of his *Residoors*; he met us on the Stairs-head, with many of his Courtiers; where I presented him with the usual respect, the Letter, with some Presents; which he receiv'd and caus'd the Letter to be read aloud, before all there present; telling me, that he would forthwith let me know his intention, and that in the mean while I might take a Walk into the Garden of the Castle, with some of his *Residoors*; and Discourse with them farther in a certain Grove, which he Pointed at with his Fingers. Accordingly I begun to talk more at large, concerning my Propositions, with the four *Residoors*, who were for Treating with me immediately upon the Subject in hand, which I told them I had no Orders to do, my Business being to Treat with the King in Person. They having given the King an Account of what I said, brought me Word, that his Majesty, in a Matter of such Consequence could not take a resolution till next day, desiring me to have Patience till then, and presented us with *Pysang* and some other Refreshments. On the Western-side of the Palace is a pleasant House at the Foot of a Hill, in the midst of a very pleasant Grove from whence there is a Prospect into a very fruitful Valley, full of Rice-fields, hedg'd in with Palm-trees; This place was assign'd us for our Lodgings, our Host appearing to be a very Honest Man, but so mistrustful withal, that when we were going to Supper, he refus'd to let us have knives, or any other Utensils; Their soldiers being exasperated at this usage, the whole House began to be in an Alarm, and I, considering the reason, could

That the Devil and his ill Fortune ow'd him a shame, when they brought such Lodgers into his House, desiring us at the same time to look out for another Lodging. With much ado I perswaded him, that we were no such Felloes as he imagin'd us to be, and so at last with the help of a little Money he let us have what we had occasion for.

The next day being the 14th of Feb. about eight a Clock in the Morning the King sent for me to Court again by a *Negro*; where we met the beforementioned four *Residoors* at the Gate ready to receive us, we went together into the Garden, where I caus'd a Carpet to be spread under the shadow of some Trees, as they did their *Indian* Matts, and being seated, the chiefest of the *Residoors* told me; That his Majesty was not a little dissatisfied at our Burning the Royal Palace of *Koulang*, and that he had given him Orders, to Treat of that as well as the other Subject with me. That the Letter sent to Admiral *Hulart* had been written with no other intention, than to Treat concerning the Pretensions of Prince *Gondormo*, and that therefore they would be glad to hear, what instructions I had about that Matter. As I thought it not for our purpose to Tergiversate in the Matter, I told them bluntly, That *Gondormo* might thank himself for his Misfortunes: For that, when our Fleet and Forces about two Years ago appear'd near *Cochin*, to Attack the *Portugueses*, our Enemies, the *Dutch* Admiral had set up a White Flag, to shew his willingness to Treat with the Queen of *Cochin*, which *Gondormo* had not only prevented, but also Attack'd our Forces, and oppos'd and still did oppose all our Designs, tending to the Re-establishment of the Government of *Cochin* upon its true Foundation. I further told them, that, when about two Years ago, I had the Honour to see his Majesty at *Kalikoli*, I assur'd his Majesty, that we had Conquer'd *Cochin*, and were engag'd in an everlasting Alliance with *Monta Davila*, their legal Sovereign; and, that therefore *Gondormo* need not flatter himself with the least hopes of his Re-establishment. Of this they gave an Account to the King, who soon sent them back with another Proposition, to wit, whether he might not be admitted as a second or third Person in the Kingdom? To make an end at once of this Dispute, I ask'd them whether they did acknowledge *Monta Davila* lawful King? They answering they did; I Demonstrated to them, how unreasonable it was, to Demand that one who had set up against

Is call'd Court.

Proposals made to him.

His Answer.

his legal Sovereign, should be receiv'd in such a Station in the same Kingdom, and considering the ill consequences which must needs ensue from thence, I told them, it was in vain to say a word more of it. This made them insist no more upon the Business of *Gondormo*, they only told us, *That we had best be upon our Guard, Gondormo and his three Brothers being resolv'd to live, and to be Buried in the Kingdom of Cochim.* I answer'd him carelessly, that I had Travell'd thro' the greatest part of that Kingdom; and that I was sure there was room enough for 100000 of them. I assur'd them farther; That his Majesty of *Travankoor*, had been always in great esteem with our Company, and that they never doubted of his Friendship, notwithstanding he seem'd to bear so great a share in *Gondormo's* Business; That I was sent thither on purpose to enter into a more strict League with him, in the same manner as had been done with several other Kings his Neighbours. Whilst they were Debating this Matter, an Envoy arriv'd from the Queen of *Koulang*, with a Letter, in which she complain'd, that she had not receiv'd any share of the Customs, nor were the Cannon restor'd to her; The *Residoor* ask'd me what the meaning of it was, and whether we would do less than the *Portugueses* had done; I answer'd him, if we should follow the Footsteps of the *Portugueses*, we must be guilty likewise of the same enormities, in Murthering, Plundering, &c. things not Customary among us, the intention of our Company being to maintain every one in his Right, and to establish a free Commerce, without interruption; And these, said I, are the main contents of my Commission, according to which I am to Treat with all the Kings and Princes of the Coast of *Malabar*. After several other Debates, finding them full of Tergiversations, I roundly told them, that I found them very backward in what had been propos'd; that for my part, I had done all what I could to procure a Peace, but that they seem'd to be rather inclinable to War; and finding them somewhat puzzled by their Silence, said, That if as yet they could find out any expedient, to compose Matters upon reasonable Terms, I should be willing to harken to them, and that, if it was for a Yearly present, or a Summ of Mopey, once for all, they should have it. The King being inform'd of this Resolution, sent me Word back, that in a thing of this Nature, in which several others besides

himself were concern'd, he must take some leisure to Advise, which ~~he~~ he would send one of his *Residoors* to *Koulang*, to Treat further of the Matter. I insist'd upon having all things dispatch'd here, but the *Residoors* telling me, that they durst not urge it any more to the King for that time, I was fain to acquiesce, and to defer it till our next meeting at *Koulang*, tho' I very well foresaw that this Negotiation, would meet with no small difficulties unless something more were Granted than had been offer'd hitherto. About the same time the beforemention'd Queen sent me under hand, Word that she was very inclinable to a further Treaty, but that it could not be done till the K. of *Travankoor* was gone, which as it was no unwelcome News to me, so I desir'd the *Residoor* whom she sent to me, to use his utmost Interest with her Majesty to bring it to pass, being sensible that it was the intention of my Masters to live with her in a good Correspondence.

The Country about *Attingen*, has hitherto not been describ'd by any that I know; it abounds in Pepper, of which a great Quantity is brought thither out of the circumjacent Parts. The Ancient Race of the Kings of *Travankoor* ow'd its Origin to *Attingen*, but for want of Male Heirs, one of the Princes of *Cochin* was plac'd in that Throne; the King, who then Reign'd being descended from the *Cochin* Race of *Rammerankoil*, and elected King of *Travankoor*. The Ground where the Pepper Grows, is hereabouts strong and red; which makes the Pepper not full so large here, as in the Valleys about *Koulang* and *Cochin*. On the Descents of the Hills you see very pleasant Rice-fields, cut out like Steps, and Water'd from the top by small Rivulets. The King and Queens Palace are directly opposite to one another, with some Rice Fields betwixt them.

The next following day about 10 a Clock in the Morning, I was call'd to Court again, where the King told me in Person, that it would be better to resume the Treaty at *Koulang*, which I being fain to be satisfy'd with, I took my leave of his Majesty and the *Residoors*, who offer'd me a Present from the King according to the Custom of the Country, which I accepted off, and went directly to the River-side, where we found our Boat, and Sailing down the River came just before Sunset to *Maypale*, where I was met by the Resident of *Tengepatnam*, whom I had given notice of my coming that way. The next following day, viz. the 12th

1663

is call'd Court again, and depart from thence.

we reimbark'd our Vessels, and set our Course by Sea to Koulang, from whence I immediately dispatch'd our Interpreter to Pule de Margary, to inform her where the Queen of Goenree at that time kept her Court; He returned the next day with Advice, that a Month before she was gone deeper to the Country, to a place call'd Peretaly, about four days Journey from thence.

The Kingdom of Travankoor.

The Kingdom of Travankoor (thus call'd from its capital City) begins at the Cape of Comorin or Comorin, and extends all along the Sea-coast as far as Koulang, comprehending a Tract of Ground of 20 or 24 Leagues in Length; the famous Village of Paru, belonging to the Queen of Sngnary, being only in the midst. To the East it borders upon the Kingdom of Madure, and to the West upon the Countries of Peretaly and Kotakery. It has several considerable Villages which are inhabited by the Moors, such as Tengepatnam, Kiletture, Korypatnam and Allage. About the Year 1544. above 30 Villages inhabited by the Mkaos, who live for the most part upon Fishing, and by the Mahometans, were upon this Coast. But the Chief Cities lie Deeper in the Country, which is of a great extent all along the Mountains to Naynar near the Cape of Comorin and toward Travankoor, in all 29 great Cities and Villages. About a League and a half to the North of the Cape Comorin is the City of Kotate or Kokatti, a place of great Traffick; the populous City of Simintira, and Matadavalur, famous for its bigness, being surrounded by six or seven other Towns; Verrage is not above a quarter of a League distance from Kotate and Tatikury, the two most considerable Places of the whole Country. Kalkolang is a very large City, being a League and a half long, upon the Confines of the Neyk of Madure. It is Situated upon a high Hill, three Leagues from Tengepatnam and 12 from Koulang; being on one side strengthened by inaccessible Mountains, on the other by a Wall, the undermost part of which is of Stone, the uppermost of brick Work, in all 24 Foot high; The Royal Palace stands at the West end, being surrounded by a Stone-wall. On the East-side you see the Ruins of an old Castle built on the top of a Hill, Fortifi'd with a triple Wall. The City of Kalkolang is the chief Residence of the King, who constantly keeps a Garrison of 10000 Negroes here; to secure it against the Neyk of Madure, who's Power is much dreaded here. It is very a

fertile Country, abounding in Pepper, Rice and other Grains. It also produces wild Cinamom, the best, the whole Coast of Malabar affords; but it wants several things requisite for the convenience of Life. One of the chiefest Rivers which Water this Country, is the River Mannikorin, it exonerates it self into the Sea, near Cape Comorin. The King of this Country is by some stil'd the Great King, because he possesses larger Territories, than any other of the Malabar Kings. He is serv'd in great State, and maintains abundance of Commanders, whom they call Mandigals, and many Councillors, call'd Pullas. Some ascribe to him a Superiority over Neighbouring Princes, but of this I am convinc'd to the contrary by my own experience; it is true they Reverence him, as a Potent King, but pay him no Obedience. Others will have him to be a Vassal of the King of Nairs. The whole Country is well stock'd with People, who appear very well Cloath'd according to the Malabar Fashion.

The 18th of February, I set out from Koulang in Company of Mr. Siewert Bagger, for the Kingdom of Goenree. But scarce were we come to Kalgali, but one of the Residoors told us that the Queen of Goenree was a Month ago gone into the Country, and would not return very quickly, by reason of a certain Religious Ceremony, she was oblig'd to perform there, before her return; I desir'd a Guide, because I had something of Moment to Communicate to the Queen, but they excus'd it, telling me that the Ways were so Rocky and impassable, that it would be impossible for me to get thither, it being five tedious Days Journey to the Country of Peretaly, bordering upon the Territories of the Neyk of Madure. Being made sensible that this Journey could not be undertaken without great Difficulty and Charge, I thought it most expedient to leave a Letter with the Residoor, to be deliver'd to the Queen, the Contents of which were as follows.

His Letter to the Queen.

THAT I was come hither, to offer a small Present to her Majesty, and to enter into a strict and everlasting Alliance with her; But tho' I was so Unfortunate, as not to meet with her Majesty, I liv'd however in hopes, that she would not be backward in entering into a General League, which the Company had lately concluded with all the Malabar Princes; to accomplish which as we

Y y y

should

2. *should be ready to contribute every thing on our side, so we did not question, but that her Majesty would be pleas'd to let us know her Sentiments by the Bearer of this Letter.*

Whilst I tarried here, I understood, that the *Residoor* of the King of *Travankoor* was arriv'd the 20th at *Koulang China*, and had notifi'd his Arrival by our *Penangatin Thome Bottancho*, desiring to Confer with me, concerning certain Matters Commanded him by the King, his Master, since my Departure from thence. The place appointed for our interview,

the meaning of it was, who told me with a Sorrowful Countenance, that the Prince *Barrigetta Pule*, had caus'd one of the Queens *Residoors* to be slain by his Souldiers, who had also laid about Houses in *Alhes*, and cut down many Palm-Trees. That they had been sent to Besiege him in his Castle, but that at the Intercession of the King of *Travankoor's Residoor*, who had promis'd that the said Prince should be call'd to an Account by the King his Master, they had delay'd the Execution of it, for three days, but he much fear'd, he should scarce withhold them much longer, from taking a direful Revenge of him. He was very inqui-

1662.
Troubles
raised by
Barrigetta
Pule.

present at the appointed hour, but during them to trifle away the time in Altercations and Tergiversations, I was ready to mount on Horse-back again, in order to return to *Koulang*, which when they perceiv'd, they desir'd me to stay, and give them another meeting, which I agreed to do. At last, after abundance of Contests, the following Agreement concerning the Shares of the Customs, the Importation of Amfion and the Exportation of Pepper, was made betwixt the *Dutch East-India Company*, by their Deputy Mr. *John Nienhoff* on one, and the Kings of *Marten*, *Singnaty*, *Goenree*, and *Travankoor* and *Barrigetta Pule* on the other side.

Articles of Agreement.

I. NO body shall Import, Sell or Exchange any Amfion into these Countries, except the *Dutch East-India Company*.

II. No body, without any Exception, shall be permitted to Export any Pepper or Cinamome out of this Country, or to Sell them to any body, except to the said Company.

III. A certain Price was settl'd, betwixt both Parties, and what Share each should have in the Customs; whereby all former Pretensions and Exceptions should be annull'd.

February
21. 1664.

Sign'd in the Court
Matta del Reyne.

The Author's Letter to the Residoor
of Travankoor.

In my return from *Koulang*, in the Road Leading to *Matta del Reyne*, I found Guards posted upon all the cross Roads, which made me enquire of *Matta del Pule* chief Commander of the *Negros*, what

Pursuant to our mutual Agreement, I came to *Koulang China*, in order to bring the Treaty begun before to a happy Conclusion. But your Highness did not Perform his Promise, neither had I the least Account from

with the King of *Travankoor*, but I express'd the Matter, telling him only, that I hop'd it would be brought to a Conclusion, to both sides Satisfaction.

The 22d I sent a Letter by Mr. *Sebastian Ferdinandi*, our Interpreter, to the Queen of *Singnaty*, in which I gave her an Account of what had been Transacted, betwixt the *Residoor* of the King of *Travankoor* and myself. In the mean while the Kings and Princes Soldiers were come to blows, several being Kill'd and Wounded on both sides: Whereupon the Prince finding himself Besieg'd in his Castle, sent one of his most Trusty Servants, to desire Assistance, and some Powder and Ball for his Master, which I thought fit to refuse, for weighty Reasons; For, whatever may be the Opinion of those who think it a Maxim of State to Fish in troubled Waters, I was too well acquainted with the Perfidiousness of the *Malabars*, who make not the least Account of Faith or Leagues, unless they are forc'd to it, than to put the least Confidence in them.

In the mean time the beforemention'd *Residoor* of the King of *Travankoor* not appearing at the time and place Appointed for the removing of some remaining Differences, I sent him the following Letter by *Topaes Nicolaes da Costar*.

The Captain of *Koulang* sends this Letter, with his Service, to *Narrano Poly Residoor* of *Travankoor*.

the Queen of Singnaty was likely to re-
 ceive an Answer. And as the Nature
 of the Matter would admit of no delay, I saw
 it necessary to send my Interpreter to the
 Queen, and Topaes Nicholas
 to the Goenree and Barrigetta,
 to enquire concerning that Point. They
 brought me an Answer, that the said Queen
 desired the Customs without the least Di-
 minution, which is not in my Power to agree
 to. I am sensible, that I have left nothing
 unattempted which might reasonably and ho-
 nestly be expected from me, for the Terminating
 of these Differences, but all in vain, I have
 nothing left to do, but to Protest once for all,
 according to the strictest Rules of Justice, in
 the Name of the whole Company against your
 Narrano Poly, and your Transactions, and
 all others who take part with you, that we
 will, and hereby Declare our selves Innocent,
 and guiltless of all the Troubles and Miseries
 of a future War.

February
 26. 1664.

Koulang.
 John Nieuhoff.

In the mean while I had given an Ac-
 count of the whole Matter to Mr. Hissart,
 desiring him to come in Person, and to
 endeavour by his Presence to put a happy
 Conclusion to the Negotiations. He sent
 me an Answer dated *Cochin* the 24th of
February, intimating that he had intended
 to set out from thence within two days
 after, of which he Order'd me to give
 notice to the King of Travankoor, and
 Queen of Singnaty, which I did accord-
 ingly by an Express sent with Letters to
 both their Majesty's. The 27th the Re-
 sidoor of Travankoor, sent me word by
 Topaes Nicholas de Costa, that he was wil-
 ling to Treat with me once more about
 the Customs; but that no body except the
 Queen must be Privy to the Matter; for
 which reason he could cause a quite dif-
 ferent Rumour to be rais'd among the
 People; but considering with my self
 that the *Negros*, who are in great esteem
 here, might get scent of the Matter, and
 that (as the King had told me himself
 before) several Persons in the first Rank
 were concern'd in the Customs, I did not
 look upon this underhand Treaty as ad-
 vantageous for the Company: Which
 made me write to the Residoor; that, I
 was willing to contribute all what in me
 lay, towards the composing of the Dif-
 ferences betwixt us, provided it could
 be done in the same Nature as with the
 other *Malabar* Princes, who had not re-
 fus'd to Read the Treaties in the Presence
 of their Subjects, to shew that their

Words where altogether consonant to
 their Deeds. I receiv'd an Answer the same
 Evening, in which the Residoor desir'd an
 Interview with me in St. Thomas's Church
 the next day. Accordingly I went thi-
 ther on Horse-back with Mr. James Cher-
 de Venne. After many Contests on both
 sides, we agreed at last, and the Residoor
 promis'd to return to Morrow to finish
 the Treaty. About this time I receiv'd
 a Letter from the Queen of Singnaty, in
 answer to that I had sent her before; as
 follows:

The Queen of Singnaty's Letter to the
 Author.

I Receiv'd and saw the Contents of the Let-
 ter sent to me from Mr. John Nieuhoff
 Captain of Koulang, concerning the propos'd
 Treaty, I will send Word in the Month of
 March to Kottekkery; where we will meet
 together, and I shall be ready to redisse what
 my Plenipotentiaries shall agree to. For
 which reason I Order'd this Letter to be writ-
 ten to Captain John Nieuhoff.

The Next day the Residoor of the King
 of Travankoor came to Koulang, who was
 receiv'd by us with all imaginable re-
 spect; he began among other things to
 renew his former Discourse about the
 Prince Gondormo, upon which it was a-
 gree'd to delay the last Conclusion of the
 Treaty till the coming of Mr. Hissart
 who was expected every day at Koulang.

The 2d of March with break of day,
 the Vice Roy of the King of Travankoor,
 call'd by them *Gorepe*, the chief Com-
 mander of the *Negros*, call'd *Alatta de Fi-
 lo*, and my self set out for the Court of the
 Queen of Koulang, which was then kept
 at Calliere. We Arriv'd there about two
 a Clock in the Afternoon, and as soon as
 notice was given of our Arrival, we
 were sent to Court, where, after I had
 deliver'd the Presents, and laid the Mo-
 ney down for Pepper, I was Introduced
 into her Majesty's Presence. She had
 a Guard of above 700 Souldiers about
 her, all clad after the *Malabar* Fashion;
 The Queens Attirement being no more
 than a piece of Callicoe wrapt round her
 middle, the upper part of her body ap-
 pearing for the most part Naked, with a
 piece of Callicoe Hanging carelessly round
 her Shoulders. Her Ears which were ve-
 ry long, her Neck and Arms were A-
 dorn'd with precious Stones, Gold-Rings
 and Bracelets, and her Head cover'd
 with a piece of white Callicoe. She was
 past her middle Age, of a brown Com-

1662.
 Another
 interview
 with the
 Residoor
 of Tra-
 vankoor.

The A-
 gree'd;
 Queen
 Koul.



plexion, with black Hair, ty'd in a Knot behind, but of a Majestick Mein, she being a Princess, who shew'd a great deal of good Conduct in the Management of her Affairs. After I had paid the usual Compliments, I shew'd her the Proposition, I was to make to her in Writing; which she Order'd to be read twice, the better to understand the meaning of it, which being done, she ask'd me, whether this Treaty comprehended all the rest, and whether they were annull'd by it; unto which I having given her a sufficient Answer, she agreed to all our Propositions, which were accordingly Sign'd immediately. This done I Recommended Mr. James Cher de Venne, who was to succeed me at Koulang, to her Majesty, desiring her to acknowledge him as such, and to continue in a good Correspondency with our Company, by whom I was order'd to go to Touchkorin, which she promis'd to do. I then desir'd leave to depart, because I expected Mr. Hustart every hour at Koulang, which she readily Granted, and at the same time took a Golden Bracelet from her Arms, which she presented me

as a token of her good Inclinations to the Company. She Order'd one of the *Residoors* to fasten it to my Arm, but it being too Streight, she caus'd it to be fitted for me; she having once before, viz. when I first gave her notice of Mr. Hustart's coming, presented me with another Golden Bracelet, for which and all other honours, I had receiv'd from her Majesty, since my Residence at Koulang, I return'd my hearty thanks, desiring once more not to withdraw her favour from the Company. Thus I return'd to Koulang, about two a Clock in the Night, where I was let in through one of the Gates, the Admiral Hustart being the day before Arriv'd there with two Ships, the *Erasmus* and the *Nievenhoven* from Batavia. The next Morning I paid a Visit to the Admiral at his Lodgings, where I gave him an ample Account of my Negotiations, and other Matters relating to our Factory here, wherewith he was highly satisfi'd, and gave me some further Orders about certain Matters to be Transacted before my Departure.

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About the same time the Vice Roy of the King of Travankoor came back to the City of Kandy, to compliment the Admiral, and to congratulate the Prince. The Admiral gave him afterwards several Presents, and let him know, that if the King his Master did give an Answer of Thanks, he would be glad to receive it.

Arm to Prince Gaidar, a
in and the Company, he had
to be treated as an Enemy,
d for Answer. That he was in
er would not do it, but after
a good Correspondency with
my, upon which he was dis-
left Kowlong the same Night;
Admiral soon after, who let
Cranganer, leaving the Commis-

supply his Place. And upon this occasion I think it not amiss to give the Reader an Account of what I have observ'd most remarkable during my stay on the Coast of Malabar, together with the Products, Beasts, and Inhabitants of this Country.

[illegible]

Limits of the Coast Malabar

*Its Dis-
position.*

Its Pro- ducts.

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• Kou-

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for the building of Houses and Ships. The Air is very pure here, and very cold in the Night time, during the three Months of *January, February and March*; and when the Nights are very foggy, which questionless occasions the Cold, the Days being excessive hot. The Winter begins here in *April*, or at the most in *May*, and ends in *September or October*; with Thunder, Lightnings and Storms: This Season produces the most Fruits, by reason of the warm Rains. Then begins the Summer Season, which continues till *April or May*, with intolerable Heat, and commonly without any Rains; which renders the sandy Grounds so hot, that they cannot pass over them with their bare Feet, but are forced to make use of a certain sort of Shoes, call'd by them *Sivipous*. Every Morning about Nine or Ten a Clock, the Land wind blows from the East, and immediately after Sun-set the West Wind from the Sea; both which contribute much towards the cooling of the Air, as well here, as in all other adjacent Islands. What is most observable is that the Land Wind never reaches above ten Leagues in the Sea; an Observation which has never been known to mislead. The Seasons here are quite of a different nature from ours, for whilst during the Summer Month every thing is dry'd up in the hot Climates of Europe, here the Fruits appear most florid and green, because this is the Winter Season in Malabar, where it rains continually for six Months, during which time you not as much as see the least glimpse of the Sun, but in the other Six Months it never rains. During the Months of *October, November and December*, they are much afflicted with dreadful Storms. There is another thing which is most surprizing here, that when it is Summer on the Coast of Malabar, it is Winter on the Coast of Ceromandel. This is occasioned by the Mountains call'd *Gara*, which stop the passage of the Winds; For whilst on the East side of these Mountains, which extend all along the Coast of Malabar, they have great Heats and Droughts during their Summer Season, those on the West side have their Winter with violent Rains. Thus on the South side of the Cape Comorin, they have their Summer during *April, May, June, July, August and September*, whilst at the same time, those on the North side have their Winter; it being very stormy and rainy on one, and fair and calm on the other side at the same time.

Houses.

Their ordinary Houses are of Bamboo Canes, cover'd with Leaves of Coco-Trees; some are plaited with Carving, without any Cellars, Garrets or Windows. They never lock up their Houses, because their Household-stuff is not worth stealing

they be Persons of an eminent Rank; Their Doors are so low, that you cannot enter without stooping, tho' they have their Houses cover'd with Lead, Copper and built otherwise and well fitted according to their Fashion; Their private Buildings don't approach in height to what they commonly have two or three Apartments, within one another; within the compass of the middlemost of these Apartments is a small Square, with some small Galleries round about it, which receive the water from the tops of the Houses. At the Entrance of all their Houses, whether rich or poor, are Court-yards surrounded with high Walls and Ditches, and one of strong Pallisado's. These Court-yards are for the Reception of Travellers, who eat, drink and sleep here, with more Convenience than if they were lodged within, being ready at all times to proceed on their Journey when the rest of the Company goes. Their Royal Palaces and Pagods are commonly built of Stone, surrounded with a Mud Wall, on which are Mounted some great Cannon. Most of their Princely Palaces are erected in large Ponds or Lakes, some having a League and a half in Circumference. They have most excellent Carvings in Wood, with all sorts of Images in their Houses; their Ceiling is of a plain polish'd Wood; Among the Marishes are to be seen many Ruins of old Houses, which appear to have been built many Ages ago. Some tell us, that Alexander the Great coming into those parts, after he had order'd his Admiral to enter by the way of the River Ganges the Sea, and from thence by the Euphrates to Babylon, had laid these Countries desolate; others ascribe this Devastation to Tamerlan.

The Malabars eat and drink sitting upon the Ground, after the Mahometan Fashion, almost like our Taylors. Their Cups, Dishes and Spoons are made of Coco-Nuts; People of Quality have them made of Metal; instead of Bread they use nothing but Rice; besides which, they feed upon Flesh, Fish, Spices, Fruits, Milk and Eggs; They drink abundance of water, as likewise the Juice of the Coco-Trees; some of which give 30 Quarts of this Liqueur in 24 hours, but if they are drain'd too much, the Trees perish. They also distill a Spirit, call'd *Arak* out of this Liqueur, but it is not near so good nor wholesome as our Brandy. When they drink, they don't touch their Lips with the Cup, but pour the Liqueur from above into the Mouth. Some eat neither Flesh nor Fish, but purely upon the products of the

They use Ammon very greedily, take the quantity or the benefit of a

How they eat and drink.

this they either mix with *Arak*, or chew it alone, sometimes till they fall asleep; they pretend that this makes them have very pleasant dreams, of the *Elysian Fields*, and such like. When they are to Attack an Enemy, they take a good Quantity of it; which makes them fall on like enraged wild Beasts, and the Virtue of the Amfion being gone, they don't remember what has past, which shews that it is very obnoxious to the Memory. Some have accustomed themselves to use Amfion every day, some every two or three days; and before I knew the effects of it, I have been often surpriz'd, that they should be so forgetful in such Matters as I had treated with them of before. The Queen of *Koulang* asking me once among other things, what was the Reason the *Dutch* were more active and perseverant than the *Malabars*, who were generally fickle and unfettled; I laid the fault upon the use of the Amfion, telling her withal, that the *Malabars* should imitate the *Dutch*, and drink Wines, which used with Moderation, did acuate the Understanding, made the Spirits active, and often discovered the Truth.

Brah-
15. Among these several Sects of the *Malabars*, that of the *Brahmans* is most Reverenced, and maintains a peculiar Manner of living. They are generally very wise, ready, active, modest and charitable, and strict observers of their Promises. They betake themselves to divers Employments, at pleasure; Some are Soldiers like the *Narivers*, and wear the same Cloaths, except that they are distinguish'd from them by the Cord they wear round their middle, and abstain from Flesh. Others are Priests, whose Business it is to offer Sacrifices to their Idols, no other Sect being admitted to that Service. Some also encrease Traffick, and tho' they grow very rich, yet observe the same Rules of living. Some there are among them, who addict themselves to Natural Philosophy, and other Sciences, but especially to Astronomy, others to Physick and Pharmacy. They eat neither Flesh nor Fish, nor any other living Creature, and drink nothing but water; nor do they ever eat, before they have wash'd and bathed themselves; which done, they only cover their Privy Parts, and for the rest eat naked. They are forbidden to eat any thing, but what is prepared by one of their own Sect; which makes them commonly be their own Cooks; for they rather chuse to die, than eat any thing touch'd by one of another Sect: whereas all the others are at liberty to eat, what is dress'd by a *Brahman*. They never (no more than all the other *Malabars*) touch the Brim of the Cup when they drink, but pour it from above the middle of it. They wear a white Tur-

bant upon their Heads, red Shoes, and a Callicoe Coat, which reaches down to their Ankles. Over this they have another large white piece of Stuff, which they wrap three times round their Bodies, which they draw thro' betwixt their Thighs, and tie it together behind upon their Buttocks in a Knot. They wear about the middle a Girdle or Scarf of fine white Callicoe, as their Turbants are, and over the Shoulders a piece of colour'd Callicoe or Silk, as the *Europeans* do their Cloaks. They also have long Hair with Pendants in their Ears. But that which distinguishes them from all the other *Malabars*, is a Cord of fine Cotton Thread which they wear next to their Skin, and is put about them first of all in their Temple with a great deal of Ceremony, and not without a considerable Charge; which is the Reason you cannot do a greater Injury to a *Brahman*, than to tear this Cord, which he is obliged to purchase again, if he will pass for a true *Brahman*; and if any of them is to undergo any Corporal Punishment, his Cord must first be taken from him, which is likewise done, if any of them happen to transgress the Rules prescribed to their Sect. As they pass along the Streets in their white Callicoe Cloaths, they tell such as they meet, that they are *Brahmans*, because the Cord, by which they are chiefly distinguish'd is worn next to their Skin, and consequently not to be seen; when they are to take an Oath, they lay the Hand upon it. The *Brahman* Women have holes in their Noses, in which they hang Gold and Silver Rings, Pearls and Precious Stones, as well as about their Legs, and in their Ears, where they have Silver and Gold Plates set round with Precious Stones. The Wives of the *Negroes*, of the *Moncoris* and the other *Malabars* are not permitted to use these Ornaments. They also wear Bracelets from their Wrists up to their Elbows, some of Gold and Silver, others of Glass and Tortoise-shell curiously engraven and enamel'd. These Women are generally handsome and well featured, some of them being not inferior in Complexion to the Portuguese or the brown *Dutch* Women. They marry very early, sometimes before they are quite 7 or 8 Years old; for the Boys and Girls are permitted to sport together till they come to be in good earnest; but they take great care, not to mix themselves with another Sect. The Men are allow'd to marry twice, tho' no more than one Woman at a time. But they never so poor, they will be sure to keep their Rank, and to oblige such as meet them, to pass by with making a Bow in token of their Reverence. Those among the *Brahmans* who have lived

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themselves among the *Negroes*, are in the same degree with them, except that they observe more Austerity. The *Brahmans* are in great Esteem with their Kings, who keep some of the chiefest always near their Person, to advise with them in all matters of Moment. Those of the first Rank among the *Brahmans*, as well as other Indian Persons of Quality, have commonly a numerous Attendance; Some of whom carry their Umbrello's, others a Silver Balon full of *Berhel*; others one full of Water; some are carried in Palankins or Chairs.

Feast of the
Brah-
mans.

The *Brahmans* have under pretence of a Religious Worship, introduced a Feast, which furnishes them with a certain Opportunity of being revenged of their Enemies. It is a Custom among the *Malabar* Kings, once every Year, viz. at the time of the New Moon in *October*, to remember the Blessings they suppose they have received from their Idols, by a solemn Sacrifice, which is perform'd by setting certain Houses on fire, such as are appointed by the *Brahmans*; This is commonly performed in the night time, without the least fore-warning given, so that sometimes not only the house, but also the Inhabitants, with all their Goods are burnt: no body daring to quench the Flame. This they call *The Sacrifice of Fire and Blood*.

Several
sorts of
Brah-
mans.

There live many of the *Banjans* of *Cann-laya* in *Malabar*; These have also *Brahmans*, who are in great Esteem among them; the *Brahmans* of *Malabar* are allow'd to frequent their Temples. The *Banjans* themselves lead as austere a Life as their *Brahmans*, but they are of an inferior Degree, nor can they intermarry with them. In the Kingdom of *Calicut*, is a certain sort of *Brahmans*, who despise all Images, and live in Chastity after the 20 or 25th Year of Age. They are so averse to the Female Sex, that as often as they stir abroad, some body cries out aloud before them, *Poo, Poo, i. e.* keep back, keep back, to let the Women know they must keep out of sight. These don't wear the Cord twined of Cotton thread, neither do they abstain (like the other *Brahmans*) from Flesh, Fish or Wine; but to preserve their Chastity, eat daily a certain quantity of the Pulp of the Fruit *Kavuz*; being taught by Experience, that the same has a quality of checking the Veneral Appetite. Neither do they bury their dead Bodies like the other *Brahmans*; Some strew themselves all over with Ashes, and are enclosed day and night in Iron Cages, which are so small, that they can scarce sit upright in them. Others burn or scald certain parts of their Bodies, whereby they to gain the Affections of the

common People. Thus far
mans.

For the rest it is to be observed, that the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Malabar* may be divided into Foreigners and Natives. The Foreigners are properly those call'd commonly *Malabars*, being a Colony of *Arabians*, who have fixt their Habitations there many Ages ago near the Sea side chiefly. The Natives are Pagans, divided into *Brahmans* or *Bramenis*, *Bramos* or *Bramen*; into the *Nairos* or *Nayros*, and into the common People call'd *Menceris* or *Pouledis*, and otherwise *Payras*. They are also divided into five several degrees; The first are the Royal Families, among which, the House of *Gondorno* is one of the most Illustrious. The second is the Sect of the *Brahmans*, or of the Priests. The third is the Military Order or Nobles, call'd the *Nayros*. The fourth comprehends the Merchants, and the fifth the *Payras* or Fishermen.

The *Nayros*, as I told you, are descended of Noble Families, and brought up to the War. They appear with a Shield on their left Arm, which they carry aloft, and with a naked Sword in the Right Hand. They are very haughty, and at first pretended to dispute the Rank with the *Portugueses*, which occasion'd no small Disturbance, till the Difference was agreed to be decided by a single Combat betwixt a *Portuguese* and a *Nayros*, In which the last being worsted, the *Nayros* ever since were forced to give way to the *Portugueses*; but all the other *Malabars* must give place to the *Nayros*. They are generally well proportion'd, though of a brown or Olive Colour; They take a singular Pride in having long Ears, which they perform by Art; They bore holes thro' the Ears of both Boys and Girls, which they fill up with Palm-tree Leaves roll'd together; these Rolls they make bigger and bigger by degrees, till the holes are extended to the utmost reach the holes can bear, and hang down to their very Breasts; This is accounted one of their chiefest pieces of Gallantry, and they adorn them with Gold, Silver and Jewels. Tho' the *Nayros* are from their Infancy train'd up to Arms, and are very bold and brave, they are nevertheless very civil and meek in their Conversation, according to the Custom of that Country; notwithstanding which they are mightily addicted to Robbing upon the High Way, and will kill the Travellers unawares, unless they be well upon their Guard. This is the Reason, why the *Mahomedan Malabars* dwelling in this Country, whenever they are travelling from one place to another, take one of these *Nayros* along with them, who is their Conductor for a certain

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Divers
sorts of
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pieces of Money, to the next place where they are wanted; and by this means may pass without any Danger thro' a thousand of *Nayros*, tho' their Conductor should be an old, decrepid Person, or only a Boy. These *Nayros* are strict Observers of the Times, which are neglected by the common People; For, they will not converse with any of the inferior Orders, except the *Brahmans*; nay, if any of the vulgar sort happen only to touch a *Nayro* as he passes by, he will make his Servant that carries his Meat after him, to throw it down upon the ground; nay, if they do enter their Houses, or only touch the Doors and Walls, they will not eat there for fear of being defiled. However the *Nayros* are not altogether so nice in these Points, as the *Brahmans*. For the rest they are not much inclined to Vice, Sodomy and Incest; nay, the Boys and Girls, tho' they converse together daily, and that without cloths, you shall seldom observe in them either in Word or Action, any thing that savours of Uncleanness. The *Nayros* scarce ever laugh, and that not but upon extraordinary Occasions; and if they see others laugh, they will look downward. Those *Nayros* who are watching at the Town Gates, and serve for Conductors to Travellers, are the poorest of all, yet will they rather follow this Employment than a Trade; which they look upon below their Quality. They apply themselves from their Infancy to the use of Arms, and frequently Fight together with Swords and Targets, which renders them infinitely active at that Sport. They are the best Wrestlers in the World, and are very nimble on foot. They attack their Enemies quite naked, their Privities being only cover'd. Their Arms are Bows, Arrows, javelins, Swords and Shields; These are very large, which they use with the utmost Dexterity to cover their Bodies. On the Hilt of their Swords they have small Plates of Metal, which makes a noise when they are a Fighting, and serves to animate them. Since the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* have got footing there, they have also learn'd the Use of Fire-Arms to that degree, that they will turn Right and Left, and give a Volley of Shot with the same Order as the *Europeans* do.

Their Manners.

One *Nayro* is not allow'd more than one Wife at a time, but the Women in this Point have got the Start of the Men, they being permitted to have three Husbands at once; except that a Woman of the Sect of the *Brahmans*, that is Married to a *Nayro* is not allow'd more than one. Each of these three Husbands contribute their Share towards the Maintenance of this Woman and her Children, without the least Contest or Jealousy. As often as any of them

comes to visit her, he leaves his Arms at the Door, a sign that neither of the other two must come in, for fear of disturbing the first. From hence the poorer sort reap this Benefit, that they have the use of a Wife, yet contribute only the third part towards the Maintaining of the Family: tho' on the other hand, this carries along with it a great Inconveniency concerning the Inheritance of their Children, which they recompense in some measure, by making the Sisters Children the Heirs of their Uncles. The *Nayros* employ the common People in the Country and other Drudgeries, but in their Houses they make use of none but *Nayros* (or Gentlemen) tho' very poor, who are willing to serve them for their Bread. The vulgar sort are all clad after the same manner, being quite naked, except that they have a small Girdle round their Waste, on which they hang a piece of Callicoe, or perhaps of the Bark of a Tree, or a few Leaves, to cover their Privities. The Women wear a kind of Vestment of Callicoe, which reaches down to their Knees; and have very long Hair, whereas the Men are obliged to cut their Hair close, except one Truss which they keep on the Crown of their Head. All the *Malabars* have black Teeth, occasion'd by the continual chawing of the Leaves of *Beihel*. Black Teeth are in great Esteem among them, because those that don't chew *Beihel*, are consider'd here as of a mean Extraction. The *Malabars* are said to be much addicted to Sorcery, who are able to kill People as they pass by, or at least throw them into a lingering Distemper. They are extremely covetous, and will venture at any thing for a small gain. The Women are generally unchaste, the young Women about 17 or 18, being obliged by custom, to dispose of their Maidenheads, for nobody cares to Marry a Maiden here, but such as have been best beloved, soonest meet with a Husband. The *Malabars* have great store of great Artillery, Muskets and Pikes; nay, their Arms were in more Esteem than those of the *Portuguese*, only they did not know the Art of hardning their Armour: They now make very good and strong Gun Barrels and Gun-powder. The Children of the *Nayros* are from the seventh Year of their Age exercis'd in Arms, and train'd up to the Wars; but every one betakes himself to one peculiar kind of Arms; it being their Opinion, that they cannot excel in the use of all. They anoint the Limbs of their young Children every day with a certain Oil, to make their Joints more pliable; for when they are forced to fly, they put their greatest Confidence in the Agility of their Bodies, and will in an in-

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start turn back upon their Enemies, and
 662. attack them in the Rear; besides, that in
 their flight they throw their Javelins back-
 ward with great Dexterity, and as soon as
 they have thrown their Darts, they know how
 to shelter themselves behind their Shields.

Tho' the *Nayros* in general are very good
 Soldiers, yet is there a certain kind among
 them call'd *Amokes*, who are Esteem'd a-
 bove all the rest, being a Company of
 stout, bold and desperate Bravadoes. They
 oblige themselves by most direful Impreca-
 tions against themselves and their Families,
 calling Heaven to witness, that they will
 revenge certain Injuries done to their Friends
 or Patrons, which they certainly pursue
 with so much Intrepidity, that they stop
 neither at Fire nor Sword, to take Venge-
 ance of the Death of their Master, but like
 mad Men run upon the point of their En-
 emies Swords, which makes them be gene-
 rally dreaded by all, and makes them to
 be in great Esteem with their Kings, who
 are accounted the more potent the greater
 number they entertain of these *Amokes*; tho'
 this their Fool-hardiness is chiefly attributed
 to the excessive use of the Ammon. You
 see the Streets of all the Towns on the Ma-
 labar Coast full of *Nayros* with their Arms
 always about them, tho' many of them
 dwell in the Country, and a good number
 are kept near the King's Person. Most
 Persons of Quality here maintain some of
 those they call *Janguy's*. If a Quarrel
 happens to arise betwixt a *Nayros* and a-
 nother *Malabar*, the King allows the latter
 a guard of another *Nayros*, and as long
 as he stays with him, they dare not fight;
 the first Aggressor being guilty of High Treason;
 for Persons of the chiefest Rank, if they
 will be admitted in the number of the *Nay-
 ros*, must have the King's peculiar Leave
 for it, and are afterwards distinguish'd by a
 gold Ring they wear on the right Arm,
 or by a Bufflers Horn. The *Nayros* fre-
 quently hunt the Tigers, some apply them-
 selves to Philology, but especially Astro-
 nomy, but never to Traffick or any Handi-
 craft Trade. They eat all sorts of Meat,
 except Cows Flesh, and are very fond of
 Pork. They go above half naked, with bare
 Heads and Feet, having only a large piece
 of white Calicoe wrapt round their middle,
 which reaches down to their Knees, and is
 drawn thro' betwixt their Thighs, and tied
 together behind above their Buttocks. They
 wear also a red silken Scarf, with a Fringe
 of about half a foot long, being half Gold
 and half Silk. They let their Hair grow
 very long, without ever cutting it, by which
 they are distinguish'd from the common
 People; they have a way of tying is very

neatly together in a Puff on the Crown of
 their Heads. Their Shield they carry on
 the left Arm, and the Sword in the right
 Hand; some have also a Jewel, Musket or
 Pike. The *Nayros* Women are clothed af-
 ter the same manner as the Men, so that
 there is not the least Distinction to be seen
 betwixt the Boys and the Girls, till the
 Breasts begin to appear in the last. They
 are forbid to Marry any other Person but
 of the same Rank, and but one at a
 time; and in case a *Nayros* Woman should
 Marry another, except a *Nayros*, she in-
 stantly forfeits her Head; In the same man-
 ner, if a *Nayros* should Marry a Woman
 of another Tribe but a *Nayros*, he is pu-
 nish'd with Death. This they have provid-
 ed against, because they would not have
 their Blood mixt with Strangers or those of
 an inferiour Rank, of which they are so
 cautious, that they will not as much as suf-
 fer any to approach them; for which Rea-
 son, when they walk abroad, they cry out
 aloud to the common People *Papoyas*, keep
 back; for if any of these should touch a
Nayros, he would certainly ruin him.

The common People of Malabar call'd *The com-
 mon Peo-
 ple of Ma-
 labar.*
Moncois or *Poulins*, or otherwise *Parvos* or
Parivas, are a wretched sort of Slaves; they
 are blacker and much uglier than the *Nay-
 ros*, neither must their Ears hang down a-
 bove three Inches at most. They are a-
 gain of different kinds, for those inhabi-
 ting near the Sea shoar, are properly call'd
Moncois; these are all Fishermen, and all
 along the Coast of Malabar are employed
 at Sea in Rowing and otherwise for certain
 wages. Their Wives and Daughters perform
 all manner of Drudgery by Land; and ex-
 pose themselves for Money to the first Man,
 without the least distinction of Quality or
 Religion, without the least fear from their
 Husbands, who are well enough pleas'd
 at it. For it is to be known, that there are
 no common Strumpets here, but the Wives
 and Daughters of these *Moncois*, and of the
Tivas, who are Handicrafts men; for the
 rest are obliged to contain themselves with-
 in their own Tribes. The common People
 are often put to a great Nonplus when they
 happen to meet a *Nayros* at the corner of a
 Street, when they are fain to stand aside till
 they are pass'd by. There is another kind
 among the vulgar sort, call'd by some *Ti-
 vas*, whose Employment is to draw the Li-
 quor from the Coco-trees. The rest are
 Handicraft and Husband-men. But these
 intermarry with one another, notwithstanding
 there is some difference in their Ra-
 ce for the Husbandmen claim the first and
Tivas or Handicrafts men the second deg-
 ree, the *Moncois* or Fishermen are the last.

662. *Parvas* or *Parva* live in Villages near the Sea side; some of these live near the Coast, and in the Isle of *Malabar*, as well as near *Tontekorin*, betwixt the *Cape Comorin* and the Isle of *Ceylon*, they live upon Pearl fishing; They are a stubborn Generation, more addicted to Laziness than Labour, they live chiefly upon Pearl and Oyster fishing, being the best Divers in the World, unto which they are accusom'd from their first Infancy. Whilst the Men are abroad at Sea, the Women and Children are employed in gathering of Pearl Dust near the Shoar. They are a cowardly and deceitful sort of People, Lying and Deceit being so customary among them, as not to be look'd upon as a Sin. They are great Admirers of the Ecclesiastical Laws, it being a strict Custom among them, not to punish a Crime, if the Transgressor confesses it, and promises Amendment. The *Parva's* were formerly all *Pagans*, but being sorely oppress'd by the *Mahometans*, they rebell'd against them, and with the Assistance of the *Portuguese* shook off the Yoke; which proved the Opportunity of their Conversion to the *Remish* Religion.

For, finding themselves daily more and more oppress'd, by the Advice of one *John de Cruis* (a Native of *Malabar*) they sent their Deputies to *Cochin*, to crave Assistance against the *Mahometans*, offering at the same time to be Baptized. The *Portuguese* received these *Pantagutini* (being then their Magistrates) very courteously, promising them immediate Succours against their Enemies, which had so powerful an Influence upon these Deputies; that, to shew their Gratitude, they received Baptism immediately, and took upon them the Sirname of *De Cruis*; which name is retain'd by many of the *Parva's* to this day. After the *Parva's* had rid their hands of the *Moors*, with the Assistance of the *Portuguese*, and got the Pearl Fishery again into their hands, many thousands of them, at divers times and places, embraced the Christian Faith; and under the Vice-Royship of *Stephen Gamma* the *Portuguese*, viz. about 1500, above 20000 *Parva's* received Baptism. But for want of good Ministers, who understood the *Malabar* Tongue (few of the *Portuguese* Clergy being willing to settle here) they soon return'd to their Pagan Superstitions, having scarce any thing left among them but the name of Christians, till *Francis Xavierius* (who arrived in the *Indies* 1540, and went by the name of the Great and Holy Father) being inform'd by *Michael Vas* of the miserable Condition of the *Parva's*, resolv'd to go thither from *Goa*, to re-establish the de-

cay'd State of Christianity among the *Parva's*. Accordingly he set out from *Goa* (after a Stay of five Months there) in the beginning of *October*, 1543. in company of *Francis Manfilla*, who was come along with him out of *Portugal*, and two Novices of the College of *Goa*, who understood the *Malabar* Tongue. After his Arrival at the East End of that Coast, near the *Cape Comorin*, finding that his young Interpreters stood him but in little stead, he found out this Expedient; He call'd together such of the Natives, as he knew to be well vers'd in the *Portuguese* Tongue; among those he chose certain Persons, who joining with those two he had brought along with him from *Goa*, translated the Chief Articles of the Christian Faith, the Ten Commandments, with a short Explication, a general Confession of Faith, and some other such like necessary Matters into the *Malabar* Tongue. Then he began to Preach to them according to the Capacity of his Auditors, explaining to them the Chief Duties of a Christian, the Glory of Heaven, and the Punishment of Hell, with the Reason, why some deserved Heaven, and the other Hell. He explain'd afterwards to them the Sign of the Cross, and began to unfold to them the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, of which they had been quite ignorant before, and made such a Progress among them, that, whereas at his coming thither he found not above 2500 Demi-Christians, at his going away he left near 40000 good Christians behind him. *Xaverius* himself in his Letter dated the 12th of *Jan.* 1554. speaks of the vast Increase of the Christians in those Parts, saying thus.

King, you may guess what a great number of these poor people were reduced back to the Flock of Christ from thence, that my Arms and Hands used to be tired with Baptizing, sometimes whole Villages at a time. My Strength and Voice have often fail'd me, by Reason of the frequent Repetitions of the Articles of Faith.

The *Romanists* tell us, that besides these, *Xaverius* converted ten Towns betwixt *Bringen* and *Permanel* (and six or seven more near *Bengala* and *Remanankoris*.) This they say he perform'd by his Miracles, by healing the Sick, casting out Demons, and raising the dead from their Graves. He rais'd a certain young Man, the Son of a poor Widow, who was choak'd in the Mud, from the dead. The same he did to another young Man, the Son of a Person of Quality, in the City of *Puricale*, and to a young Maid. Another Woman in Labour, being reduced to the last Gasps, he deliver'd without the Least Pain, as soon as she had receiv'd

Are recon-
ciled to the
Church by
some of the
Hell. *Xaverius*.

1662.

1662. receiv'd Baptism. By his Miracles he converted a whole Village at once, near *Toutekorin*; so that both Christians and Pagans us'd to have their last Recourse to him in their Sickneses, many of which he restor'd by reading the Gospel over them; As may be seen more at large in the Life of *Xaverius*, of *John de Lucenas*, and other *Roman* Authors.

But whatever Success *Xaverius* had in Converting the *Parvas* and others to the Christian Religion, certain it is, that he brought no more than one *Brahman* over to the *Romish* Faith, tho' he bestow'd much time and pains in speaking to them. And among the *Parvas* themselves are many to this day, who adhere so deeply to their Pagan Superstitions, that they make but little account of Christianity. However, those that have ever since persever'd in the *Romish* Faith, are from time to time furnish'd with, and instructed by the *Portuguese* Priests; who ever since 1685, when we made our selves Masters of *Toutekorin*, live about a League or two from the Town in the Country whither they carry their Children to be Bap-
tized. They are very obstinate in their Religion, which extends no further than the knowledge of the Christian Faith; Our Father, the Ten Commandments and an *Ave Mary*; but they follow blind-fold the Directions of the *Portuguese* Priests; carry *Pater Nosters* and a *Cosary* constantly about them, and use the Sign of the Cross on their Foreheads and Breasts, like as the *Roman* Catholics do. The *Dutch* Ministers of the Protestant Religion, have several times attempted to introduce the Reformation into the Churches of the *Parvas*, both before and since we were Masters of *Toutekorin*, but all in vain; for tho' we caus'd the Word of God to be Preach'd in the *Portuguese* Tongue, the *Parvas* durst not venture to come to Church for fear of the *Roman* Priests living among them. These *Parvas* declared to *Xaverius* and *Michael Jassus*, in those days, that whilst they were yet involv'd in the darkness of Paganism, the Devil us'd to appear to them in most dreadful Shapes, so that they durst not stir abroad at Night, or go a Fishing, unless in great Companies. He us'd to enter into the Bodies of the Living, and declared he would not leave them, till they had erected Temples for him. But since they had embraced the Christian Religion, the Devil never had appear'd either in their Houses or Vessels, tho' they freely went abroad a Fishing without any Company. *Xaverius* having exhorted them to persevere in their Religion, set out from thence to *Makarava*, and the adjacent places, and so further to the Isle of *Ceylon*.

All the *Mahometan Malabars* are either Merchants or Pirates, if any Foreigners

come into the Harbours where they reside, they endeavour to engage them into their Service; which if they succeed, they maintain them and their Families throughout the whole Winter. When they are just a going to Engage an Enemy, they take some *Bethel*, by which they swear to stand by one another: If they take a Prize, they ransack the Ship and all the Mariners and Passengers, before they come ashore, The Captain and other Officers take the best part for themselves, the rest is divided among the Crew. These poor Wretches endure incredible Fatigues and Miseries at Sea, and tho' they have no Head that has any legal Authority over them, they seldom fall out or quarrel, a thing scarce to be believ'd among us. Several of the richer sort of the *Malabars* Equip certain Vessels, with a good number of Soldiers and Gally-Slaves, which always keep at Sea, except that now and then the Captain comes ashore to dispose of the Booty; which the Merchants buy without any regard, whether they belong to Friends or Foes, provided they can have a good Bargain; the *Mahometan Malabars* knowing no other preference but Riches: The Merchants are distinguish'd only by their Habits; both these and the Corsairs being never to be seen without Arms; but the Merchants wear their Hair short, and have a Bonnet of red Scarlet Cloth upon their Heads, sometimes with a Handkerchief rowl'd about it like a Turbant, which they call *Mondou*, and are commonly embroider'd with Gold and colour'd Silk. They half shave their Beard, but without Whiskers, wear a Silk or Callicoe Velt, reaching three Inches below the Middle, and under that a kind of Drawers hanging down to the Knees. They commonly carry a Silk or Callicoe Handkerchief flourish'd, in which they tie and hide their Purfes. The Corsairs never shave their heads, but wear their hair very long, like the women, which they like the rest of the *Indians*, tie together in a Knot, and wear one of these flourish'd and embroider'd Handkerchiefs over it; For the rest, they go quite naked, except that they wear a Silk Vestment down to their Knees; both the Merchants and Corsairs have Knives with Silver Hafts, on which hang all sorts of Toys, such as Tooth-picks, and the like, all curiously wrought.

The Corsairs shave their Beards, but leave Whiskers, which in time grow excessively, that so one may tie them together behind. These, as well as all the other *Malabars* use no Shoes. Their Women are clad like the Men, neither do they wear any other Ornament upon their Heads, but their Hair; but have Pendants in their Ears.

The Mahometan Malabars.

Ears, and Ring their Fingers and Toes. They wear a Callicoe Coat, reaching down to the middle, and under it a Silk or Callicoe Vestment, from the middle down to their Knees; they walk bare-footed like the Men. All the Malabars are of a middle size, and very hairy upon the Breast, and other Parts of their Bodies. The Women are very well featured, but small of Stature. Their Men undergo incredible fatigues at Sea, and tho' they are *Mabometans*, they use the Malabar Tongue, and pay Allegiance, and Taxes to the several Kings of the *Nayros*, under whom they live, which is commonly near the Sea Shoar. Their Priests never meddle with any thing except Marriages, and what relates to their Temples. They are clad in White, after the Arabian manner; besides which, they have a certain kind of Religious Men call'd *Abedallen*, or *Ministers of God*, who vow Poverty, and begg in the Country: You may see sometimes 30 or 40 of them together, tho' they Travel not above two or three at a time, and sometimes one alone.

The Country of Malabar was formerly under the subjection of one potent Prince, *Sarama Perimal*, who, at the perswasion of some Arabian Merchants, that Traded thither, having embraced Mahometism, became so great a Zealot of that Religion, that he resolv'd to leave his Kingdom, and to undertake a Pilgrimage to *Meccha* and *Medina*, to visit *Mahomet's* Tomb: And having no Children, divided, before his departure, the whole Country, betwixt his chief Favourites and Courtiers, to wit, The Country of *Cananor* to his Esquire; to his Sword-bearer, who was his darling Favourite, *Calicut*; to his Scepter-bearer *Cochin*, and to another *Koulang*, unto which he annexed the Title of Kingdoms, and gave several other Countries to others of his Friends. Upon his Sword-bearer, who had *Calicut* for his share, he bestowed the Title of *Zamory* or *Zamorin*, or Emperour, and to have a Preheminency above the rest: For *Zamorin* signifies in the Indian Tongue as much as an Emperour, being otherwise express'd by the Word *Tambaran*, i. e. *God*, which is the reason that all the other Malabar Countries follow the Religious Ceremonies of those of *Calicut*, as being the chiefest Kingdom of Malabar. From hence it is, That the *Zamorin* claims the preheminence before all the other Malabar Kings; he having alone the Prerogative of Coining. The two next in rank, were the Kings of *Koulang* and *Cananor*; besides which, many other Petty Princes on the Coast of Malabar claim the Title of Kings, tho'

they are not really so, nor enjoy the Prerogative of Coining. The *Zamorin*, or King of *Calicut* lost a considerable share of his Lustre, after the coming of the Portuguese into those Parts, with whose assistance the King of *Cochin* freed himself from all Subjection formerly due to the Kings of *Calicut*, and soon after arrived to that pitch of Greatness, that they thought themselves not in any wise inferior to the *Zamorins*, and waged continual War against them. Nevertheless most of the petty Malabar Kings, and the *Nayros* are Vassals of the *Zamorin*, and never speak of him but with a great deal of Reverence, except the King of *Cochin*; and the King of *Koulang*, being the most remote of all, pays the *Zamorin* less respect than any of the rest: However, all the Kings of Malabar are Sovereigns in their own Dominions. The Malabar Kings never Marry, but maintain a Concubine of a Noble Family, who lives commonly in the same Palace; if they happen to disagree, another is taken in her place; tho' they are so modest, as seldom to change their Bed-fellows.

The Sons born from these Concubines, are not regarded as Kings Children, neither do they succeed in their Territories or Estates, but are Heirs only to their Mothers, except what Money the Kings are pleas'd to bestow freely upon them, to make them live with the more Lustre among other Gentlemen: But the King's Sisters Sons inherit their Dominions. These Sisters don't Marry no more than the Kings, but are at liberty to choose a Galant, such a one as they like best. If they have three or four Sons, and two or three Daughters, the eldest Son succeeds the King his Uncle, and the other Brother after him. After their Decease, the Succession goes to the eldest Son of the King's second Sister, and to his Brothers afterwards. After their Decease, the Sons of the other Sisters are the next Heirs to the Crown; so that the Succession descends from the Brothers to their Sisters Sons. If it happens, That the King's Sisters bear no Sons, the chief Men of the Kingdom Elect a King, who is next of Kin, but for want of such a one, choose whom they please. When the King's Sisters are arrived to Age of Maturity, viz. to their 13 or 14 Years, they pitch upon one of the Nobility whom they like best; unto whom, after they have made him considerable Presents, they send Word, that he is chosen to get her Maiden-head, and to get her With-child. The Young Noble Man accosts her the first time with a great deal of respect and Ceremony, and after having tied a very fine Jewel about her Neck,

Burials of
the Mala-
bar Kings.

he diverts himself in private for some days with her, and so returns home: If she prove with-child, it is well, if not, she commonly chooseth some *Brabman* or other, to try his strength whether he can get her with-child. When a *Malabar King* dies, the Corps is burnt three days after. All his Subjects from the next Successor to the meanest Child, shave themselves from Head to Foot, leaving no Hair, except what is on the Eye-brows and Eye-lids. They are also obliged to abstain from the use of *Bethel* for the space of 13 days, and if any one should be found to chew *Bethel* during that time, they cut off his Lips. During these 13 Days, they dare not eat either Fish or Flesh, and the Fishermen are forbidden to Fish upon pain of Death. Considerable Alms are given to the Poor, out of the King's Coffers, and the *Brabmans* are provided with Victuals at the publick charge. After the expiration of these 13 days, every one is at liberty to eat what he pleases, except the new King, who is ty'd to the same Rules for a whole Year after; during which he must neither have the Hair of his Head of the Body cut, nor pare his Nails: He is obliged to say certain Prayers every Morn'g, and must Eat but once a day. Time before Dinner he bathes himself, done, he must forbear to cast his Eyes any body, till after he has taken Food.

Towards the latter end of this Mourning Year, his next Successor in the Kingdom, the other Princes of the Royal Blood, and other Persons of the chiefest Quality attend the new King, and pay their Homage to him, in the presence of many Thousands; at which time, the new King declares his next Successor, and the others each in his Degree; which done, he confirms the Lords there present in their respective Places and Offices. He that is declared the next Successor to any new King, is oblig'd from that time not to appear at Court, as long as the King lives; but those Princes, who are to Succeed him, may continue there. Before the above-mentioned 13 Days are expired, the new King has not the least Authority in the Kingdom, which they take for a general maxim here, to see whether any body else will lay claim to the Succession: But, after the expiration of this time, the Great Men of the Kingdom, and chief Officers of State, engage the new King by a Solemn Oath, to maintain the Laws made by his Predecessor, to pay his Debts, and to endeavour the recovery of the Territories, lost under the Reigns of his Predecessors. Whilst he takes the Oath, he lays his right Hand upon an Oyl Cask, in which are set up many Lighted Wicks; and with

a drawn Sword, which he holds in his left, touches a Jewel set in Gold within the Cask. 166 This done, they strew Rice upon his Head, with a great deal of Ceremony, and certain Forms of Prayers, turning their Faces to the Sun. In the same manner, all the Princes of the Blood, and other great Men Swear fealty to the new King. During the first 13 days after the King's Decease, the sole Administration of the Government is lodged in the Lord Chancellor, who has also the management of the Treasury, without whom, the King cannot take or dispose of the publick Money, unless it be in case of the greatest necessity. It is also the Chancellor who puts the King's Mandats in Execution. The first in rank next to the King, are those call'd by them *Kaimales*, then the *Brabmans*, who are in great esteem in those Courts, the King of *Calicut* himself being of that Sect, and wearing the twisted Cord. After the *Brabmans* come the *Nayros*, or Military Order, the true Off-spring of their Ancient Nobility; then come the vulgar or common People, call'd *Moukoi*, or *Poulias*, or *Parvas*: The King is the only Judge here, before whom, are brought all such as have committed any Crime, or refuse to pay their Debts: In his absence certain Great Men of the Court determine all Affairs of any moment; but if a difference arises betwixt two or more *Moukoi* or any Strangers, he that thinks himself aggrieved, makes his complaint to the next *Nayros* he meets, who is oblig'd to do him justice immediately, without receiving any Reward, unless the Plaintiff will voluntarily give him a Present: This holds in Matters of small consequence, for all Matters of moment are decided before the King in Person. Their ordinary Punishments are Imprisonments, or the loss of a Joynt of a Limb; if the Crime be Capital, the Malefactor is thrown to the Elephants. They have no other Prisons, but what are in the Royal Palaces. In case of any Difference betwixt two *Pagans*, when the truth is to be verified by a Solemn Oath, they put one hand into boiling Oil, or else lay hold of a piece of red hot Iron; sometimes they Swim cross a River, swarming with venomous Creatures; it being their Opinion, that if they have spoke the whole truth, they shall not receive any hurt; but the Trial with the hot Iron is most generally received. When the *Malabar Kings*, or their Governours intend to inflict a punishment upon the Inhabitants of a certain place, they surround it with Wooden Stakes like an Enclosure, out of which they may not stir, neither may they buy or sell, or have the least Communication with others, ^{As they say king Oath}

662 the same be removed again, under pain of Death. This is sometimes done also before the Doors of publick Persons.

their Faces. All the Pagods here, as well *Brabmans* as the *Brahmins* and *Monks* burn the Carcasses of their deceased Friends; tho' this was more universally practis'd before the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* introduced and settled the Christian Religion here. They take peculiar Care to provide in their Life-time as much fine scented Wood and other precious Drugs, as they think requisite for the burning of their Bodies to Ashes, which is afterwards divided among their Relations and Friends, who preserve them, and at their Festivals mix them with Water, and paint their Faces with them. When a *Brabman* happens to die, his Widow is obliged, as a Demonstration of her Affection towards her deceased Husband, to burn her self; this is commonly done under the noise of several musical Instruments, to suppress the doleful Outcries of the dying Person, and in the presence of their next Kindred. However they may excuse themselves as to this point, if they please, but then they are branded with Infamy, their Hair is cut off close, which they must not let grow to any length again; they are excluded from the Society of other Women, nor are allow'd to Marry again. Notwithstanding which, many chuse rather to dispense with these Disadvantages, than to burn themselves. The Wives of the *Nayros* are not obliged to this Custom; tho' there are not wanting Instances, that they have thrown themselves into the Flames, which consum'd their Husbands Carcass; The Men are not engaged to mourn for their Wives, except that they are forbidden to Marry again.

The Marriages of the richer and better sort, are celebrated here with a great deal of Solemnity; The first thing they do after Matters are agreed betwixt them, is, to repair to the *Pagode* or Temple, where the Priests perform certain Ceremonies; After this, the Friends and Relations of the new married Couple, both Men and Women, lead the Bride for 15 days consecutively to the Bridegroom's House, where they are Entertain'd at his Charge; Most of the Women singing and playing upon Flutes, small Drums, and other musical Instruments; The Bride and Bridegroom are placed together very richly attir'd, especially with Jewels, to such an Excess, that they have been computed to amount sometimes to 200000 Crowns. The Room is hung with fine Silk Hangings interwoven with Gold, and among other things, a Plate with *Bethel* is put to every one there present; nay, even to those that are Strangers; Towards

the Evening, the Women reconduct the Bride to her House. At the Expiration of the 15 days, the Bride and Bridegroom are Mounted on an Elephant richly accoutred, so as to face one another; The Elephant is led by a *Nayro*, and surrounded by the Friends and Relations on foot; Thus they are Conducted thro' the whole City, and are sure always to stop at the Doors of any of their nearest Kinsfolks, Relations or Particular Friends, who present them with *Bethel*, Fruits and Sweet Meats; and anoint the Head of the Elephant with sweet scented Waters; they are very careful not to miss any of their Friends Houses, for if any such thing should happen, they would look upon it as a signal Affront. When they come to the *Pagode*, they dismount, and after they have tarried there for some time, return to the Bride's House, where the Marriage is Consummated, each of the Guests being obliged to present the *Nayros* that led the Elephant with a Coco Nut.

They begin their New Year in September, but have no fixed Day, which they regulate according to the Decision of the Astrologers and Conjurers, who pretend to find out by their Art, the very hour which is likely to be the most fortunate for the beginning of the Year. All those that are above 15 Years of Age, cover their Faces that Day, for fear of casting their Eyes upon any thing; Thus they are led by Children to the Temple, where unconcerning themselves, they fix their Eyes upon what Object they find directly before them; If this happen to be an Idol (which their Temples are full of) they have a peculiar Veneration for it, they look upon it as a good Omen, that the next Year will prove prosperous to them.

All over *Malabar* they use a peculiar Language call'd by them *Malkama*. Paper they have none, but instead of it write upon the Leaves of the wild Coco-trees, with an Iron Pencil or Pen; which contain not only their Religious Ceremonies, but likewise the whole Series of their most antient Histories. These Leaves they cut all in the same shape of the breadth of two Inches, and two hands length; of these they lay together as many as they think fit, and put a small Stick thro' them on the top; which done, they fasten the Stick on both Ends to the Leaves with a Pack-thread, which they loosen as often as they have occasion to peruse them. Each of these Leaves is call'd *Ola* by the *Malabars*. They exceed all the European Writers in swiftness, which they perform with that Dexterity, as to turn their Faces frequently from the Leaves, and to entertain others with talking

ing, whilst they are writing. The *Malabar* Tongue is very difficult to be learn'd, by reason of its multitude of Words, one and the same thing being express'd by different terms; nay, each day throughout the Year is distinguish'd by a peculiar Name. Several *Portuguese* Jesuits have attempted to give us an Insight into the *Malabar* Tongue, and among the rest, Father *Gaspar Aguilar*. They have their peculiar Letters, which are very ancient, and resembling the *Syriack* Characters.

The Inhabitants of *Malabar*, as we told you before, are either Natives or descended from Foreigners; the last of which being first come thither out of *Arabia* are Mahometans, as the Natives are Pagans. Some are of Opinion, that all the Kings of *Malabar* follow one and the same Religion, but that their Subjects are divided into 18 several Sects; But, as far as ever I could learn by the most exact Enquiry I was able to make, all the Natives of *Malabar*, as well *Brahmans* as *Nayros* and *Moucois* perform their Religious Worship in the same manner; for they adore their Idols, and the Sun, as they rise in the morning. In their Temples you see a golden Cow, or some other Image, unto which they pay their Devotions; which is the reason that neither the *Brahmans*, *Nayros* nor *Moucois* will kill this Beast, but pay such Reverence to it, that they paint the Walls of their Houses with its Dung mixt with Water; Thus, when the King of *Calicut* is to Bathe himself, fifteen Maids with Cow-dung in their Silver Basons plaister the Rooms with it, thro' which he is to pass twice aday. Their Chief God they call *Parabramma*, with three Sons near him, in Remembrance of which the *Brahmans* wear a Cord twisted of three threads on their bare Skin. They not only worship Man, but, as I told you, the Beasts also, and erected Temples for them, exceeding in Magnificence those of the ancient *Romans*. There is one Temple dedicated to the Ape, the Gallery of which is supported by 700 Marble Columns. Besides the Cow they pay likewise a godly Veneration to the Elephant, it being their Opinion, that the Souls of Men transmigrate into those Beasts. They have many Books, which contain an Account of their Religious Ceremonies, much resembling the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Fables. The Priests and *Brahmans* keep these Books from the sight of the vulgar, these being their Oracles, unto which they have Recourse for their Prophecies, to blind these poor Wretches, as has been confess'd by some converted *Brahmans*. They make however much more Account of Religion,

than the *Nayros*; for they daily provide (at the King's Charge) a considerable quantity of boild Rice in their Temples, which is distributed among the poor, or given to any body else, that will ask for it, this being not look'd upon as ignominious among them. They keep continually burning Lamps in their Temples, and their Prophets are almost cover'd with Bells, which when they Dance and make other awkward Postures, make a great noise; The *Moucois* have their own Temples, which are natively kept; they don't frequent them above once a Month, viz. at the New Moon, because they can spare no more time from their daily Labour; At the Entrance each of them is presented with some Ashes mixt with Water. The *Nayros* go commonly once a day to their Temples, where each mutters out a short Prayer; These Temples are dispos'd throughout the whole Country, and are most frequented at certain days, when they repair thither with a great deal of Devotion; some for 20 or 30 Leagues, for they have their appointed Feasts, but two or three before all the rest. The chiefest is that of the New Years Day, when the *Nayros* come to pay their Reverence to the King, who receives them standing at a Window, and throws a certain quantity of *Bethel* to each, and some Gold and Silver among them, as well as the rest of his Subjects that appear there.

The *Malabar* Kings, *Brahmans* and *Nayros* pay likewise their Devotions to Serpents, which they consider as Evil Spirits, made by God, to torment Mankind for their Sins. You meet here with certain *Vagabonds*, who carry Serpents in a Basket with some Bran for their Food, hanging on a Stick, carried on the Shoulders of two Fellows; some of these Serpents are six, seven or nine foot long, of a Grass green Colour, and not above an Inch thick, some are very large and bulky, with grey Spots; so soon as these *Malabar* *Vagabonds* begin to play upon a certain Instrument like a Bagpipe, the Serpents set themselves upright upon their Tails, twist themselves in a most surprizing manner, and soon after raise their Fins or Bristles, which are near the Head, and fall on with such Fury, as if they would tear one another to pieces; to the no small terror of the Spectators.

On the tops of the high rocky Mountains of *Malabar* (on the foot of which live the Christians of *St. Thomas*) dwells a certain Nation call'd the *Malleani*, they have a pretty good Tillage about 13 or 14 Leagues from *Maluva* call'd *Prissa*. According to the Description given us by *Plutarch* and *Curtius*, and the resemblance of their names,

The Malleani.

Tree joins the Blossom to Bud but loses all its Leaves, instead of which new ones come soon after. It bears a kind of round and smooth Apple, which is green at first and turns yellow afterwards, two, three, four, or more hanging together on short Stalks. The Pulp, before they are ripe, is white and insipid, but when ripe, bitter with a thick rough Peel. It Blossoms in the Summer, and brings forth Fruit in the Winter. In the Pulp are round, but flattish Seeds, which are also very bitter. The Juice of the Leaves taken in the Decoction of the same Leaves, cures the Head-Ach; but if used in too great a quantity, is mortal, the only Antidote against which is Man's Dung taken inwardly. Two or three of those Seeds taken every day for two years successively is a Preservative against the Biting of the Serpent, called *Cobra de Capelo* by the *Portugueses*.

Tree called *Manjapumeram* by the *Malabars*, and *Pariatatu* by the *Brachmans*, rises up to the height of 18 or 24 foot, with very thick and lofty Branches spreading round about it; but the Stem is not above the thickness of an Arm, having an ash-coloured Bark: The Leaves hang crosswise over one another, being pointed at the ends, the uppermost side of a dark-green, and the other of a light green colour, of an astringent and bitterish taste; The Flowers grow on Stalks which stand upright five in a cluster, are very agreeable and sweet-scented, having six, seven, and sometimes eight Leaves each; of a white colour both in and out side. The Fruit is of an oval Figure, but flat, of a green colour, containing two round and flattish Seeds. This Tree is of no use among the *Malabar* Physicians.

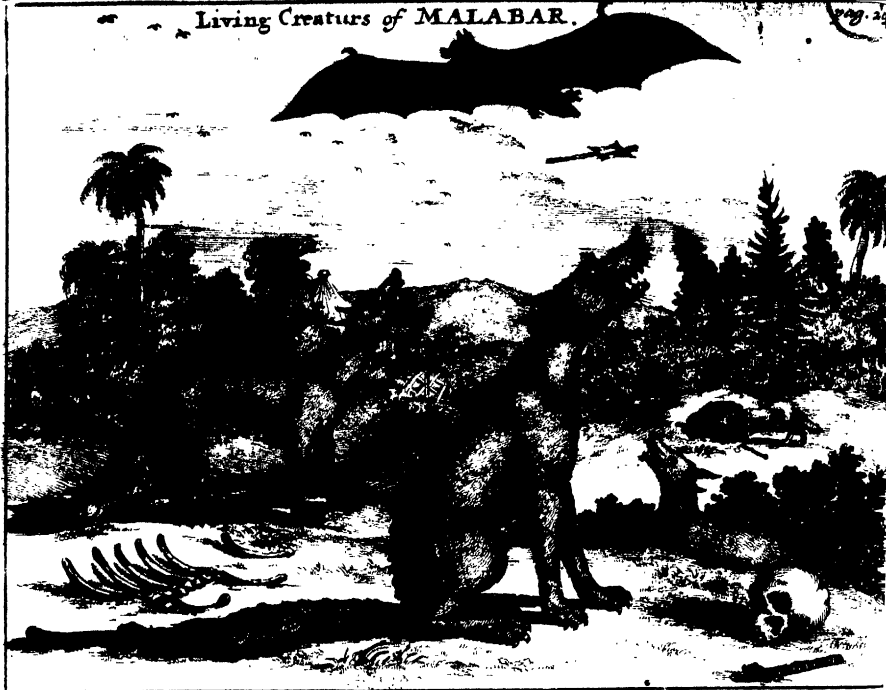
Tree called *Chanpakam*, as the *Malabars* call it, and the *Brachmans* *Champo*, is a very tall Tree, with many lofty Branches spreading at a good distance: The Trunk is of that thickness as scarce to be grasp'd by a Man, with a thick Bark of an ash colour without, and soft within, of a bitter astringent taste. The Wood is white: The Leaves are of an oval Figure pointed a good way towards the ends, of the length of a Span, and the breadth of four or five Inches; the uppermost side dark-green and shining, the other side light-green, bitter and biting upon the Tongue. At the Extremities of the small Twigs, sprout forth pale-green Flowers, of a quick odoriferous Scent, having oval Leaves placed in three

rows within one another. In the first Row are about eight Leaves, as broad again as those of the second row, round but pointed at the ends; in the second row are more pointed, and those in the third more than the second, and pale yellow. The Fruit grows in Bunches of an oval Figure, with a thick Rind. Whilst not come to Maturity it is green, but turns pale yellow when Ripe, being sharp of Taste, and of no agreeable Scent: Within are three or four Seeds, round on one, and flat on the other side; Within those Seeds, when they are come to their full Perfection, is a thin milky Substance enclosed in a Skin of a Purple colour, and within it a black Stone. The Tree if not too old, Blossoms twice a year; Out of these Flowers they Distil a good Cordial Water.

The Tree called *Changi* by the *Malabars*, and *Paralli* by the *Brachmans*, grows up very high, with many far-spreading Branches: The Trunk is of that thickness, that two Men can scarce well grasp it; with a dark brown and rough Bark, containing a milky Liquor within. The Wood is full of the same Juice, and will keep a great while under Water but not very long in the Air. The Leaves grow on small round and green Stalks, being of an oval Figure, but pointed at the ends. The Flowers have pale green Stalks, growing some in a cluster, of a white colour, consisting of 16 Leaves of an agreeable Scent. The *Malabars* make Nostrays of them. The Fruit is shaped like an Olive, green at first, but turns yellow and red by degrees: The Pulp is yellow and mealy. The *Malabars* Eat this Fruit, which has two oval but flat and dark brown Stones within. This Tree bears Flowers twice a year, out of which the *Malabars* Distil a well-scented Water, which is look'd upon as a great Cordial, and revives the Spirits. The Fruit bruised and taken inwardly in warm Water promotes the Birth.

Besides these there also grows here *Cassia Fistula*, called *Koma* by the *Malabars*, and *Bajo* by the *Brachmans*; and *Tamarinds* call'd *Balan-Pulli*, or *Maderam-Pulli*, by the *Malabars*, and *Sinza* by the *Brachmans*. The Coast of *Malabar* produces likewise, *Cadamom*, *Bebergy Ginger*, and some Aloes; as also, Bezoar-Stones, Salt-Petre, Honey, Lacca, and Cotton; to be short, this Country abounds in all sorts of *Indian-Trees* and Fruits.

Living Creatures of MALABAR.



1662.
Living
Creatures
of Mala
bar.

Plenty of
Fowl.

The Woods afford vast plenty of Birds of all kinds, and among the rest most excellent Peacocks, the Flesh of which is very white and well tasted. No place in the World abounds more in all sorts of Water-Fowl, and there are a great many Birds here so tame, and so plentiful, that you may kill them with a Stick, the reason of which is, that, as the *Pagans* add ere to the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, concerning the Transmigration of the Soul; so, they won't kill any living Creature, which makes all sorts of Wild Creatures multiply here, almost in infinitum. The Flesh of their Hogs (of which they likewise have great plenty) is also excellent good; but above all, Tame-Fowl is so prodigious cheap here, that you may buy a very good Pullet for Two-pence, and Thirty Eggs for the same price. I remember I had once bought up 300 Pullets against the Arrival of our Ships, which being put in the Old Church of St. Thomas, we found all dead one Morning; we could not guess at the cause of this disaster, till a certain Malabar told us, that it could not be otherwise, but that a *Cobre Kapel* (a very Venomous Serpent) must be

hidden in the place; whereupon strict search being made we found the Serpent, under a heap of Old Wood, which was no sooner removed, but the Serpent set her self upright upon the Tail, spitting Fire and Flame, so that no body durst approach her, till one of our Soldiers kill'd her with his Sword. Of Venison there is also great plenty.

They have likewise Batts of divers kinds; and among the rest a certain sort, of that bigness, that their Wings when extended are as long as Man can stretch with both his Arms together. They have red Heads, and Necks, black bodies, and are shaped like a Fox. They are extremely nimble, and having very sharp Teeth, do a great deal of damage to the Fruit. Their Wings are bare, like those of our Batts, unto which are fastned their Legs and Tails, so that they can neither walk nor stand; to recompence which defect, they have a kind of a hook, of the thickness of a Finger on each Wing, wherewith they fasten to the Branches of the Trees: You see here vast multitudes of them in the Woods; so that it is no difficult thing to kill them; but whatever you kill,

1662.
Batts.

kill. fighting among the Trees : They are naturally so fierce that they are not to be tam'd; for if taken alive, they will bite their own Arms and Legs as far as they can reach. I once had the curiosity to set two of these Animals fighting, which they did with such fierceness, that they both remained dead upon the spot. They will drink of the Liquor of the Coco-Tree till they are Drunk ; They commonly bring forth two young ones at a time, and that generally in the hollow of Trees; the Malabars eat the Flesh, which has no agreeable taste.

Here you meet also with Jackalls, as our People call them, being not unlike a large Fox, of the bigness of an ordinary Peasants Dog, of a red grey colour, but thinly covered with Hair. They assemble in the Night in whole Troops, and approaching (especially about the New-Moons) to the Villages or Plantations, make a hideous noise, like the outcries of Women, or Men ; they are very greedy after Mens Flesh, and will scratch the Dead Carcasses out of the Graves, unless they be well covered with Stones: They are scarce ever to be tamed. The Malabars Eat the Flesh of these Jackalls. And thus much of the Coast of Malabar.

After, as I told you, we had set Sail the 12th of March, from Koylang, the Wind turn'd against us the same Evening, but about a Eleven a Clock at Night we set Sail again with the Land-wind. The 13th we kept along the Shoar, with a gentle breeze and very fair weather ; but the Wind turning soon after to the E. S. E. we were forced to chuse the main Sea, but made to the Shoar again towards Evening and took the benefit of the Land-wind. The 14th there being but little Wind we advanced no farther than 12 Leagues from Koylang ; and the 15th finding our selves off of the City of Tengepatnam, we gave the Signal by a Cannon-Shot, for the Resident Mr. Koek to come aboard us, which he did accordingly ; and after I had discoursed with him, of what I had in Commission to tell him, we continued our Voyage, but being towards Evening overtaken by a Tempest, were forced to come to an Anchor. The 16th early in the Morn'ing the Winds being somewhat laid we set Sail again, but by reason of the contrary Winds, were forced to return towards Palon, near the Cape of Comorin, where the Portuguese have a small Church dedicated to St. Martin. The 17th we

made this Cape, but the Winds continuing still against us, it was not till the 18th that we could reach Touthekoriin, the chief among the Sea-Ports of the Coast of Madure. Here I tarried for some time to observe the Interest of the Company, both in respect of their Traffick hither, and in the Government of the Inhabitants, who live under their Jurisdiction along the Sea-Coast. There are seven large Villages, the chief of which is Touthekoriin, the other six are : Mannapara, Alendale, Wiranyapattam, Pommekiel, Bempær or Vempær, and Bempær. After a stay of six Months here, I received Orders from Mr. Van Goen to return to Koylang, and to take leave of the Government of Madure, being very well known to the Queen there. Accordingly having surrendered my Accounts to Mr. Leewards, in the presence of Captain Van Reede, I left this place the 19th of May 1662, and went by Land to Koylang. The number of the Inhabitants of the before-mentioned seven Villages amounted 1664 to above 20000 Souls, viz. in Touthekoriin about 3000, in Mannapara 4000, in Alendale 800, in Wiranyapattam 900, in Pommekiel or Punikael 2800, in Bempær 700, and in Bempær 800; Besides those Inhabiting on the Coast of Comorin, which amounted to a considerable number: All these Villages are adorn'd with stately Churches, built by the Portuguese, especially those of Mannapara and Bempær ; but are now in a decaying condition, since the Portuguese have been chased thence. Some of the Romish Priests now and then come to say Mass in the Neighbouring Villages, wither the People flock in great numbers ; tho' to speak truth, they are more Heathens than Christians. Touthekoriin consumes Yearly abundance of Foreign Commodities, by reason of the great numbers of Inhabitants living along this Coast, who must be provided from abroad with most things they stand in need of ; Touthekoriin otherwise Touthekuriin, or rather Touthekury, or Touthekuriin, or Totokury, is now, as we told you, the Chief of all those Sea-Ports, being an open place, but beautified with stately Stone buildings. It has three large Churches, built by the Portuguese, which are to be seen at a great distance at Sea, the Country round about being flat and low. In one of these the Reformed exercise their Religious Worship: Besides which the Convent of the Franciscans is lately fitted up for the same use.

1662
Come to Touthekoriin.

The seven Sea-ports of Madure.

Their Inhabitants:

The Village of Touthekoriin.

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1662. The Dutch-East-India Company have a Factory here, managed by a Merchant as Chief Governour; by a Factor, as his Deputy; two or three Assistants, and a Military Officer, under whose Command are some Soldiers, but the *Nayk* of *Madure* will not allow them to erect any Fortifications: During my stay here, I begun to erect a Brick-Wall round the Garden, but finding the *Jenryves* to lock with a jealous Eye upon it, I desisted; yet I took care to repair the House of the Company, and set their Flag on the top of it which might be seen a good way at Sea.

The Village
Punkael.

War be-
tween the
Inhabit-
ants and
Portu-
gueses.

This place was taken by the Dutch from the *Portugueses*, 1658, without much resistance. In the Road of *Tontekoriin*, is good Anchorage at five Fathom Water in a Sandy bottom.

Three small Leagues from *Tontekoriin* near the Rocks of *Remanekor*, not far from the Kingdom of *Narsinga* lies the Village of *Punkael*, where the *Portugueses* formerly had a Fort, and a Garrison of 40 Men. Two Leagues from thence there was a *Pagan* Temple of the *Bramens* call'd *Trichanduri*, against which and the Priests thereof the *Portugueses* would frequently utter very injurious Words, which so exasperated the Inhabitants, that they entred into a League with their Neighbours, viz. the *Badagas* of *Narsinga*, in order to drive the Christians thence: Accordingly having with a great deal of secrecy got together a Body of 6000 Men, and received certain Intelligence that the *Portugueses* in the Fort were but ill provided with Gunpowder (the Chief terror of these *Barbarians*) they march'd directly to *Punkael*; The *Portugueses* being not a little surpris'd at so unexpected a sight, were put to the greatest nonplus, that could be, being in want of Ammunition, and no great account being to be made upon the *Parvas* (the Christian Inhabitants) as being not trained up to Military Affairs, but living upon Fishing and Swimming: These being sensible of their inability to resist the Enemy, no sooner heard of his approach, but they began to betake themselves with their moveables to their Boats, which lay near the Shoar, which the *Badagas* endeavouring to prevent, some retired to unpassable places, others to the Sea side, whilst others were exposed to the mercy of the Enemy, and with most dreadful outcries implored the Assistance of the *Portugueses* in the Fort.

About that time a certain Priest, named *Anthony Kriminalis*, who was come some Days before thither to take care of the Christians there, seeing this miserable spectacle, applied himself to *John Ferdinando Korrea*, Governour of the Fort, remonstrating to him, that since they were not in a condition to oppose the Enemy, to endeavour to bring things to an Accomodation; but the Governour answer'd, that it was against the Glory of his King, to submit in the least respect to those *Barbarians*, *Kriminalis* made what haste he could, to return to his Flock, which he met in the Church where he had preach'd the same Morning, and led them to the Sea-shoar, endeavouring as much as he could, to see them Embark in their Boats, whilst he refused to enter himself, being resolv'd to stay ashoar, and to expect the utmost fury of the *Barbarians*, who were advancing apace, and with their Arrows had already kill'd several of the *Portugueses* and others; among whom was the Interpreter of *Kriminalis*, who was Shot by his side, notwithstanding which he remained immoveable in his Resolution, and wringing his Hands up to Heaven, tell upon his Knees; The first Troop of the *Bagadas* pass'd by without doing him the least harm, except that they took his Hat, and so did the second, but one of the third Troops (consisting of *Mahometans*) run a Lance into his Left side, whilst others let fly their Arrows at him, and thinking he had been kill'd came to take his Cloaths, which he, being yet alive, gave to them, and so retreated into the Church, with an intention to spend the small remainders of his Life, at the Foot of the Altar; and being follow'd by the *Bagadas*, he there received a second thrust, and soon after a third, which put a period to his Life: *Is kill'd* They afterwards cut off his Head, which together with his Bloody Cloaths they carried in Triumph to their Temple of *Trichanduri*; the Trunk of the Body was afterwards buried by the Christians.

Not far from *Punkael* or *Pommekiel* lieth a great Village call'd *Putanam*, and so further up the Coast *Bembar* or *Bem-paer*, *Kalekurt*, *Beadal*, *Nianankor* or rather *Remanankor* and *Kanbameira*; Next you see *Negapatam* the first Frontier of the Coast of *Coromandel*, but one of the Chiefest Towns of this Coast is *Peramparan* situate near the Rocks of *Romanankor*, being the Capital City of the

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562. *Maravus*, who inhabit the Mountains, a barbarous Generation, living only upon Rocking; The *Jesuits* that formerly belonged to the Church of *Periaparan*, did endeavour to reclaim them in some measure from their Barbarity, but most of them soon return'd to their old way of living. There is another Village seated on the other side of the Rocks of *Romanankoris*, directly opposite to *Negapatam*, the Inhabitants of which are all Christians. All along the Sea-Coast are about 30 Villages, among which, besides the beforemention'd, are the Chief; *Trichandar* or *Tickandar*, *Kallegrande* and *Cherakalle*.

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The Inhabitants of those places are very black and strong; they are deceitful and cunning, make but little account of their Wives, but generally keep two or three Harlots, by whom they have sometimes 16 or 18 Children. The Men wear nothing but a single piece of Callico wrapt about their Middle, and another piece about their Head which they call *Romare*. The ordinary Women commonly wear painted Callico, those of Fashion are adorn'd with Gold Rings and Bracelets when they are abroad, but are very nasty at home. They tie their Hair up in a Truss behind, like those of *Malabar*, for the rest they have very good Features. They live upon Meat and Rice, but drink nothing but Water, which they are fain to fetch half a League from the Sea-shoar; They live by Pearl-fishing and catching of Fish, by Weaving and Shipping, there being some who drive a considerable Trade with the painted Callico's to *Kalpentien*, *Kolomba* and the *Malabar* Coast. They have abundance of Callico and Linen Weavers here, and great numbers of People are employed in painting of Callico's, which they do very Artificially. This Trade was in great Request whilst I was here, because I used to give all imaginable Encouragement to them; The Inhabitants are Govern'd by Judges of their own, who are chosen every Year by the Chief Director of the *Dutch* Company there, whom they stile the *Captain of the seven Seaports*. Each Village has the Privilege to propose four, out of which the *Captain* chofes two, who swear Fidelity to the Company; all civil Causes are transacted in their respective Villages, but Criminal Matters are decided at *Touckoririn* in the Council of Nine, whereof the *Captain* is President. The remaining *Portugueses* pay no Taxes to

the *Dutch* Company, but to the *Nayk* of *Madure*; however, this Tax is paid with the Approbation of the Chief Director, who allots every one his Share according to his Substance; Those who are backward in their Payment, must expect speedy Execution, which is done by the Soldiers of the *Nayk*, and causes frequent Quarrels, betwixt the Inhabitants and the Soldiers, as it happened in my time, then the *Nayk* peremptorily demanding the Tax from the *Parvus*, which they were not able to pay, I sent to him a Sergeant with some Soldiers, to desire that he would send a Commissioner, with whom they might Treat, and obtain some time for the Payment thereof, upon which the *Nayk* having sent one of his great Officers with a Body of Horse, I remonstrated to him, the Impossibility of the Matter, telling him that the seven Sea-Ports were willing to make a Present of two Silver Dishes fill'd with Ducats to his Master, which was well accounted of, and the *Nayk* as a Token of his Satisfaction, sent me a Scarfe richly Embroidered with Gold. These seven Sea-ports were formerly (before the *Portuguese* Fleets appear'd in these Parts) under the Government of the King of *Marten*, a Vassal of the Queen of *Tengauilly*, unto whom they were forc'd to pay many Taxes; at which time the *Parvus* lived deeper in the Country, and used to serve in the Wars to such Princes as would pay them best.

One time a certain *Parvus* happening to fall out with some *Moors*, these cut off his Nose and Ears, which so exasperated the *Parvus*, that they resolv'd to take up Arms, and to revenge the Quarrel of their Countryman. To begin the Fray, they took one of the Moorish Merchants Prisoners, whose Nose and Ears they likewise cut off, and so sent him home. Hereupon the *Moors* having assembled a Body of 3000 Men, they march'd to, and pitch'd their Tents near *Touckoririn*; On the other hand, the *Parvus* were not above 5000 Men, and well arm'd, and trusting more to their Bravery than Number, fell upon the *Moors* so courageously, that they made them quit the Field, with the Slaughter of 7000 of their Men; A great Number of them being forc'd to the Sea-shoar, saved themselves in Boats, but were scarce got to Sea, when by a strong Tempest from the S.W. they were so dispers'd, that no news was ever heard of them since. After this Victory

1662.

Wars be-
twixt the
Parvus and
Moors.

1662. Victory the *Parvas* having made themselves Masters of these Sea-Ports, came to a Composition with the Queen, promising to pay her the same Taxes as the Moors had done, which being impossible for them to perform, this proved the occasion of unspeakable Miseries; some of them being Imprisoned, for want of Payment, others sold for Slaves, to that degree, that at last they resolved to shake off the Yolk, cost it what it would: The *Portugueses* who 1490 appear'd first thereabouts with their Ships from *Cochin*, having at that time Traded there for 40 Years before, and consequently their Strength at Sea, being not unknown to the *Parvas*, they sent their Deputies to *Cochin* to implore their Protection, and to promise their Obedience, and that they were ready to imbrace the Christian Faith. The *Portugueses* willing to improve this Opportunity came with their Fleet 1533. on that Coast, and having made themselves Masters of the Sea-port Towns, the *Parvas* received Baptism all on one Day. However they met with great Opposition afterwards from those on the Coasts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, encouraged under hand by the *Parvas*, till at last Matters were adjusted thus, that the *Portugueses* should remain Masters of the Coast, that the *Parvas* should pay them a certain Annual Tribute, according to their Ability, and that all the Chief Men of that Coast should have their Share in the Pearl-Fishing, which was to be perform'd on a certain Day. After all, the *Nayk of Madure* having found means to get into the Possession of this Country, left the *Portugueses* in the full Possession of their Jurisdiction over the *Parvas*, and of the Free Exercise of their Religion, in which State it continued till the Year 1630. when the King of *Portugal* having sent thither a Governor, to clip the Wings of the *Romish* Clergy, who were grown too powerful there, this occasion'd new Troubles; For the *Parvas* being a Zealous kind of People, and for the most part at the Devotion of the Priests, they were divided into two Factions, during which intestine Commotions, the Clergy did not forget to improve their Authority, and to Enrich themselves at the Expence of their Flock, but the *Jentyves* or *Pagans* also began to encrease to such a degree, that being become formidable to the *Parvas*, they often forc'd them to shelter themselves against their Forces in the neighbouring Islands. Since that time the *Parvas* acknowledged the

Jurisdiction of the *Portuguese* Governor; Each Village has two Judges, who are changed every Year, they keep Courts twice a Week, and in Conjunction with the *Petangiins* (who are Hereditary Officers) decide all Controversies of less Moment; They raise the Taxes, and are accountable once a Year to the People for all their Transactions; whilst the *Portugueses* were Masters here, the *Jentyves* or *Pagans* durst not exact more Taxes from the *Parvas* than was agreed for, unless they would see them go with Wife and Children to the neighbouring Islands, from whence they did not return till they had obtain'd some considerable Abatement; But of late Years the *Parvas* having left off that Custom, the *Jentyves* improve it to their Advantage, and force them to pay three times as much as they used to do formerly.

The Kingdom of the *Nayk* of *Madure*, under whose Jurisdiction the seven before-mention'd Seaports are; borders to the *W.* upon the Kingdom of *Travankor* to the *East* upon the Sea, and to the *N. West* upon the Country of the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor* or *Tanjauwer*, betwixt the Coast of *Malabar* near the Cape *Comorin* and *Coromandel*; Its whole Extent being along the whole Eastern Gulph or Coast opposite to *Ceylon* from the Cape *Comorin* (where the Coast of *Malabar* ends) to the Town of *Bembaer* or the River *Ulon* a Tract of 75 Leagues in Length, and 30 in Breadth. The Sea-shoar, commonly call'd the *Pearl-Coast*, from the many Pearl-Banks that are hereabouts, extends from *South* to *North* in length, and in some places about half a League deep into the Country. The Capital City and ordinary residence of the *Nayk* is *Madure*, five Days journey's to the *N.* of *Koylang*; being adorn'd with many most magnificent *Pagodes*, or *Pagan* Temples, which have very high Turrets Gilt on the top. Along the Coast of *Madure* neither Grass, or Herb, or Plant is to be seen, except Thistles and House-leek; it having been found by Experience, that the *Coco-trees* would not thrive here no more than several other *Indian* Trees; notwithstanding which they are sufficiently provided with all manner of Necessaries from the circumjacent Country, as well as from abroad, by the way of *Touterkorin* (besides that, the Sea-shoar abounds in Hares and Partridges, the first of which resemble our Rabbits, their Flesh being tough, yet in Taste

The Kingdom of Nayk Madure

Like of Hares. The Flesh of the Partridge, which have red Legs and round Bills here, is of an agreeable Taste.

They have here Mice as big as Cats, which dare not approach them, for, if they be pursued, they will settle upon a Chair, or Chest, and sitting upright, Fight and Bite like Dogs: They are in colour and shape like the European Mice, except that they are without Hair, and have a rough Skin like an Elephant. They will dig underneath the Doors, and do considerable mischief to the Merchandizes in the Warehouses.

There is also here another sort of Mice, red, and much lesser than the first, but so fierce, that they will make the Cats run before them.

This Country also produces Serpents, and divers other sorts of venomous Creatures. One Morning, as I was rising, I found the Skin of a Serpent sticking to one of the Posts of my Bedstead, which she had cast there the night before, without being perceived by me or any body else: In October, November, and December, the Western Winds blow with such violence the Sand from the adjacent Mountains to the Shore, that you are not able to open your Eyes. Much Rain falls deeper in the Country, and near the Cape Comarin, but never at Tontekoriin, instead of which a Thaw falls every night, which is very cold; and consequently by the sudden alteration of the Weather, very unwholesome; the Winds being sometimes so excessive hot here, as if they did blow out of a fiery Furnace; as long as these Winds last, the Inhabitants dare not go abroad into the Fields for fear of being overwhelm'd by the Sand.

The Nayk of the Kingdom of Madure is Master of several considerable Countries, each of which are govern'd by a peculiar Governour; besides which, there is one Governor-General, who has the chief Management of the whole Kingdom; who ruled all our time the Country, was called *Boomalapalles*; besides the Governors, each Village has two Judges, who are much respected by the Inhabitants. The Nayk to secure himself of the Fidelity of his Governours, detains always their Wives and Children in a certain Castle call'd *Zwela Baddy*, about seven Leagues from Madure, under the guard of 300 Eunuchs; neither are the Husbands permitted to see them without peculiar Licence from the Nayk, and are obliged to depart again in two or three days; some to avoid

this inconveniency, content themselves with Harlots. Most of the Inhabitants of the Country of Madure are *Jentyoes* or Pagans, (by some they are called *Badagau*) tho' some of them have been Converted to the *Romish* Faith by the Portuguese. The *Jentyoes* are accounted good Soldiers, yet are much inferior to the *Malabars*; witness, the Wars the Nayk of Tanigos, tho' much inferior in power, wages against them.

There are three Nayks in this part of the Indies, viz. the Nayk of Madure, the Nayk of Tanjaor, by the Dutch call'd the *Tanjower* and *Tanjouwer*, and sometimes *Teaver*, and the Nayk of *Gingi*, otherwise call'd *Cingier* or *Chengier*. The Word *Nayk*, *Neyk*, or *Najeka*, signifies as much as a Governor, Vassal, or Viceroy, their Predecessors having in antient times been only Governors of those Countries they are now possessed of under the Jurisdiction of the Kings of *Vidia Najar* or *Bijnagar*, or *Narsinga*; but having Revolted against their Liege Lord, each of them assum'd the Royal Power and Title. The Nayk of Madure had been for a considerable time in War with the Nayk of Tanjaor, and taken many Places from him: At my time the War was renewed with more vigour than ever; and the Nayk of Tanjaor having gathered a great Army, attack'd the Nayk of Madure so briskly, that he took from him in a few days all the Places he had conquered from him before. The Army of the Nayk of Madure being much disheartned by the Victories of their Enemies, the Madure sent me to *Koylang* his Chief Governour, desiring Assistance from the Company; but as it was not our Interest to engage on any side, I excused it as handsomely as I could.

Between the Coast of Madure, where the Pearl-Banks are, and the Isle of Ceylon, are divers famous Pearl Banks by the Sea, for which reason this Tract is called the *Pearl-Fishery*. These Pearl-Banks are properly Rocks of white Coral-Stone, which sometimes are covered with Sand; on these Rocks, the Oyster-shells, containing the Pearls, are fastned, but in what manner no body knows: Some of those Banks are about 12 or 13 Fathoms, and others at 15 Fathoms distance from the Shore, so that they can scarce be seen from thence: Some of those Banks are five, six, or seven Fathom under Water. The Oysters live six years, after which time the Shells open and the Pearls are lost; of which

1662. which I have seen several that were shown me by the Divers. These Pearl-Banks are search'd every year to see whether the Shells are come to their full Maturity: This is commonly done in *October*, when the weather is Calm, and the Sea clear hereabouts. After they are convinced that the said Oysters are come to their full Perfection, the time of Pearl-Fishing is appointed and proclaimed throughout the Country; so that the Merchants resort thither from the other part of the *Indies*, nay from *Arabia* and *Turkey* it self, who set up their Tents near the Seaside, to buy the Pearls.

Pearl-Fishing
how performed.

They Fish for Pearls, or rather the Oister-Shells containing the Pearls, in certain Boats called *Toniis*, being about 28 foot long, (of these you shall see 3 or 400 at a time;) Each of which has seven or eight Stones, which serve instead of Anchors, and five, six, or seven, nay sometimes eight Divers, who are to Dive one after another. These Divers are quite naked, being covered only with a kind of thin Wastcoat; they have each a Net hanging down from the Neck, and Gloves on their Hands, wherewith they are to pick the Oysters from the Rocks; each of them has also a Stone of about a foot in length, and 50 pound weight, to make him Dive the swifter: This Stone has a hole on the top, wherewith it is fastned to a Rope; when they are going to Dive, they set their foot into a kind of Stirrup, laying hold with their Left-Hand of the Rope, the other end of which is held by one in the Boat, stopping their Nose with the Right-Hand to hold in their Breath, and so they go to the bottom; where they are no sooner come, but they give a signal, by pulling the Rope, for those in the Boat to pull up the Stone. This done, to work they go, and scraping the Shells from the Rocks, fill their Nets, and then pull again the Rope, when those in the Boat draw up the Nets first, and soon after the Divers, who are succeeded continually by fresh ones. These Divers can hold their Breath four times as long as other People; they are obliged to Dive from 3 Fathom to 15, being not able to hold their Breath any longer. These Boats commonly go to Sea every morning by break of day, with the Land Winds, and return in the afternoon with the Sea Winds. Those who Equip those Boats, hire both the Divers and the rest of the Boats Crew, at a certain price *per diem*, like as we do our Day-labourers. All the Oister-Shells are

brought ashore, and there laid up in a great heap, till the *Pearl-Fishing* is over, which begins immediately after *October*, and continues all the *November* and *December*, which makes the Oysters smell very strong, and sometimes occasions Distempers. The Pearl-Fishing being over, a wooden House is erected for the Company and the *Nayk*, where each receives his share, the Boats being obliged to Fish one day for the *Nayk*, and another for the Company; and these take care that they be not disturbed in their Fishing, the Governor and two Judges being every day near the Sea-shore, to decide such Differences as arise betwixt them. At last, the Oister-Shells are opened in the before-mentioned House, in the presence of certain Commissioners; every Oister-Shell does not contain Pearls, nay the most are either without any, or have at least very small ones: On the other hand, some Shells contain five, six, seven, nay eight Pearls apiece: Some of these Pearls are found in the Liquor, some in the Flesh of the Oysters, others but few, are fastned to the Shells; of which last I keep several by me. The Pearls being all taken out of the Shells, are put into thin Sifts of different holes, and according to their different sizes are sold to the fairest Bidder: The Pearl-Dust is bought and sold by the *Dutch*. They Stew and Eat the Flesh of these Oysters, but it is somewhat rank and hardy, not comparable in Taste to our *English* Oysters. They give the Pearls a glance by rubbing them with Salt and powdered Rice. Out of the Shells they make a very fine Mortar.

They have two sorts of Pearl-Dust, *Pearl-Dust*, the *Old* and the *New*; The *New Pearl-Dust* is search'd after daily by the Women among the Dirt and Rubbish of the Oysters: The *Old* Pearl-Dust is dug out upon the very brink of the Sea-shore, Dirt, Sand and all, sometimes, six, seven, or eight foot deep; this they let dry altogether in the Sun, and by degrees the Dust being blown away by the Wind, the black Pearl-Dust remains behind, which they bring to those in small Parcells, who have given them some Money beforehand. This Pearl-Dust being the worst of the two, and of no great value, these poor Wretches can scarce get a Half-penny a day for their Labour, a wretched gain indeed, but sufficient to keep them from Starving in this Country.

Besides the Pearl-Oister, they also catch on this Coast certain *Horis* c. *Red of Sash*.

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The PEARL TOUT



FISHERY near
COURYN.



by the Inhabitants, being in shape, round, and thick, and very white; out of these they make Bracelets, and Thumb-Rings, which they make use of in drawing their Bows, being valued much beyond Ivory. This Product of the Sea is found at 8 or 12 Fathom depth, in a Tract of the Sea of about 10 Leagues in length, from the Coast of *Pyramdes Laam* to *Ilha Doce*. They begin to Fish for it in the middle of December till the middle of May, when the Sea hereabouts beginning to be unclear, the Divers cannot without great danger go to the bottom. Among these *Sea-Horns* they now and then, (tho' scarce once in 100 years) met with one they call the *Kings-Horn*, being not to be distinguish'd from the rest, except by the opening, which is on the contrary side; being red within and green without; they are said to Swim before the rest, which follow them like their King; for which reason it is, that the *Kings of Golconda*, and several other *Indian Kings*, are accounted out of one of these Horns, which makes them to be in great Esteem here, especially among the *Jentyves*, who will sometimes give 800 Reals for such a Horn. Whilst I was hereabouts, a certain Fisherman Dream'd that he had taken a King's Horn, which he telling to one of his Comrades, they agreed, that they would go immediately to try, and divide the Booty; accordingly they did, and he who had Dream'd the night before, catch'd a King's-Horn, but refusing to give to his Comrade his share, they went before the Judges, who were obliged to decide in favour of the Dreamer, the other having no witnesses to prove his Bargain. I bought the same Horn afterwards for 170 Reals, and was offered 20 Reals gain immediately after, by one of the Judges. These *Shanks* are sold at a dear Rate at *Bengal*, where they have a way of polishing them, that they shine with a most lovely white much beyond any Ivory; They make Bracelets and other Ornaments of them.

As the Fishing of those Horns is one of the main subsistence of the Inhabitants on this Coast, so, they must be carefully look'd after, that under pretence of Fishing for them, they don't dig for Oysters, for which reason certain People are maintain'd to watch the Coast, remember they once brought up a Moorish Boat belonging to *Kalipapa*, which under pretence of Fishing for Shanks, had been found among the Rocks; when they came before

me, I found upon a strict Examination, that extream Poverty had enforced them thereunto, and so dismiss'd them for that time. Some are of Opinion, That the Pearl-Dust dug on the Sea-shore, has lain there ever since the Isle of *Ceylon*, and the *Maldive Islands*, were torn from the Continent, when the Pearl-Shells were cast up by the Floods here, and opening themselves, were consumed by degrees, leaving the Pearls underground. The Pearl-Dust is gathered by the Men during those intervals, when they can't go a Fishing; but when they are abroad at Sea, their Wives and Children do it in their stead. Abundance of Divers are devoured by the *Sharks*, against which they pretend to defend themselves by certain Incantations, notwithstanding they are Christians.

After I had settled my Accounts at *Toutekoriin*, I prepared for my Journey to *Koylang* cross the Mountains of *Baligate*; and accordingly as I told you, set out the 19th of May 1665. under a guard of some Soldiers, and with an attendance of some Porters to carry my Baggage and Provisions, there being no Inns by the way, and in many Places not the least thing to be got for Money. We had scarce Travell'd a day but were met by a Troop of *Malabar-Robbers*, arm'd with Bows and Arrows ready to let fly at us: They had already laid hold of two Slaves, who were carrying some *Persian Wine*, but seeing the Soldiers ready to discharge their Firelocks among them, they thought it their best way to retire, and finding us continually upon our Guard, quite to leave us. We pass'd that dreadful ridge of Mountains call'd *Baligate*, extending 120 Leagues in length, and is covered with a very fine red Land, which being as light as Dust is in *October, November, and December*, blown by the continual strong West Winds as far as the Isle of *Ceylon*, a Tract of at least 50 Leagues; whence it is probable, that these Mountains are not so high now as they were in former Ages; When the Sun casts its Rays upon this Red-Land, the Reflection thereof appears most dreadful to the Eyes in the Sky, which seems to be all on fire. This high ridge of Mountains does likewise occasion most surprising alterations in the Season; so, that whilst on the Northside of the Cape *Comarin*, it is Winter during the months of *May, June, July, August, and September*; it is Summer at the same time on the Southside of that Cape; on one side you meet with continual

1662.

The Mountain of Baligate.

1662. continual Tempests, Thunder and Lightning, whilst the other enjoys an agreeable and lovely Season. About that time, black Clouds are gathering upon these Mountains, by the Winds, which break out into very hard and sudden Rains, occasioning great Water Floods, by the overflowing of the Rivers, which are oftentimes thereby choak'd up with Sand to that degree that they are rendered unnavigable, for a considerable time after.

Comes to Koylang. Having at last passed the Mountains I arrived the 25th of May at Koylang, whereabouts I found all the Fields under Water; Pursuant to the Orders I had received, to draw the City of Koylang into a narrower compass, and to Fortifie it on the Land-side with one Wall, and two Demibastions, I ordered all the Houses, Churches, Trees, and what else stood in our way to be cut or pull'd down; and 30000 Stones, each of two Foot long and one broad, to be cut out of the Quarries; so that the first foundation of these Fortifications being laid the 1st of July, the same was continued with all imaginable diligence. In the mean while I went in an Inland Bark to Cochín, by the way of Kalkolang, to confer with the Governour Kolsier how to regulate the Factories of Koylang, Kalkolang and Karnopoly, to the best advantage of the Company.

Goes to Cochín.

After a stay of three Days at Cochín, in my return to Koylang, we were surprised by so violent a Tempest, that we were forced to leave the Bark and to get ashore, but the next Day the violence of the Wind being much abated, we prosecuted our Journey to Koylang, where I arrived the 4th Day after I left Cochín.

The War among some of the Indian Kings continuing as yet, it was generally reported, that the King of Travankoor (who was then at Manjessi, tho' the Queen resided at the same time at Koylang) was marching with a considerable Force to attack the Fort of Kalkolang, whereupon I sent our Factor with Letters from our Chief Director Mr. Kolsier to the King, to know the reason of this Enterprize: But he was forced to return without any other Answer, from his Courtiers, than that the King being employed in his Devotions, no body could be admitted into his Presence, till that time was expired, which was likely to hold for some time; However the Army did remain all the time in the former Camp, without commencing Hostilities: In the mean

while I had taken effectual care to provide for the security of Koylang, the Walls advancing apace, and being in such forwardness, that we hoped in a little time to bring them to perfection; This being the only thing that stay'd me at Koylang; for as the time of my Contract with the Company began to come near to a period, I began to make preparations for my return into Holland. But Mr. Jacob Hustart being gone to Batavia, and Mr. Goens put in his place, I happened to have some difference with him, concerning the Government of Tonschoriín, which rise to that height that he ordered me immediately from Koylang to the City of Kolombo in the Isle of Ceylon, leaving Captain Van Reede Governour of Koylang.

The Ashore is to Kolombo.

The Season for Sea-Voyages (which must be exactly observed in these Parts) being then expired, I was forced to Travel for above 60 Leagues along the Sea-shoar, with no small difficulty, there being no such thing as an Inn to be met with whereabouts, or any other convenient Lodgings, unless, you meet with some Charitable Popish Priest or other, who will receive you into his House, most of the Inhabitants along this Shoar being Roman Catholicks, who have here and there a small Church. However after some troublesome Days Journey I came safely to Tonschoriín, where I found the Mary Yacht ready to Transport me to Kolombo, where I arrived the next Day, viz. The 18th of Sept. 1666, I stay'd here above a whole Year; when I resolv'd to go aboard the Brederoo Yacht bound for Batavia, where I landed the 20th of August, 1667; without meeting with any thing remarkable at Sea, I continued for three whole Years at Batavia, without being engaged in the Company's Service, and in 1670 return'd thence into Holland. During those three Years, I had sufficient opportunity to take a full view of the City, both within and without, in which I was so curious, as not only to make draughts of all its publick Structures, but also of such Plants and Trees as grow in and about that City; tho' to confess the Truth, the same could oftentimes not be undertaken without great hazard as well from the Wild-Beasts, as from the Barbarous Javaneses, so that I durst not venture far out of the Town, without a good Guard; But before I proceed to give you a description of the Creatures, Trees, Fruits and Plants, and of the City of Batavia it self, in the

Com. Kolombo

it will be requisite, I should
an Account before hand of the
of this great Island.

It is known generally by the name
of *Great Java*, to distinguish it from the
Lesser Java, otherwise call'd *Bati*, lies
to the S. of the Line, di-
rectly opposite to the South-Point of the
Island of *Sumatra*, from which it is sep-
arated only by the Streights of *Sunda*,
where the same is not above four or five
Leagues over. To the North lies the
Isle of *Borneo*, betwixt which and this
Isle there is a convenient passage for
small Vessels; To the East it has the Isle
of *Bati*, or the *Lesser Java*, from which
it is divided by the Channel of *Balam-
buan*, and to the South by the Main O-
cean. Its length from the Streights of
Sunda to the Channel of *Balambuan*,
viz. from E. to W. inclining however
a little to the S. and N. is about 130 or
140 Leagues; its breadth is very different,
but the whole Circumference is com-
puted at 300 Leagues: The North
Coast of *Java* has abundance of very
commodious Creeks, Bays, Harbours,
and goodly Towns; with many little
Islands, near the Shoar. In former times
the Isle of *Java* had as many Petty Kings
as there were Cities, but now a days it
is divided into two Kingdoms only, the
one of which is under the Jurisdiction of
the Emperor of *Mataram*, the other
under the King of *Bantam*. The first is
in the possession of the Eastern and
greatest part of the Isle, the other of
the Western and lesser part; for since
the Emperor of *Mataram* (call'd also
the Emperor of *Great Java* by the *Dutch*)
had once found means to subdue his
Petty Neighbours, he soon extended his
Conquests all over the Eastern parts of
this Isle: The Emperor who Reign'd all
the time of my being there, was a Young
Prince named *Soujouhounan Ingelaga*, the
Son of *Sulthan Mahomet*.

Unto one or other of these two Po-
tent Princes all the rest are obliged to
pay homage, tho' there be also as yet re-
maining some Petty Sovereignties along
the Sea-Coasts, besides what belongs to
of *Batavia*.

Eastern parts of *Batavia* are
of *Balambuan*, *Panarukan*, *Pas-
joartan*, *Surabaaya*, *Brandaon*,
Tubaon, *Kajaon*, *Japare*, *Pati*,
Samarang and *Mataram*, the
of the Emperor of *Java*. To
near the Sea are: *Taggel*, *Cha-
mayaoon*, *Manukaon*, *Karavaon*
of the Coast of which we

intend to give you a short but exact Ac-
count. About 10 or 12 Leagues from
Batavia is the famous City of *Bantam*,
where the *English* have a Factory; and
a considerable Traffick.

The *Javanese* are a Barbarous, Proud, *Manners*
and fierce Nation, of a brown Colour, and Cu-
with flat Faces, and thin, short Coal-
black Hair, large Eye-brows, and large *Stomachs of*
Cheeks. They boast themselves to be *the Javan-
nese*.
descended from the Ancient *Chineses*,
unto whom they resemble in some re-
spects, having very small Eyes with
large Eye-lids. The Men are very ro-
bust and strong limb'd, and well fitted
for the War; the Women are but small.
The Men wear a piece of Callico wrapt *Their Clo-*
two or three times round their Bodies; *thing*.
People of Fashion have them with Gold
Flowers or Streaks. The Women wear
it from under their Arm-pits down to
their Knees; all the rest bare. They
Marry sometimes two or three Wives,
and perhaps keep divers Concubines be-
sides, according to their Ability. Lying
and Cheating is a daily practice with
them. Those living near the Sea side
are for the most part *Mahometans*, which
was introduced there about 150 Years
ago. In the Inland Countries they are
generally *Pagans*, abstaining from Feed-
ing upon any living Creatures. When
they are to consult about matters of Mo-
ment it is done in the Night time.

The Isle of *Java* is very Fertile, tho' *Its Ferti-*
a great part thereof be not known hi-
therto; It has very high Mountains,
reaching to the very Clouds, witness
the *Pepper Mountain* on the South side
of the Island; It has likewise innum-
erable Forests and Wildernesses. But to
the North betwixt *Batavia* and *Bantam*
is a very populous Country, full of Rice
Fields, and all sorts of tame and wild
Creatures; Hereabouts also is Salt and
Pepper to be found, but not so good as
that at *Malabar*, besides most other sorts
of *Indian Fruits*, which are sold in great
plenty at *Batavia*. They abound also
in Fish, are well stor'd with Hogs,
Oxen, Sheep and other tame Beasts,
the Flesh whereof is of a very good
Taste; Fowl both wild and tame they
have in great plenty; but the Woods
have also large Tygers, Rhinoceros's and
divers other wild Beasts; In the Rivers
you see also often *Crocodils*, call'd *Kay-
mans* by the *Indians*.

The Air or Climate of *Batavia* is in *The Air*
my Opinion as temperate and healthy *and Sea-*
as any place whatever in the *Indies*. *sons*.
The East and West Winds blowing all the

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Year long along the Shore, besides the ordinary Land and Sea Winds. The Seasons of the Year run here in the same manner as in *Europe*, except that the Sun passes twice a Year directly over their Heads; The most agreeable Season begins in *May*, which continues with continual Breezes from the *East*, and a very serene Sky till *November*; When the Winter Season approaching it rains sometimes continually for three or four days without Intermission, which sets all the low Grounds under Water, which however has this Convenience, that it kills and washes away all Insects, which else would prove very obnoxious to the Fruits. This Season ends about *May*, when the dark Clouds beginning to disperse, the Sky assumes its former Serenity; In *December* the *West* Winds blow so violently, that there is no going by

Sea here; In *February* it is changeable Weather, intermixt with sudden storms of Thunder and Lightning; In *March* they begin to Sow, and this Month produces some Fruit; In *June* is the most agreeable time of the Year. In *July* the Sugar and Rice begins to ripen, in *September* it is the best time, and the *October* affords them plenty of all sorts of Fruits. The happy Temperature of the Climate produces such Plenty of all sorts of Necessaries, that there are very few Countries, that can compare with this Island; The pleasant River rising in the Mountains, divides it self into many Branches, and waters the circumjacent Country, and afterwards recollecting its Channels, passes thro' the midst of *Batavia*, (which it divides in two parts) and there exonerates it self into the Sea.



Batavia. The City of *Batavia*, which got its Name many Years ago from the *Dutch* after their first Establishment in those Parts, was first, and is now by the *Javaneses* and *Chineses* call'd *Kalakka*; from the Fruit of a Palm or Cocoe Tree, which grows very plentiful hereabouts; the fruit of which the *Javaneses* call

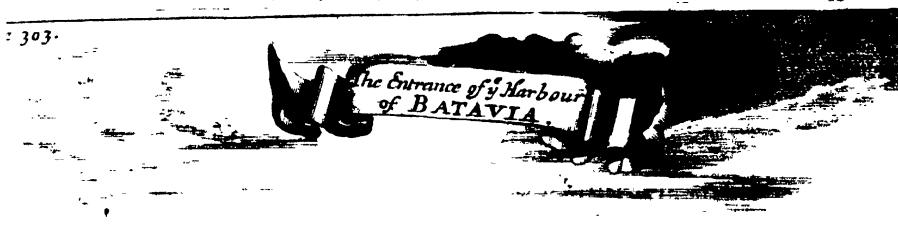
Kalappa. The *Indians* call it *Jariv* likewise from a certain Fruit *Jaccas* by the *Indians*, and *Schrooth* the *Dutch*. Not long before the *Europeans* settled in the *Indies*, was no more than an open Village, inhabited by *Pagans*; At first it was surrounded only with a row of Pallisade

Bamboo Canes, but as it became more populous, the Inhabitants began to wage War against the King of *Bantam*, and some other neighbouring Princes, and that with very good Success. The City of *Batavia* lies at 5. Degr. 50 Min. off Southern Latitude, at the North side of the Isle of *Java* in a large but fenny Plain before it to the South; it is surrounded with abundance of small Islands; and to the North or Land side with Woods and high Mountains. It is divided into two Parts by a River, is of a quadrangular Figure, fortified with a Wall of Stone, and 22 Bastions; the names whereof are, *Amsterdam*, *Middelburgh*, *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Hoorn*, *Enkhuysen*, *Vincennes*, *Gelderland*, *Katzenelbogen*, *Orange*, the New Gate, *Hollandia*, *Diest*, *Nassau*,

Zealand, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Overyssel*, *Groningen*, *Zewburgh*, *Kuilenburgh*, and the Middlepoint. The Ditch underneath the Wall was in the Year 1670, surrounded with a Quick-Set-Hedge of Thorns; It has four great Gates, two whereof are very Stately and Artificially built, by the Famous *John Lifting*, on the South-side; the first 1630, and the other 1657. The third Gate is on the East-side, call'd *Rotterdam*, and the fourth call'd *Utrecht* on the West side. The City of *Batavia* is Situate in a Bay, extending to the East, as far as to the Cape of *Karavant*, and to the West as far as the Cape call'd the *Rough Point*, towards *Bantam*, which lies on the same Shoar, about twelve Leagues from *Batavia*.

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Both within and without this Bay lie about 17 or 18 Islands, upon which the Violence of the Winds and Waves being broken and checked, this renders the Bay of *Batavia* one of the safest Harbours of the whole World, being able to contain above 1000 Vessels at once; Small Vessels and Barks lie commonly close under the Banks of the River, where they may lie without Anchors

in a muddy Bottom; The River is lined with Stones on both sides as far as the Boom, which is shut up every Night at nine a Clock, and guarded by a good number of Soldiers. Besides which, there is cut a Channel out of the main River, for the Reception of smaller Vessels; No Vessel passes the Boom without paying a certain Custom, every Vessel that fetches Salt pays a Real, and

and those that carry Stones two Reals.
 662. The Ditch without the Wall is very broad and deep, and sometimes rises so high, that some of the lowermost Streets without the City are laid under Water; All the Buildings of this City are well contriv'd, most even of the private Houses having handsome Gardens, well planted with Fruit-trees and Plants and Flowers, adorn'd with Pearls, Springs, Pumps, &c.

Streets. All the Streets of this City run in a straight Line, most of them being 30 Foot broad; and on both sides near the Houses paved with Bricks; There are Eight Streets which are all well built and inhabited; among which the Princes Street is the Chiefest, beginning at the middle Point of the Castle, and running in a straight Line to the Town-House, having on each side a cross Street. Next to this is the *Lords-Street*, beginning on the North side over-against the Castle, reaching in a direct Line to the New Gate. The first Cross Street on the East side has got the name of *John Tirmant*, who built abundance of Houses in this Street. The second is call'd the Market Street, opposite to which lies the third call'd the *Petawins* Street; The fourth is call'd the Street of the Hospital; as you come out of the Castle at the first Entrance into the *Princes Street* is the *Princes Lane* on the left hand. These are on the East side of the River; we will now pass over to the Western side; The Bank of which is planted with pleasant Trees, and adorn'd with Houses all in a straight Line as far as the *Diest Gate*. The first Street on this side is call'd the *Gentlemen's Street*, being divided into two Streets by a Gracht, that comes cross it. The second Street comes crosswise thro' this part of the City, beginning at the *Utrecht Bastion*, from whence it has got the name of the *Utrecht Street*. But now we must look back and take a view of the *Burghwalls* or *Grachts* (being Streets with Water Channels in them) of these there are no less than 15 among which the *Tygersgracht* is the most Stately and most Pleasant, both for the Goodliness of its Buildings, and the Ornament of its Streets, which afford a very agreeable Shadow to those that pass along the Street; The Channel is edged and lin'd with Stones from the Bottom, over which are four Stone Bridges, sustain'd by as many high Stone Arches, twelve Foot broad each; beside which, there is a wooden Bridge at one end. The

inward Gracht behind the Carpenters Wharf (where is also the Founding-House) has three Bridges; Next to this is the *Kaymans Gracht* with four Bridges. The first Gracht which runs crosswise, is the City's inward *Burgh Wall*, having only one Bridge; Next to this the *Herb Gracht*, without any Bridge at all. The *Sefons Gracht* extending from the Middle Point directly to the Rotterdam Gate with six Bridges, and the *Inward Gracht* with one Bridge only. These are all the *Burgh Walls* and *Grachts* on the East side; now we must come to those on the West side; The first is the *Gentlemen's Gracht*, with three Bridges; The second is call'd the *Rhinoceros's Gracht*, having likewise three Bridges; The third, is the City's *Inward Gracht*, with three Bridges. The first Gracht running crosswise to the North is the City's *Inward Gracht*; the second faces the Carpenters Wharf, and is call'd the *Javanese Gracht*; and the third is call'd the *Chinese Gracht*, having only one Bridge. The fourth Gracht which runs crosswise, begins at the Bastion call'd *Erieland*, and ends at the New Bridge near the Fish-Market, having three Bridges; last of all the City's *Inward Gracht* with one Bridge. These are all the *Grachts* and *Burgh Walls* within the City, over which are laid 56 Bridges, most of which are sustain'd by large Stone Arches, not to mention here the wooden Draw-Bridges which are over the *Grachts* without the Walls. At my first coming to Batavia I Lodg'd upon the *Tygers Gracht*, so that having sufficient Opportunity to take a Draught of it, I thought fit to insert it here.

Among the publick Building of this City, the Church call'd the *Crosslick* Church claims the Precedency, being built in 1640. of solid Stone; In the midst of the Church stands the Steeple, being exceedingly beautify'd with Iron Work. It has but one Bell, which is only rung before Church-time; The Stone Edgings in the Front of the Church are Artificially Carved, and adorn'd on the Top with *Cherubims*. But time which defaces all things, and the Air, which is much sharper here than in Europe, has in a few Years wrought a considerable change in this magnificent Structure. The Pulpit and Seats of the Chief Men here are very finely wrought and adorn'd with Iron-Work and ebony Wood. The Vestry is of the same Workmanship. This Structure is Lightsome and Lofty, within it adorn'd with five clear Branches of





and Travels to the EAST-INDIES.

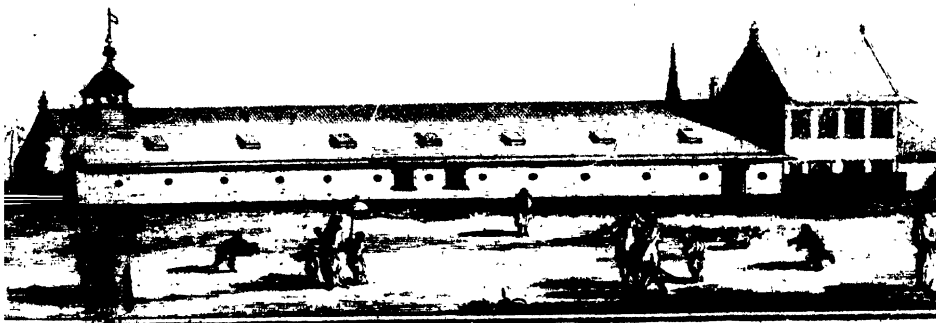
2. brought thither from *Holland*. In the other part of the City, the Foundation of a New Church was laid during my stay there, and before my departure, the Brick Work was almost finished. In the year 1644. there was also a Church built in the Castle of an Octagonal Figure, being very light within, and flat on the top; The Floor covered with well polish'd white and blue Stones neatly done; The Glass of the Lanthorn on the top was of the best kind, and the Pews of the Church Carv'd very Artificially, and made of the best kind of Wood the *Indies* afford.

The *Town-House* stands very near in the Centre of the City, in a spacious Place; being built of Brick in 1652. It is two Stories high, and you ascend into the second by a pair of winding Stairs; The great Gate is exactly in the middle of the Structure, artificially

wrought, of the *Corinthian* Order, over which is a Balcony or Gallery of Stone, into which you enter out of the upper-Hall. When Criminals are to be try'd a Scaffold is erected before the *Town-House*. The Windows of this Building are in proportion very high and lofty, finely glazed, and on the out-side guarded with Iron-work. In this House, the Courts of Justice are kept; Here is the Meeting Place of the *Shepen* or *Senators*, as also of the Masters of the Hospitals, and of the Overseers of other Places; as also of the Court for the Direction of Military Affairs within the City. The inward Court is enclosed with a high Wall, and a double row of Stone-Pillars; here the Officers of Justice have their Habitations; and the Prison-Keeper with his Attendants on the West-end of it. It extends from the *Tygers Gracht* to the *Lords-Street*.

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The HOSPITAL for the SICK.



The Hospital for the Sick stands upon the Bank of the great River, which runs through the City, betwixt the *New-Gate* and the *Dieft-Gate*. Here such as are Sick, and have not where withall to provide for themselves, are entertained and Cured; there being sometimes 200 of 300 to be seen here at a time, who

are all provided with neat Lodgings, Beddings, and other Conveniencies. In the Out-houses, are the Apartments for the Overseers and their Servants, for the Doctor, Apothecary, Surgeon, Minister, Cash-Keeper, Treasurer, and others, who are to keep the House clean, and look after the Sick; all these are

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pleasantly

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plentifully maintain'd by the Company. Besides, those before-mentioned, three Persons of Note belonging to the Company are constituted Overseers, who take their turns every Week, and see that every thing be done as it ought to be, and especially whether any of them are recovered so far as to be fit for Service. Behind it is a Square enclosed with a high Wall, and planted with Trees, which serves for a walking Place, for those who are upon their Recovery; and a Door with a wooden-Bridge reaching a good way into the River, is also made for the taking of the fresh Air of the River. The Minister, who is appointed to visit the Sick, says Prayers every Morning and Evening, when a Bell is rung; Every Sunday there is a Sermon, where all those that are able are obliged to be present.

be Spin-
house.

For the Encouraging of Virtue, and Suppressing of Debauchery in lewd Women, a *Spin House* has been erected here, having no Windows or Prospect but only on the Eastside towards the *Burgh-Wall*, where certain Iron-Rails are made in the Gate, with wooden-Shutters within, which are shut and bolted as often as the Overseer pleases. Here the Women are reclaim'd from their Lewdness by keeping them continually at Work, under the Tuition of a Governess, whose Business is to look after the House, and to set them their Task, which if they miss to perform, they are sure to be Scourged. For the rest, there are two Members of the Senate constituted on purpose for the Government of this House, whose Business is to be present there every Sunday at the Sermon that is held there, for the Reclaiming those lewd Creatures from their ill Course of life: If they commit any Misdemeanour which cannot be corrected by Scourge, they are punished by the ordinary Court of Justice.

Slaughter-
Houses, or
Flesh-
Halls.

Upon the very brink of the River are built two Slaughter-Houses or Flesh-Halls, sustained by wooden Piles, by which means they may with convenience throw the Excrements of the kill'd Beasts into the River. They kill twice a Week, each Butcher having his peculiar Stall, where he sells his Meat, at such a price as the Magistrates shall think fit to set; tho' most of them find means to Sell it as dear as they can. Whilst I was there Beef was sold at the Rate of four pence per Pound, and Pork at the same Rate; but Mutton being most esteem'd was sold dearer. All the Beasts that are to be

kill'd must be Taxed by the Farmer of the Excise upon Cattle; according to which, the Butcher is obliged to pay the Tenth-Peny Excise: But if the Farmer should be Extravagant in his Taxation, the Butcher, who thinks himself injur'd, may Appeal to the general Judgment of all the Butchers, who if they do not agree to the Price set by the Farmer, he is obliged to Tax it himself at his own set Rate.

On the West-side of that square Place which Faces the *Town-House*, is ^{The} certain Structure, in which are sold all ^{for the} sorts of Cloaths ready made, as also ^{Sale of} stuffs, Stuff, and Callicoos, white and painted; besides divers other Commodities exposed to Sale there, by the *Chinifes*. These have here their peculiar Shops, for each of which they pay 2 *Crowns* per month. The whole Building is of Wood, being divided within into 5 Walks or Galleries, having Shops on each side; and many Doors from without, which are kept open day and night, because the Shopkeepers don't put up their Commodities till very late at night, and lay them out again early in the morning, with a great deal of curiosity, to Invite the Buyers to give them a good price, at which the *Chinifes* are very dextrous and quick, so that unless you be upon your guard, you are over-reach't before you are aware of it; however, these little Shops have this conveniency, that you may furnish your self here at an easier Rate, and that all at once, with abundance of small things, which you can't buy so conveniently at the great Shops, where they will not be satisfied with a small gain.

On the Eastside of the *Town-House* is ^{The} a goodly Structure, fitted up for Stables ^{Stab} for Horses, being all of Brick-work without, and provided with Racks, Mangers, and Partitions, and paved with Stones, so that the Horse-Dung may be removed and wash'd away with all imaginable Conveniency. The Place where they Manage their Horses is very airy and well situated, having two Doors, one whereof leads to the *Cities Einn: Gracht*, for the conveniency of Water, and Washing the Horses. In this *Stable* are kept, besides the Coach and Cart Horses, above 100 Saddle-Horses, that are managed daily by certain Persons ^{for} purpose. Their best Horses are *Arabian* and *Persian* Horses, which they Buy here at a high Rate; 200 *Crowns* being a common Price for an indifferent *Persian* Horse, the best being not to be got for Money. It is worth Observation, ^{Thay}



6 6 2. That the *Persians* Train up and Manage their Horses without Blows, whereas our Managers are used to make use of Whip and Spurs, which makes them unfit for the due Management of those Horses. Abundance of Horses are also brought to *Batavia* from *Japara* in the Isle of *Java*; but these are not comparable to the *Persian* Horse: Some of these however are very Tractable, if well handled from the beginning, but many of them are broken Mouthed before they come to *Batavia*: The Natives being used to Ride their Horses with a light Hunting Bridle; they are apt to toss up their Heads when they are rid afterwards with a Curb-Bridle, to prevent which, our Managers fasten a Leather String to the Girt under their Bellys, the other end of which being Buckled to the Bridle, makes them keep their Heads steady.

The Chinese Hospital for sick and Aged Persons.

On the *Rhinoceros's Gracht*, near the Spin-Houfe, is the *Chinese* Hospital for Sick and Aged Persons, built of Brick, divided into convenient Apartments;

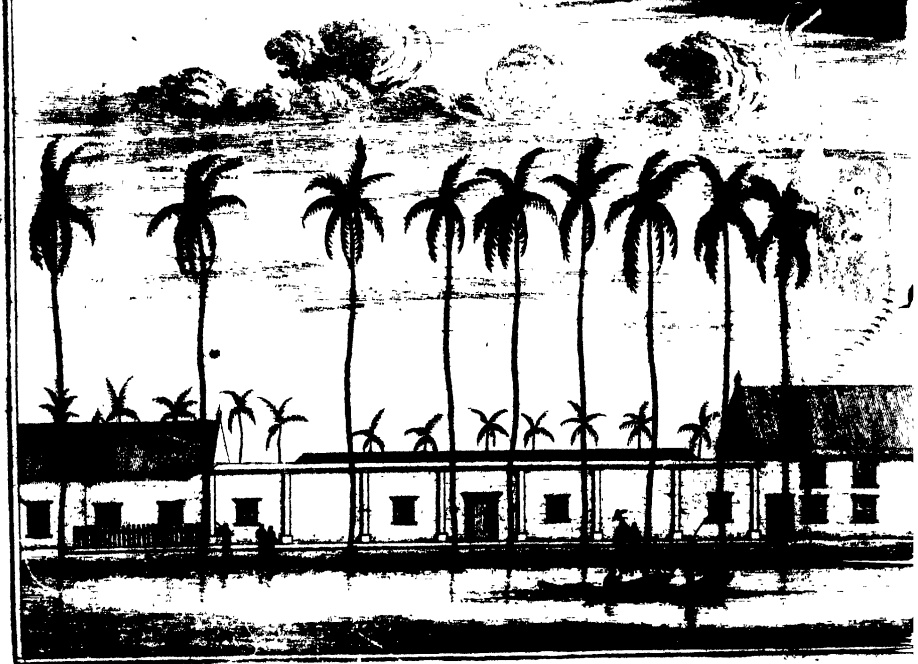
and a pleasant Court to walk in: It was built in the year 1640. In this Houfe, such as are Sick and Superannuated, and have not wherewithall to subsist, are received and maintain'd. For the Maintenance of which, a certain Duty is laid upon Marriages and Burials; as also upon Actors of Plays, Farces, and such like Shews. And as, besides this, many of the rich *Chineses*, either by voluntary Contributions, or Legacies, give great Encouragement to this Houfe: It is provided with a considerable Revenue. The whole Management of this Houfe is committed to two *Hollanders*, and as many *Chineses*, who have a Secretary to keep their Accounts.

At the Extremity of the West-end of the *Rhinoceros's Gracht*, you see the Hospital wherein poor Orphans are maintained and educated, being of Brick, with convenient Lodgings for the Servants of the Houfe: It has hitherto no settled Revenue, being maintain'd by the voluntary Contributions of well-disposed People.

1 6 6 2

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The CHINESE HOSPITAL



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The House
of the Ar-
tisans.

In the East-Corner is the House, wherein are lodged all the Artisans belonging to the Company, as Carpenters, Bricklayers, Gun-Founders, Stone-Cutters, Carvers, Glass-Makers, Turners, Engineers, Seal-Cutters, Pewterers, Painters, &c. all which are disposed into their proper Quarters, under the Direction of three *Hollanders* appointed by the Company. Besides the Slaves belonging to the House, there is also a Surgeon, and a Schoolmaster; the last of which is obliged to say Prayers every night; at which all are obliged to be present under a certain Forfeiture. In this House the Surveyor-General has his Lodgings, which are very handsome, and keeps two Clerks under him. He Oversees the Workmen. In this House also are maintain'd such Criminals as have been Condemn'd to the Chains, who are kept here to hard Labour, and well guarded. Every night at Nine a Clock, the Doors of the House are shut up; and a guard of Slaves is placed to prevent any Disorders, which might happen among so great a number of People of different

Callings. I had for some time my Lodgings in this House; and here it was that I first made the Draught, and afterwards made the Description of *Batavia*. The Wharf belonging to this House, is only fitted for the Building of small Yachts and Boats, such as are used only in the Road for the loading or unloading of Ships: But Ships of Bulk are built at the Isle of *Ormuz*, about a League to the West of *Batavia*, where are considerable Magazines for Ropes, and other Implements belonging to Ships, which are defended by certain Fortifications.

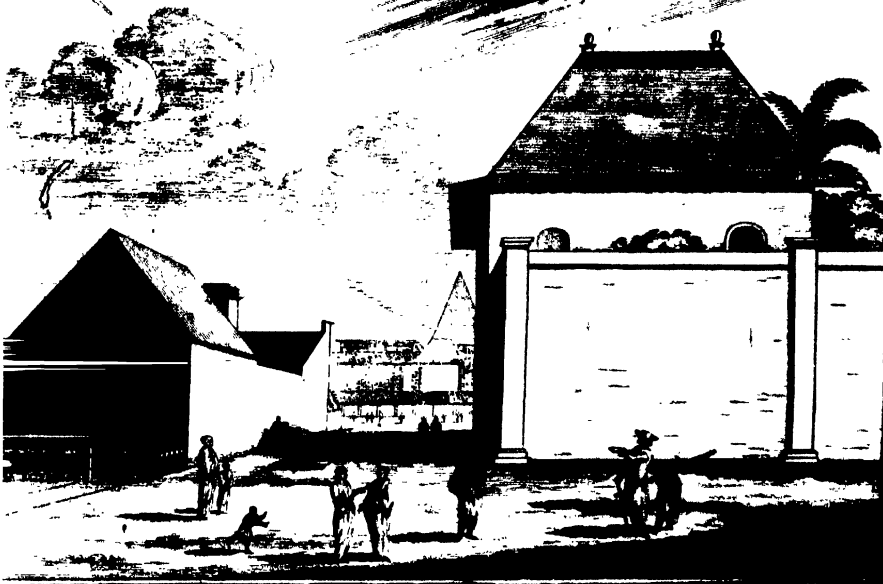
The *Rope-Alley*, where they are employed in twisting Ropes, is likewise in one corner of the City, opposite to the Carpenter's Wharf, being planted with large Nut-Trees, which afford an agreeable Shade to the *Rope-Makers*. A little beyond it to the West, you see the Pack-Houses of the Company, wherein are laid up Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, &c. The Overseer has a goodly Habitation for his own use.

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The Rope
Alley.

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The LODGINGS of the ARTISANS belonging to the COMPANY.



2. Not far from thence, viz. near the Bastion call'd *Amsterdam*, stands the Companies Magazine of Rice, a large Structure, having a Door looking to the Water-side, where Ships may be laden and unladen. It was built in my time 1670, of Brick-work. There is a Square enclosed with a Wall at the *Inward Wharf*, where the Receivers and other Servants of the Company have their Habitations.

1W- 6. The *Prauenhouse*, so call'd from the Word *Praw*, which in the *Malayan* Tongue signifies a Boat or small Vessel, stands upon the brink of the River, for Conveniency of such small Boats, as are built or refitted there; Here several Shipwrights, and a good number of Sea-Men, have their Quarters, the last being obliged to be ready upon call, where ever they are ordered to Row, by the Deputy Governour, under whose Tuition they are. On the East-side of the little Wharff, the Overseer has a small House. Having thus given you an Account, of the publick Structures of this City, with such draughts thereof as time and opportunity would permit us to take, we shall now proceed to the four

Great Markets of *Batavia*, and begin with the Fish-Market.

The Fish-Market is on the Western-side of the Great River, being sustained by strong Wooden-Piles; and covered on top with Pan-tiles. Opposite to it is the Dwelling place of the *Aflager* (or *Out-roper*) where the Fisher Boats are oblig'd to stop, and their Cargo is sold immediately by publick Sale, to the fairest bidder; The Fish-Mongers are generally *Chineses*, each of which has his own Stall, for which he pays two Reals per Month. The *Outroper* pays ready Money to the Fishermen, for what they sell to these *Chineses*, who allow him Two-pence in the Crown, and are obliged to repay it at a set time. Here you may furnish your self with Sea, River, or Shell-fish, according to your own pleasure, from 10 a Clock in the Morning, till four in the Afternoon; when the Fish-Mongers leave their Stalls here, and Sell the Remnants near the Riverside behind the *Flesh-Hall*.

The Rice or Corn-Market is adjoining to the former, or rather oppolite to it at the North-end; being built after the same manner, except that it has no

1662.
The Fish-Market.

Kkkk Stalls



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Stalls or Banks; Here you meet with Grains of all sorts which are sold here, according to the Market Price, by a certain small Measure called *Ganting*, containing about 13 or 14 Pounds of Rice, which is commonly Sold for Six-pence. He that has the over-sight of the Market and Measures, has a House at one end; His business among other things is to set the Mark upon the Measures, and Weights, which is done twice a Year; viz. in *January* and *July*, at the Town-House, in the presence of two *Shepemen* or Aldermen. They pay Two-pence for each Mark.

The Fowl-Market.

Near the *New-Bridge*, as you pass along the River-side to the *Cross-Church*, is the Fowl-Market, where the *Mardijkers* and *Topassen* (a kind of Negro's) sell all sorts of Fowl in great plenty, so that you may buy an ordinary Pullet for Three-pence, but the best sort are dearer. In this Market you see many Hutts, in which they sell dried Fish, Eggs and coarse Earthen Ware.

The Fruit-Market.

The Fruit Market begins at the *New-Bridge*, extending by the River-side, to the *Middlepoint*. Here you meet with all sorts of Fruits and Herbs, Sold by the

Chineses and *Negro's*, who pay the 100th Penny Excise. From four a Clock in the Afternoon till Night, this Market is so crowded with People, that there is scarce any passing in it.

On the *Tygers-Gracht* is the *Latin* and *Greek School*; the back side of it reaching to the *Kaymans-Gracht*, with a lofty Stone-Gate. It has a very pleasant Court, where the School-Boys may divert themselves at certain times. The *Reclor* or Head School-Master has a very handsome House. Besides this School, there are divers other Schools at *Batavia* for the Instruction of Young People in Reading and Writing; in which some of the Natives, and especially the *Topasses* are so ingenious, that they don't give way in that point to any other Nation. What Books are used here, are brought out of *Holland*; but in the Year 1667, a Printing-House has been erected, and several Books have been Printed here with good success.

The Castle is a Quadrangle, Situate in a level Ground, two Bastions of which, viz. the *Diamond* and the *Gabbion*, front the City, one facing the *Tygers-Gracht*, and the other in a straight line thro' the

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Lord-street to the Middlepoint of the
62. Newgate.

On the West-side the River washes the very Walls, being enclosed by part of the City, which lies open on that side; The two other Bastions call'd the *Pearl* and the *Sapphire*, face the Sea; The low Grounds towards the West are well planted with Gardens and Orchards; The Bastions as well as the *Courtins* of the Castle are faced with white Stone from the bottom to the top, and provided with Watch-Houses at convenient distances; The Ditch is very broad and deep; being enclosed, 1669, within a Quickset-Hedge, serving not only for an Ornament, but also as an Additional strength to the place, from whence they Fire with advantage upon an approaching Enemy.

In this Castle the *Dutch* Governour General of the *Indies*, and all the Members of the Council of the *Indies*, residing at *Batavia*, have their places of Residence; As likewise the head Factors, who keep the Accounts, and of what is paid to the Servants of the Company; and the general Book-Keeper, the Secretary of the *Great Council*, the Captain of the Armory, the Physician, Chirurgion, and Commander of the Soldiery; all these I say, besides several others, have their fix'd Habitations here. But the House or rather Palace of the Governour General, surpasses all the rest in Magnificence.

It is built of Brick, two Stories high, yet so lofty that the top of the Roof surpasses in height all the other buildings, and may be seen a great way at Sea; especially the Lanthorn or Turret, which stands in the midst of it, having instead of a Weather-Cock a Ship of Iron, very Artificially wrought. The Door is just in the middle, unto which you ascend several broad Stone-Steps; In this Palace, is the Council Chamber, for the *Great Council* to meet in; and near it the Secretary's Office, and Chamber of Accounts. The great Hall is hung about with bright and well polish'd Armour, Ensigns, Standards and Flags, which have been taken by the *Dutch*, in several Sea and Land Engagements; In this Hall Prayers are said every Night, and here it is that the Governour at certain times gives Audience, to all such as have occasion to Represent their Grievances to him. Behind it are pleasant Walks, planted with Trees, among which a *Tamarind-Tree* of an excessive height, and stand-

ing in the Center of the Garden, affords a most agreeable sight. Out of this Garden you pass thro' a little Gate of the *Courtin*, by a small Bridge to a Summer-House, built upon Piles in the midst of the Water, from whence you have a very pleasing Prospect, not only of the Fortifications of the Castle, but also of the Rivers Mouth, and the Road where the great Ships Ride at Anchor. At the Eastern Corner of this Summer-House is a Door leading thro' a Gallery, to the before-mentioned Chamber of Accounts, which has a flat Roof, convenient Offices, and pleasant Walks belonging to it; The Floor is covered with a kind of Grey-Stone neatly done. In this Apartment, most of the Book-keepers and Clerks are boarded at a certain rate, by the Treasurer.

The Houses of the Members of the *Great Council* are on the South-side of the Castle, the Land-Gate being in the midst of them.

The Armory is built much after the same maner as the Chamber of Accounts; It extends along the East-side of the *Courtin*, having separate Apartments for Sword Cutlers, Gunsmiths, and other Artificers of that kind.

The Governour of the Sea Affairs has his House on the North-side just opposite to it, and on the same side dwell the Factors, Physician, Chirurgion and Apothecary. Hereabouts stand also the Magazines of Flesh, Bacon, Wine, Brumswick-Mum, *Holland* Butter, Oil, Vinegar, and divers other Provisions; And under Ground are made certain Vaults for Gunpowder, and Artificial Fireworks. The Castle has four Avenues and as many Gates. The first and largest is call'd the *Landgate*, built 1636, where you see a Stone-Bridge, supported by 14 Arches over the Ditch; being 26 Rods long, and Ten Foot broad, paved with *Dutch* Bricks set on edge. The *Watergate* faces the North, where is a large Watch-House for the Garrison, and some Apartments on both sides, for the Overseers of the Magazines and Store-Houses.

This was built 1630, according to the Inscription. Besides these, two lesser Gates are in the *Courtins* to the E. and W. which are scarce ever made use of, unless that some Vessels laden with Ammunition, and such like things are generally unladen here. There is a small Plain before the *Rabbit* Bastion, where the new Lifted Soldiers are Exercised and Taught the use of Arms, by an Officer



1662.

many Years ago a Wooden Draw-Bridge was built near the Bastion call'd the *Sapphire*, by which means you may walk all round the City to the Boom, where you must be ferried over.

Before my departure a project was on foot of building a Tower and Steeple upon the *Rabbit Bastion*, making some additions to the *Rosterdam* and *Utrecht* Gates, and to enlarge the City to the E. and N. as far as to the turning of the *Great River*, so that the North-side of the Castle should front the Bastion call'd the *Middlepoint*. Thus far of the City of *Batavia* it self, we will now take a view of its outside.

It is easie to be guess'd at, what moved the Regents of this City to surround it with Forts at such a distance, viz. to the E. as far as the River *Antjol*, and to the W. as far as the River *Anke* along the Bay of *Batavia*, and on the Land-side to the S. by the Forts, *Northwijk*, *Riswick* and *Jacatra*; these serving the Inhabitants of the flat Country, as a Defence against the Incursions of the Neighbouring Barbarians, so that they may quietly enjoy the Fruits of their Labour;

The Country all about this City being well Cultivated, and stored with Rice and Sugar-Reed-Fields, Gardens and Orchards, Country-Houses, Brick and Tile Wharffs and Sugar-Mills, which are of great Consequence to the City. To give all possible encouragement for the Manuring of the Ground, the main Channel of the *Great River* was ordered to be stopt up, 1659, instead of which two branches being made, one leading to *Reswick*, the other to *Jacatra*, these serve to lay the Ground thereabouts under Water, upon occasion. One of these Branches is to the W. brought into another Channel, leading directly to the middle of the City, and being stopt near the second Bridge of the *New-Gate* by a Dyke and Sluce. Here you see seven Mills, one whereof is a Corn-Mill, four Gunpowder-Mills, one Saw-Mill for Wood, and one Paper-Mill, which are driven by the force of the Water; near it the Millers have their Habitations.

Before the Dyke just at the Entrance of the City is the Place, where they Refine the Brimstone; Near this place, 1658, a very strong Sluce was built

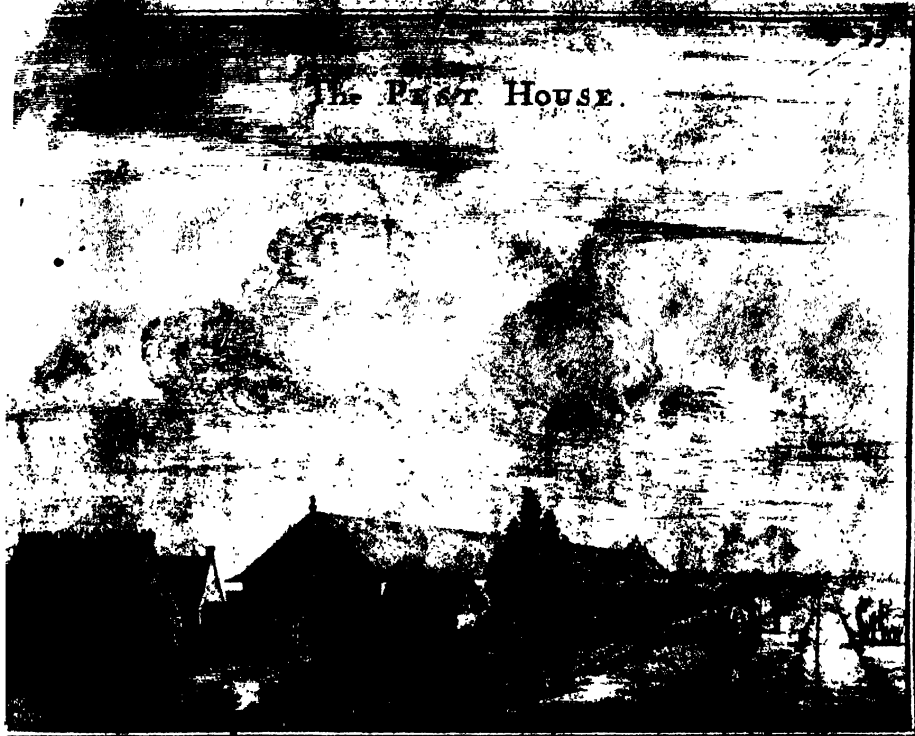
166.

for the Conveniency of bringing Coun-
try Commodities into the Cities with
a little time after, by the force of the
Water.

a little time after, by the force of the
Water.

1662.

The Pest House.

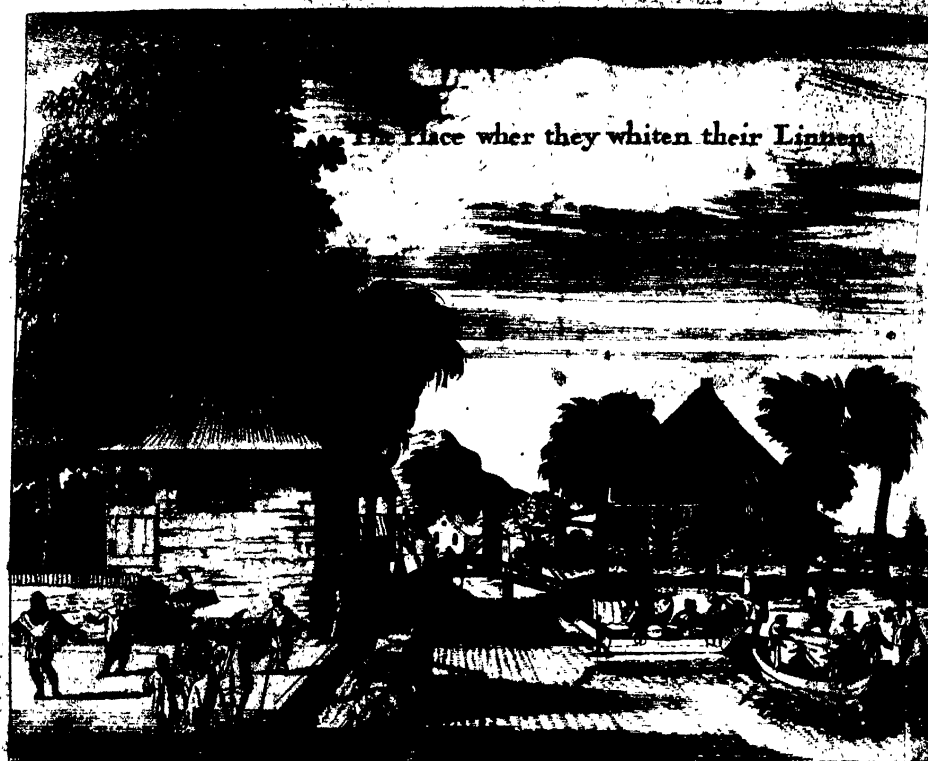


Not many Years ago, a certain con-
tagious Distemper began to rage at *Ba-
tavia*, which proving Mortal to many,
it was resolv'd, (to stop the Infection)
to build a kind of *Hospital* or *Pest-House*,
where such as were seiz'd with this E-
vil, might be provided with Lodgings,
Diet, and suitable Remedies. This
House, which has with it the *Deist Gate*
near the Road to *Arke*, is under the
Government of several of the richest
Citizens of *Batavia*.

By the *East* side of the Dike where
the Mills are, a House was built in 1609.
for the washing and whitening of Lin-
en Apparel, the latter (being carried
thither by Bamboo Canes fasten'd to-
gether. Without the City are besides these
many other Houses Erected partly by
the Company, and partly by the Liberali-
ty of some of the Inhabitants, which I will
pass by in Silence here; and say a word
of two more of their Out-works or Fosts:
All these lie in a flat even Country,
made of Earth, surrounded with Ditch-
es and Quickset-Hedges, except the

Quinquangular Fort, call'd the *Riswick*
and the Fort *Ansof*, both which are fa-
ced with Brick-work. They are all well
provided with great Artillery, and Pro-
visions for nine Months, or perhaps for
a whole Year, as well as the Garrison
of the City of *Batavia* it self. There
is a certain Officer appointed to keep
the Cannon and other Arms neat and
clean, the which being under the Over-
sight of a Captain of the Artillery,
who commands also the Fire-Workers,
and has his Habitation upon the Bastion
call'd the *Diamond*. The Garrison con-
sists chiefly in Foot, there being only a
Troop of Horse, which serves as a Guard
to the Governor General, who are obli-
ged to be upon the Guard in their Turns.
These enjoy great Privileges, are com-
manded by one of the best Officers, and
are obliged to appear every *Sunday* in
their Armour well polish'd, and with
their Pistols, Carabines, and broad
Swords.

The Inhabitants of *Batavia* consist of the Inha-
bitants either of the Citizens, or such as *bitans*.



The Place wher they whiten their Linnen

162. are Servants to the Company, being of divers Nations; among whom the *Dutch* exceed the rest both in Riches and Dignity, most places of Honour and Profit being in their Hands.

Chineses

The *Chineses* drive here a considerable Traffick, being more industrious than any of the other *Indians*; They deal much in Fish, and cultivate most of the Rice, Reed and Corn-fields, some also maintain themselves by Fishing, but the chiefest upon Merchandizing; They Farm the Excises and Customs; but of late years some of the other Nations have found ways to imitate them in their Thriftiness and Coxwings, at which they are great Artists; which I know by my own Experience. They live here according to the Laws and Customs of their own Country, under the Tuition of a *Chinese* Governor, who manages all their Affairs with the Company. They are dress'd after their own Fashion, in a Coat with wide Sleeves, either Callicoe or Silk, according to their Abilities. They don't shave their Heads here according to the *Tartarian* Fashion, as they do now in *China*, but wear their Hair long, and neatly swift-

ed. Their Habitations are settled thro' the whole City, but live for the most part on the *West* side near the *Great River*, and many of them on the *East* side; Their Houses are low, with the Roof cover'd over the first Floor.

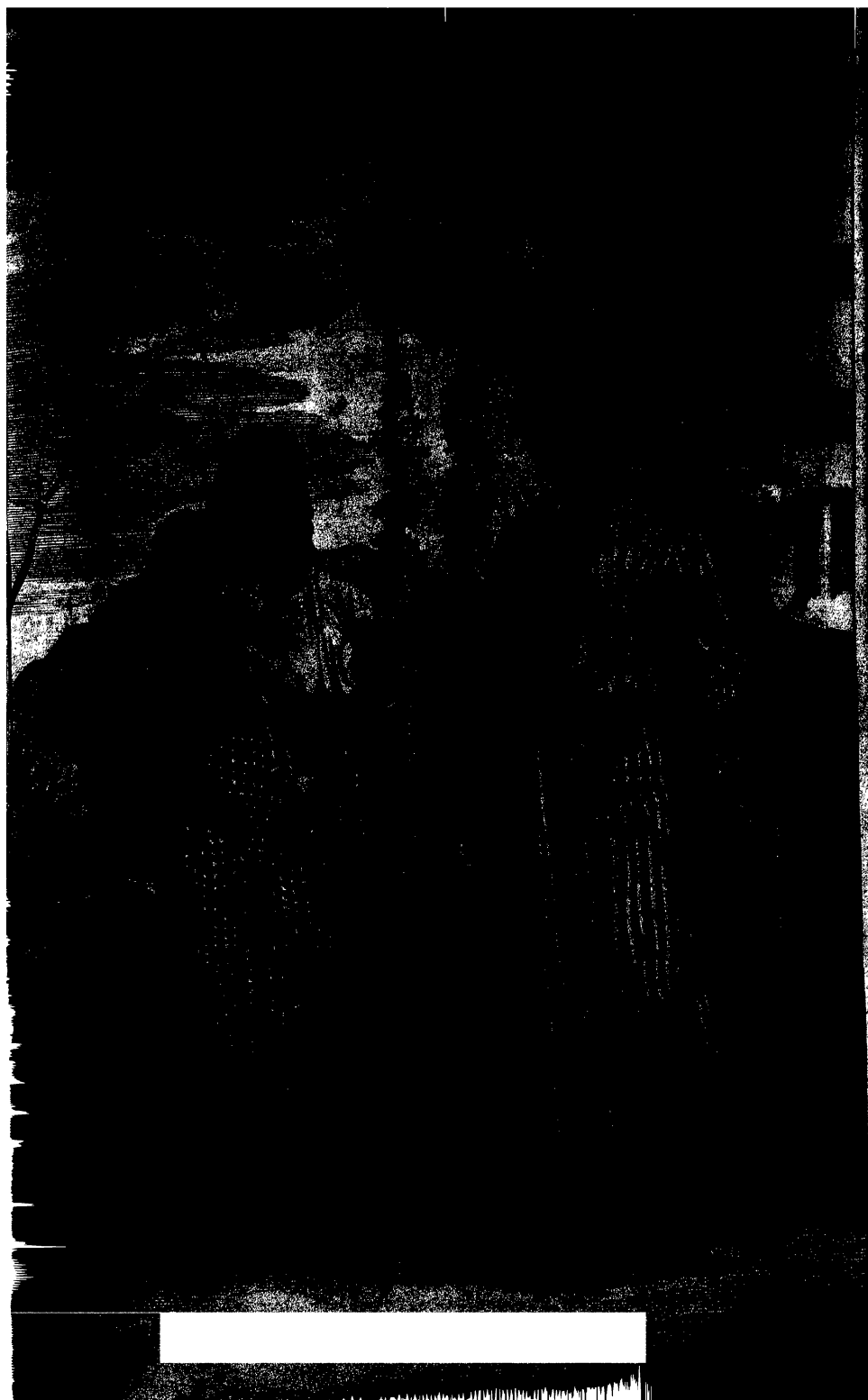
The *Malayans* as they are not so much addicted to Trading as the *Chineses* live for the most part upon Fishing; Their Boats are made after the *Indian* Fashion, with large Sails. They have also a Governor of their own, who lives in the *Rhinoceros's Gracht*, whereabouts most of them have their Dwelling Places. They wear light Callicoe or Silks, tho some of their Women of Fashion use flower'd and strip'd Silk; their Hair, which is very black, they tie behind in a Knot, but the Men wear a piece of Cloth about their Heads. Those few Merchants that are among them, are next to the *Chineses*, accounted the cunningest Traders; The Houses of the *Malayans* are but very indifferently built there, being cover'd with Leaves, and planned round with Coco-Trees. They have a Custom of chewing the *Coco* Leaves continually, and take Tobacco through Sugar Canes lacker'd over with stone Ball.

























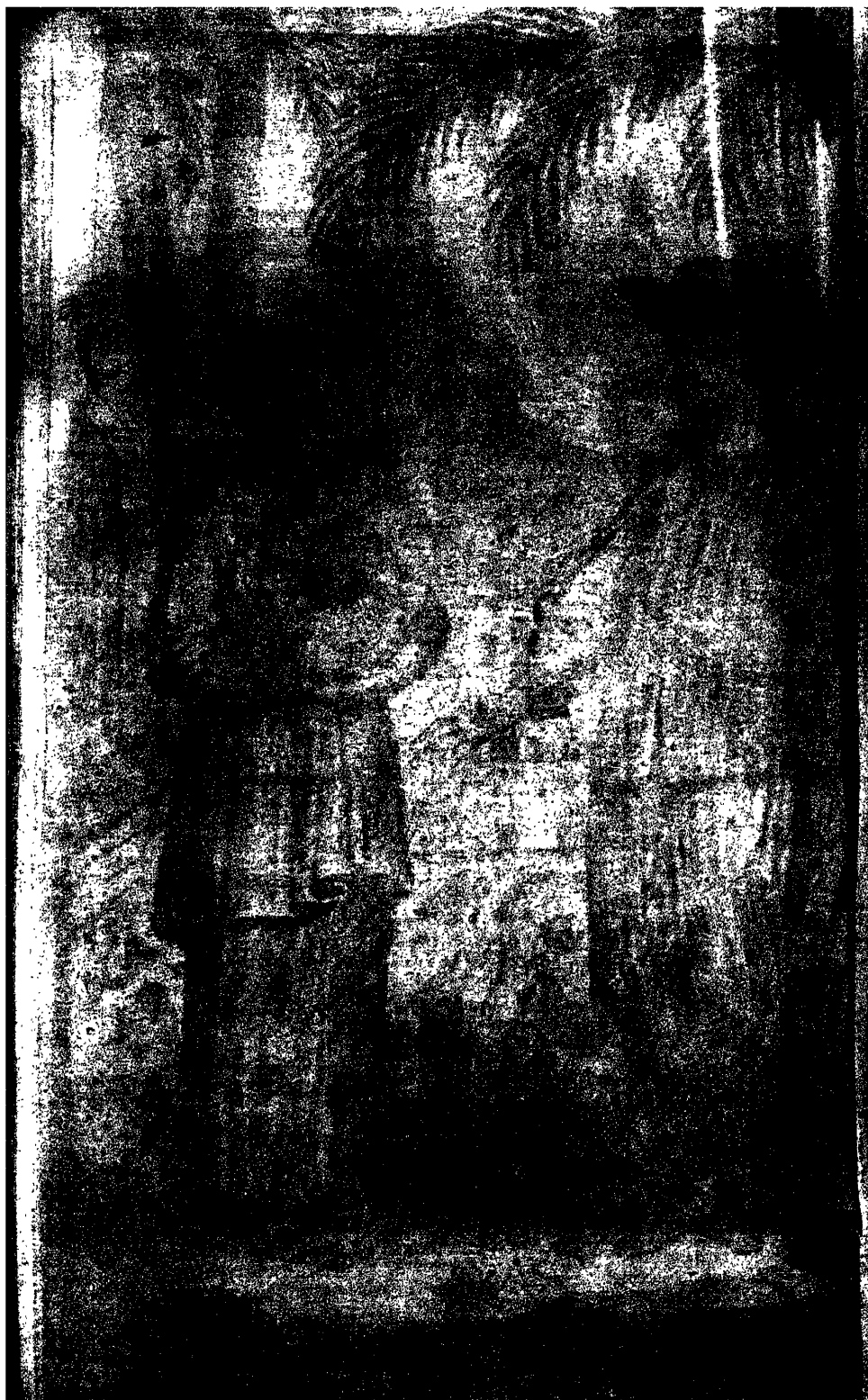






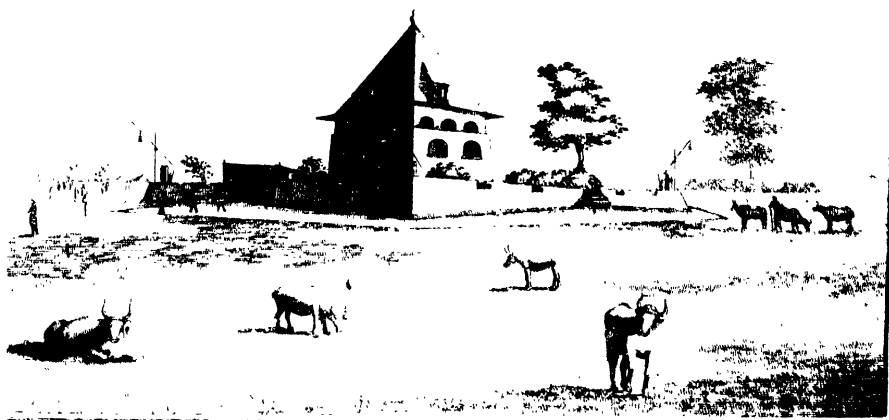






fig 315.

The Fort RYS-WICK.



The *Moors* or *Mahometans* here maintain themselves almost in the same manner, and live near the *Malayans*; some however drive a kind of Pedling-trade, and sell Coral and Glass Beads in the Streets, some have small Stalls in Market Towns. A few of them Merchandise, especially in Free-stone, which they fetch in their Vessels from the adjacent Islands. They are clad after the *Mahometan* Fashion.

The *Amboineses* inhabit a particular part of the Suburbs, on the left hand, as you come from *Jacatra* to the City, near the Burying place of the *Chineses*; Near it their Governor (who has done great Services to the Company) has built himself a stately House, after the manner of the *Amboineses*. They live for the most part upon Carpenters Work, being extremely dextrous in building of Houses of Bamboo-Canes; and have a peculiar way of splitting and twisting of Canes in divers Figures for Windows, which afford a free passage to the Air. The *Amboineses* are a courageous Nation, of a dreadful Aspect, with long black Hair, and much inclin'd to Mutiny; Their chief Weapons are Cymeters, and Shields of an Oval Figure, where-

with they know how to ward a Blow, and to intercept their Enemies Arrows; The Men wear a piece of Callicoe, wrapt several times about their Heads, both ends hanging down, and adorned with Flowers and some other Ornaments. The Women have only a piece of Callicoe wrapt about them, and another piece round their Shoulders, their Arms being left bare; Their Houses are made of wooden Planks, carv'd with Leaves, indifferently high built; Their Dress is like that of the *Moors*.

The *Javanese* inhabit in houses of Bamboo-Canes on the other side of the Burying place of the *Chineses*, some of which are neatly built and cover'd with the Twigs of Coco-trees. Some maintain themselves with Husbandry, and especially with planting of Rice, others with building of Boats, used by the Inhabitants for the carrying of their Commodities to the City; They also go abroad a Fishing, their Boats which are turn'd like Horns in the Figure of a Half Moon, being so nimble, that they call them the *Flying Boats*. The *Javanese* Men go for the most part naked, being only cover'd from the Middle to the Knees; some wear a kind

1662.

kind of a Scarf, whereon they fasten their Swords; on the Head they wear a Cap, but go bare-footed. Their Houses excel in neatness, those of the rest of the *Indians*.

The *Alaca*, or *Topassers* are a mixture of divers *Indian* Nations, call'd *Topassers*, i.e. *Ammoniacs*, because they will accommodate themselves easily to the *Malacca* Customs and Religion of such as

reside in them. They will have second Names from a Precious Stone, such as *Corundum*. They live

thwartwind without the City, the nearest, which being Merchants, visit them for their *Vanilla*, which is

scarcely to be found elsewhere. They live in very rarely Houses,

the rest live upon Husbandry, grafting and gardening, and have some Artificians among them; they have their own Captains, who sit in the Council of War,

and School-Masters, who teach their Children to Read and to Write. Their

Dresses approach near to the *Dutch* Fashion, but their Breeches reach down to their Ankles; and wear a kind of

Caps on their Heads. Their Women are clad like other *Indian* Women.

Their Houses are better built than those of the other *Indians*, generally of Stone,

and cover'd with Tiles, stately built and arch'd. Before their Houses they

plant Coco-Trees, and all sorts of *Indian* Fruits and Flowers, but the Back-

side they reserve for the keeping of Pigs, Pigeons, Fowl and other sorts of Poul-

try, which they bring to sale in the Market.

The chief Arms of the Soldiers of *Alakassar* are certain poison'd Arrows of a Foot long, pointed at one End with Fish

Teeth, and on the other with a kind of hard Wood; when they are to go into the Wars, they provide a good number

of these Arrows dipt a good while before in a poisonous Liquor which they

let dry upon them. This Poison is the Juice, issuing out of the Bark of a cer-

tain Tree growing in the Isle of *Alakassar*, and two or three adjacent Isles of the *Bougiffes*;

It is of the height of a Clove Tree; its Leaves resembling also those of that Tree; the Juice of which

whilst yet fresh is Mortal, and not to be cured by Antidotes. These poison-

ed Arrows the Soldiers of *Makassar* don't shoot out of their Bows, but thro'

Trunks, as we let fly at the Birds in *Europe* with small Earthen Balls;

with these they will hit any Mark within four Rods distance. This Poison is

so pernicious, and penetrates with that Swiftnes thro' the whole Mass of the

Blood, and seizes upon the Spirits, that

the *Makassars* themselves knew no Remedy against it. The most approved

Remedy against it, is *Mans Dung*, which is taken immediately after the Wound is

given, causes a Vomiting, and hinders the Operation of the Poison. I have

known several of our Soldiers cured by this Remedy, tho' some others I have

seen die not long after, they had been wounded, notwithstanding the Use

of it. Some will have seen it cure others after two or three days. In the

Isle of *Alakassar* grows a certain Root, of a bitterish Taste, which is

look'd upon as a great Antidote against this Poison, and is often used as such by the *Dutch*; they chew the Root, and lay it

about the Orifice of the Wound.

The *Timorese* Soldiers or Inhabitants of the Isle of *Timoor*, use Swords of Sandel Wood,

wherewith they can cut a Man through the middle at one stroke: For in this Isle, and the *Molucca*-Islands,

and all along to the S. S. E. beyond the *Tasler Java*, to the 10th Deg. of Southern

Latitude, grow whole Woods of white and yellow Sandel Wood, call'd *Chandava*

by the Inhabitants. The *Timorese* are very Barbarous, but Warlike; formerly they were all Pagans, but of late years,

most are turn'd *Malometans*, and some *Roman Catholics*.

The *Bokjes* or *Bougiffes*, who formerly inhabited divers Isles near that of *Makassar*,

are a warlike People, arm'd with Cymeters, Arrows, and Shields, which they handle with great Dexterity. They

go for the greatest part naked, having only a piece of Stuff about the middle

down to the Knees. The Women are clad like the other *Indians*. After the

Dutch became engaged in a War with the King of *Alakassar*, these *Bougiffes* fixt their Habitations in and about

Batavia, till the event of the War; their King having his Residence near the Out-

guard, betwixt the Forts of *Riswick* and *Nothwick*, the Queen being permitted

to reside within the City; but after the *Makassars* were conquered by the *Dutch*,

under the Conduct of *Cornelius Spellman*, and a firm Peace was settl'd with the

Neighbouring Nations, both the King and Queen had a House assign'd them in the

Lord-Street. This House or Palace extends to the Bank of the River, with

very pleasant Walks, Flower-Gardens, and a most delightful Vineyard, which

in my time, 1676, bore vast Branches of Grapes. The Gate facing the Street is

very neatly built, of the *Ionian* Order, with a Gallery on the top of it, and the

Apartment so spacious, and well contriv'd,





trived that most of the *Indian* Kings and their Retinue might live here.

Among the Foreign Nations residing here, there may, according to Computation, be raised 6720 Fighting Men, viz. 400 *Topassars* or *Malanden* under two Captains, within the City, besides 710 without the City under three Captains, making in all 1110; Of *Regiments* 70; *Amboyne* 600; *Malayans* 201; *Chinese* 1200; *Moor* 200; Of the *Javaneses* in their Quarter within the *New Gate*, 750; Near the Burying Place of the *Chinese* 450; In their Quarter beyond the *New Gate* 800; And of *Bajlans* beyond the *Fort*, 300. That this Island is sufficiently fruitful, and able to maintain its Inhabitants, is evident from the Exportations that are made yearly thence to *Amboyna*, and other Places: 'Tis true, no Wheat grows here, but supposing the Supplies that are brought of that Grain from *Savatte* and *Japan* should be stop'd, the Defect thereof may very well be supplied with Rice. The Chief Artificers here are *Dutch*, most of which live very well, and the *Chinese* have many Carpenters and Bricklayers among themselves, who will work as Journeymen: Their Cabinet-Makers have a way of joining the Wood of their Cabinets, so that the Joints are not to be seen. Others get a livelihood by Selling of *Sugar-Beer*, Cookery, and the Sale of *Smy*, or *Coco-Liquor*, and *Arak* or *Indian* Strongwaters, of which they make Punch, (as the *English* call it) a Liquor that opens both the Hearts and Puffs of the Inhabitants. But the Chief Inns and Taverns are kept by the *Dutch*, who pay as well as all the other Nations, two *Reals* per Month for their License, besides 70 *Reals* Excise of every Pipe of *Spanish* Wine they Sell. The Distillers of *Arak* are most *Chinese*, who pay 5 *Reals* Excise for every Chauldron or Gopper per Month.

The Government of the City of *Batavia* is settled upon the same Basis as in the United Provinces, being administr'd by Six peculiar Colleges or Councils.

The First and Chief is compos'd of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*, in which the Governor General of the *Indies* presides, whose Name was Mr. *Maetsuiper* at that time. In this Council all Affairs of State are transacted: Their Chamber is in the Palace of the Governor, where Audience is given every day to redress the Grievances of the People.

The Second College or Council consists of Nine Persons, besides the President,

who commonly is one of the Members of the Great Council, and is the Keeper of the Great Seal, representing a Woman placed in a Tower, with a Balance in one, and a Sword in the other Hand, with this Inscription; *The Seal of the Council of Justice of the Castle of Batavia*: This College being generally call'd the *Council of Justice*. Here are Debated and Decided all Matters relating to the publick Revenue and Treasury. They also take Cognizance of Differences arising about Customs. The President in Conjunction with the Council has a Voice in the Determination of Civil Causes; and has a third part of all the Fines, but if they exceed 100 *Reals*, he has only a Sixth part. His Chief Business is to take care that no Infrachments be made upon the Prerogatives of the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*. The Secretary is to keep an exact Register of all Things transacted in this Assembly, without any other Reward, but his Salary: He also has in his Custody, the Money which comes from the Fines, of which he must give an account. The Doer Keeper is to attend whilst they are Sitting, and to summon such Persons as are to appear before them: He wears a Stick, and a Silver-Shield on the Left-side with the Seal of the Council. Their Goal-keeper keeps three Tables for the Prisoners; who are to pay half a Real for turning the Key. This Council assembles in the Council-Chamber of the Town House, twice, and sometimes thrice a week.

The Third College or Council, consists of the Aldermen or Senators, choic'd out of the best Citizens. They assemble three times a week, viz. Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, from 7 till 11 in the forenoon. At their Election they are presented with 50 *Escudo's*, and with 100 more every 6 Months. In this Council are determin'd all the Causes betwixt the Citizens, from whom however lies an Appeal to the Council of Justice; if any difference arise betwixt a Servant of the Company and a Citizen, the last must be summon'd before this Court; and no Citizen is oblig'd to appear before the Council of Justice, but must be summon'd before this Assembly first, and there answer for himself. This Council issue their Orders relation to the publick Structures, Bridges, Streets, yet not without the Approbation of the Great Council. The President has the Custody of the Seal, and calls the Assembly together when he

M m m m thinks

1002. thinks fit: He may peruse the Register, and proposes all Matters to the Council: He has a double Voice, and is commonly one of the Members of the Great Council. The *Landroest*, or chief Judge, has in this Assembly a decisive Sentence in Criminal Causes, and is allowed a third part of all the Fines. This Council consists of nine Persons, among whom are two *Chineses*. They have also a Door-keeper, who is called the City Messenger, having a Shield with the City Arm in it.

The Fourth Council consists of the Officers of the Hospital of the Orphans, being chosen out of the best Citizens, except the President, who is generally a Member of the *Great Council*. It consists of Five Members only, three whereof are Citizens, the other two Servants of the Company: Their Business is to provide for the Poor-Orphans, and to enquire into their Condition, and what is left by their Parents.

The Fifth is the Council appointed for the Determination of Matters of less Moment; the President whereof is a Member of the *Council of Justice*. They are to give Licenses for Marriages, and not to permit Men before they are Twenty One, and Maids before Eighteen years of Age, to Marry; nor Mahometans or Pagans to Marry with Christians; nor any *Hollanders* with the Natives that don't understand *Dutch*. They sit twice a Week in the Town-House, where Causes of little Moment are Pleaded and soon Decided.

The Sixth Council of *Batavia* is the Council of War; in which the Chief Officer of the Militia of the City is President. Here are determined all Matters relating to the Militia of less moment, which are brought before them by the City Major; but Matters of Consequence are refer'd to the Determination of the Judge and Court of the Senators. They all meet in the Town-House once a Week.

All these Courts have each their own Secretary, Clerks, and Waiters.

The Ecclesiastical Government.

The Ecclesiastical Government of *Batavia* is administered by the Ministers, Church Gardens, and Overseers of the Poor, who assemble in the Vestry of the Church upon the Summons of their President, who is chosen every Month. The Ministers being chosen in, and sent hither out of *Holland*, are Confirm'd here, and live in great Esteem among the Citizens.

Batavia, the Capital City of all the *Indies* under the *Dutch* Jurisdiction, has been frequently attempted by the Natives, or *Javaneses*: For, no sooner had the *Hollanders* in 1618. (after the taking of *Jakarta*, unto which they gave the Name of *Batavia*) erected a Fortress here, but the Natives being encouraged by the *English* of *Bantam*, endeavour'd to drive them from thence. To effect which, the *English* persuaded them to erect a Redoubt or great Battery, upon which they planted their great Guns, from whence they play'd so furiously upon the *New Bastion* of the *Dutch* Fort, that they were not able to bring it to perfection. *John Peterfon Koen*, the *Dutch* Governor, having thereupon call'd together a Council of War, it was resolved, That to hinder the further Progress of the Enemy, they should make a Salley the next morning by break of day, in order to attack the Redoubt, and the Quarters of the *Chineses* and *English* at the same time. Accordingly our Men were divided into three Troops, commanded by *Peter Van Brock*, (afterwards Governor-General of the *Dutch Indies*) *Peter Van Duks*, and *Peter Van Rey*, with these they attack'd the before-mentioned Posts at once. The *Javaneses* fought bravely at first; but seeing the *Hollanders* persist in the Attack, resolv'd either to Die or overcome, they retreated, leaving their strong Hold to the Enemy, who destroy'd all their Work in a few hours. But being sorely gall'd by the Fire of the City, they had not the same Success at the new Redoubt erected by the Enemy near the River side; so, that having endeavour'd, but in vain, to make a Breach there, they were forced to retire with the loss of 15 Men kill'd and 10 wounded. Besides this Redoubt, the *Javaneses* had another Battery raised in the midst of the City, which being mounted with heavy Cannon taken out of the *English* Ships, did also considerable mischief to the Belieged; who were day and night at work in raising Batteries, and putting their Fortifications in a State of Defence, whereas the Enemy being much Superior in number, had had time enough to provide themselves with all things for this Enterprize. In the mean while, the *Hollanders* made a second Attempt upon the Redoubt near the River-side, but were repulsed with the loss of 7 or 8 of their Men, and a Lieutenant, whose Head the *Javaneses* carried in triumph on the top of a Lance. The *English* then living at *Bantam*, would have avenged

revenge'd themselves upon the *Dutch* Inhabitants there, for the Damages their Countrymen had received at *Batavia*, had they not been prevented therein by the *Pangerang*. Whilst the *Dutch*, who were not above 240 Fighting Men strong in the Fortrefs, were thus defending themselves against some thousands of the *Javanefes*, (besides the *English*) an *English* Squadron of 11 Ships appear'd in the Road of *Batavia*, coming from *Bantam*; whereupon the Governour of the Fort, having recommended the Defence thereof to *Peter Van Broek* the Deputy Governour, he went on Board a Man of War with an Intention to Engage the *English*, but finding himself too weak, left what Ammunition he could spare in the Castle, and so set Sail for the *Molucca* Islands, being pursued for some days by the *English*, but to no purpose; who after their return, came again to an Anchor in the Road of *Batavia*. Thus the *Dutch* were attack'd both by Sea and Land, yet did not lose their Courage, but defended themselves with so much Bravery, that the Enemy thought fit to offer a Truce, to Settle as they pretended the Preliminaries of a Peace.

Hostages being exchange'd on both sides; the *Dammagon* or Prime Minister, the K. of *Jacatra's* Brother, demanded the Summ of 4000 Crowns from the *Hollanders*; which he said they had forfeited according to Agreement, for having attack'd the *English* without the King's Leave, and 4000 more for the letting them finish the *New Bastion*, which they said was not comprehended in the said Contract; After many Debates and Contests, certain Articles were at last agreed on, which the *Dutch* (who wanted Ammunition) were willing to sign; But the *English* finding those Conditions against their Interest (the *Dutch* being thereby permitted to remain in the Possession of their Fortrefs and Habitations at *Bantam*) found out the following Trick to break off the Treaty; They so far prevail'd, First with *Peter vander Broek* the Deputy Governor of the Fortrefs, that he came out to meet the King of *Jacatra* at an appointed place, but no sooner appear'd there, but he was taken Prisoner, with those few that attended him, and laid in Irons; being threatened with present Death, unless he would prevail with those in the Fortrefs to Surrender it immediately; But finding the Garrison resolv'd to defend the Place, the *English* brought more of their heavy Cannon a-shore, in order to

batter it with the utmost Fury; At the same time they dragg'd the Deputy Governor loaden with Irons, and a Rope about his Neck to the Walls of the Castle, threatening him once more with immediate Death upon the Spot, unless the Garrison would prevent it by an immediate Surrender; The Deputy Governor was so far from being overcome by the fear of present Death, that on the contrary, like a brave and faithful Commander, he exhorted them to defend the Place to the last Drop of Blood, which so exasperated some of the *Javanefes* and *English* that stood near him, that they threw him backwards by the Rope, and so dragg'd him back to the Council, all which he took patiently, and with so undaunted a Courage, that some of the *English* being ashamed of so barbarous an Action, afterwards begg'd his Pardon. By this time the *Dutch* having spent all their Ammunition, and quite tir'd out with continual Labour and Watching, without any Hopes of present Relief, saw themselves under an indispensable Necessity to surrender the Place under Condition, that the Garrison and Castle with all the Artillery should be deliver'd to the *English*, and the Merchandises, Money and Jewels to the *Javanefes*; It was Sign'd the First of February 1619. by *Wyndirk Bana* King of *Jacatra* and the *English* chief Commander on one side, and by those in the Fortrefs on the other side.

The *Hollanders* being now upon the point of delivering themselves and the Fortrefs up to their Enemies, a sudden Accident robb'd the *Javanefes* and *English* of all their Hopes; For the *Pangerang* of *Bantam* had no sooner notice of this Capitulation, in which he had no Share, but he order'd his *Dammagon* or chief Minister to march with a Body of 4000 Men to secure the *Dutch* Deputy Governor, and the Castle with all that was found in it for his Use. Accordingly he marched with all Secrecie to *Jacatra*, and meeting with the King in his Apartment, put his Dagger to his Breast with these Words: King, Surrender your self Prisoner, or expose your Quarter, which so terrify'd the King, that he comply'd not only with his Demands, but soon after retir'd with the Queen into the Mountains, without ever being heard of since. The *Dammagon* of *Bantam* having taken the Deputy Governor into his Custody, summon'd the Fortrefs to Surrender, which thoserefus'd to do, except upon the be-fore-

1662.

Bravery of the Dutch Governor of Batavia.

1662 fore-mention'd Conditions, which the *Bantameses* refusing to agree to, and the *English* in the mean while (seeing they were like to be disappointed in Aim) beginning to reimbarck their Cannon, thro' Connivance of the Besieged, these finding their Enemies at variance about the Booty, began to take fresh Courage, and having in several Attacks bravely repulsed the *Javanese*, were now so confident of maintaining the Fort, that they gave it the Name of *Batavia*; Thus Matters stood when on the 25th of *March* 1619. their so long look'd for Relief, consisting of 17 Men of War, under the Command of *John Peterson Koen* came from the *Molouque* Islands in the Road of *Batavia*: Within a few days after, they landed 1100 Men, divided into 12 several Bodies, and edged on with Revenge, attack'd the City of *Jacatra* with incredible Fury, the *Javanese* defended themselves with great Obstinacy for some time, but no longer able to endure our Fire, they left their Entrenchments, and look'd for their Safety in an open Flight, being closely pursu'd by the *Dutch* who gave no Quarter; This happened the 30th of *March*, 1619. which day is yearly Celebrated here in Memory of this great Action. This done, *Mr. Koen* sail'd with the Fleet to *Bantan*, demanding the immediate Restitution of all the Prisoners; the *Pangerang* being at first unwilling to grant his Demand, he began to thunder with his Cannon into the City, which soon terrify'd him into a Compliance. The *English* seeing themselves now quite out of all Hopes of accomplishing their Design, by the coming of the *Dutch* Fleet, made the best of their way thro' the Strait of *Sunda*, and those of *Bantan* finding themselves forsaken by their Confederates, thought it most convenient to give over their Project.

The *Hollanders* having now their hands free, and seeing the Situation of their new Fortrefs in so Fertile a Country, near a very advantageous Bay, capable of containing 1000 Ships with Safety, resolv'd and gave immediate Orders for the building of the City, under the Cannon of the Fortrefs; the adjacent Islands furnishing them with sufficient Stone and Mortar; and what else was requisite for this Undertaking, being purchased from the neighbouring Confederates. But the *Javanese* not being able to brook the Rise and Encrease of this new City, the *Mataran* (or *Javanese* Emperor) 1629. laid close Siege to it with 12000 Men,

16 under the Conduct of the Prince of *Madure*; and being advanc'd with their Works within Musket Shot of the Walls, they made several furious Attacks in the Night time, but were as often repulsed by the Fire of the Besieged, who besides this, made frequent Sallies, and ruin'd their Works, without giving them leisure to repair them. The *Javanese* being resolv'd to try all means to reduce the Place, stop't the Current of the great River with Piles ramm'd into the Bottom, behind which they threw all the dead Carcasses of Men and Beasts, which not only infected the Water, but also the Air, which occasion'd Distempers among the Besieged, who were forced to drink Salt-water for a considerable time, till at last by continual digging having found some Springs of tolerable good Water, they began to refresh themselves with less Danger and more Ease. The *Javanese* finding also this Design to prove unsuccessful, had recourse again to Force, and the Second of *October*, 1629. made a general Assault on the South side of the City, Relieving their Troops continually with fresh Men, but were repulsed bravely without any considerable Loss of the *Dutch*. At the same time they assaulted a small Outwork or Tower call'd *Maastrand-Waerburgh* defended only by 15 Men, who defended themselves courageously, as that they were attack'd. At last having spent all their Powder and Ball, they went to work with the Tiles and Bricks of the Castle within; The *Javanese* being sensible of their Want, advanced to the very foot of the Walls, and having found means to bring a great Rope round the Building, were endeavouring to pull down the Tower; But the Besieged seeing themselves in Extremity, made a furious Sally upon the *Javanese*, who thought not fit to stand the Shock, but soon retreated to their Entrenchments; except a few that were slain upon the Spot. The first of *November*, 1629. about six Hours after Sunset, the *Javanese* set fire to their Camp in three several places, and march'd off with all imaginable Secrecie, after a Siege of three Months and three Days. No Booty worth mentioning was found there, but 800 Men miserably murdered all on a Spot; a miserable Spectacle! occasion'd as we learn'd afterwards by the haughty Courage of the Prince of *Madure*, which happened thus: During the first Siege of the Castle of *Batavia* the Emperor of *Mataran* having sent a Body of Troops under the Command

Batav
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of one of his best Officers to the King of *Jacarra*, and the same returning unsuccessful, the Prince of *Madure* spoke slightly of the matter, telling openly at Court, That if he had been sent with such Troops, he would have carried the Castle or dy'd in the Attempt. The *Materan* being inform'd thereof, and resolv'd to try his Fortune against *Batavia*, gave the Supreme Command of his Army to the said Prince, tho' proving unsuccessful, just as he was ready to march off with his Troops, was order'd to be slain with all his Followers, to verifie his own Words (as he said) that he would either carry the Castle or perish in the Attempt.

The *Javanese* lost above 30000 Men in this unfortunate Siege, notwithstanding which, those of *Bantam* in the Year 1655, had a mind to try their Fortune against the *Dutch*; who meeting them in the open Field, this occasioned many Skirmishes, in which the *Javanese* commonly had the worst; so that being pretty well tired with the War, and hearing of the approaching Succors from the *Molucca* Islands, under the Command of *Arnold Olamng*, they thought it their best way to come to a Composition with them, since which time they have not thought fit to come to any Rupture; but maintain a good Correspondence with those they know are able to cope with them; especially since they have strengthened their City with divers considerable Outworks and Forts.

The Fort *Ansjol* on the Sea side, the Fort *Aake* to the West side; and on the *Quinquangular* Fort, the *Riswick*, *Northwick* and *Jacarra* on the Land side. The Fort *Aake* is built 1200 Rods from *Batavia* to the East, near the Sea side just by the Lime-Kills, and faced with Stone. The Fort *Aake* lies about 500 Rods from the City, more towards the Land side, being also a free quadrangular Figure; Hereabouts live abundance of Farmers along the River, the Grounds being very fertile here. Near it is the *Pest-House*. The Fort *Jacarra* stands upon the Bank of the River, not above 500 Paces to the North-East of the City; from whence there is a streight and pleasant Walk thither; Planted on both sides with Gardens and Orchards. The *Chinese*, *Amboin* and some other Foreigners have their Habitations hereabouts. The Fort of *Northwick* lies to the North of the City near the River, betwixt that of *Jacarra* and *Riswick*.

Without the City, many of the Citizens have very pleasant Gardens and Houses. Upon the great River without *Batavia* you see a House belonging to Captain *Burghs*, built flat on the top after the *Indian* Fashion, being surrounded with all sorts of *Indian* Trees. Upon the Brink of the River is a pleasant Summer-House. Without the City, near the great River, stands another House belonging to a rich Citizen call'd *Strantwick*, belonging formerly to Mr. *John Matznicker*, Governor-General of the *Dutch* Indies: It is very airy and pleasantly built, with a very fine Front, the Gardens being well-stored with Trees and Flowers of most sorts.

Without the *New Gate* in a Grove of very pleasant Trees, you see the Tomb of a *Chinese* Governor, named *Sequa*; being no more than a heap of Earth raised above the surface of the Ground, and enclosed with Brickwork, plaistered white all over: In the midst you see a Table, and upon it a Cup, into which the *Chinese* put sometimes Money, sometimes Victuals, to appease the Manes of the deceased.

The Grounds about *Batavia*, and indeed of the whole Isle of *Java*, are extremely fertile in all sorts of Fruits the *Indies* afford; but what is most surprising, is, That divers Plants, which in *Europe* grow on small and tender Stalks, rise up here very thick, and with hard Stalks; whereas on the other hand, divers sorts of Beans and Flowers grow in *Java* upon Trees. The Soil about *Batavia* is so rich, that the Seeds brought hither out of *Holland*, *Persia*, and from *Suratte*, thrive extremely and yield plentiful Fruits.

Holland Cabbages, if Sown in due time, and well look'd after, come here to a good Perfection; but if neglected, they will not Cabbage. Provident Nature seems to have been careful in abundance of Astringent Plants for this Climate, where the Bloody-Flux, and other Distempers occasioned by the Gall, are so frequent. Of Trefoil or Clover, they have great store here; and in their Gardens, Porcelain, Asparagus, Endive, Lettice, Bekabung, Water-Cress, Parsley, Radishes, red and white Beetes, and such like: The Radishes grow longer and better tasted here than in *Europe*, and there is a certain kind of them shorter but thicker than the rest, which are Boil'd like our Turneps. The *Chinese* Pickle Radishes, and use them to create an Appetite to their Victuals. Here also

1662.

Chinese Tomb.

Trees, Plants, and Flowers of Java.

Fruits of the Earth.

also is found a certain kind of *Mandragora*, called *Bella dona* by the *Italians*, in great Request among the *Indians* in Burning Fevers; They Pickle it in Vinegar, and Eat the Fruit roasted in the Ashes as a Disert.

Vines. Vines are very plenty and good here if well cultivated; whether, or by whom the Vines have been transplanted hither is uncertain, there being no mention made of it in the Journals of the Voyages made into those Parts since the year 1595. They grow very luxuriously upon the Walls of the Houses of *Batavia*, which bear Fruit in a manner all the year round, provided they be Pruned in due time; for 14 days after they are Pruned, the Buds come out, which in 14 days more stand in full Blossom, and in two months longer produce ripe Grapes; so that every Vine brings forth ripe Grapes every three months, and consequently four times in the year. But they don't thrive so well without the City, whether the Lands be too low, or not sufficiently purged from the Salt-Petre, I will leave to the Enquiry of others; since it is certain, that Vineyards would be of prodigious consequence to the Inhabitants; there being Vines here, who bear Grapes, each Bunch weighing 16 or more Ounces; and there are some Grapes as big as the *Spanish Muscadine* Grape.

Blue-Beans. All along the Roads about *Batavia* grows a certain Plant among the Woods, with small Branches not unlike the Hops, which spread very plentifully upon the Ground, or will rise up to a good height on Stalks like our *French Beans*, having Leaves like our *Rose-Trees*. The Flower comes forth out of a Bud as large as our ordinary *Roses*, pointed at the end; they are of a lovely Sky blue colour, and yellow in the middle, but the Fruit being rank, is not regarded.

Indian Garden-Herbs. The *Indian Beets* grow in the Gardens of *Batavia*, their Leaves being not unlike our *Sorrel* Leaves, with a pale Vein through the middle: They bring forth Pursley Flowers on green Stalks; some are white, others a mixture of Purple and Green. The Leaves and Stalks when boiled, are in Taste like the *Indian Bajam*: All sorts of Garden-Herbs are in great Request among the *Indians* here, because most of the *Indian* Foreigners that come from *Surat*, and the Coast of *Coromandel*, feed for the most part upon Fruits of the Earth, for believing the Transmigration of the Soul, they will not Eat the Flesh of any living Creature; for which reason also they abstain from red Beans, or

Herbs of a red colour, as having a resemblance to Blood; and for the same reason it is, that the *Indians*, tho' otherwise very Ignorant, yet are very well versed in the Knowledge of Plants and Trees. The *Malayans* call all Pot-Herbs or other Eatable Herbs, *Seir*; but Medicinal and Poisonous Herbs, *Oubar*. About *Batavia* are to be found divers sorts of Pot and other Garden Herbs; as red and white *Beets*, *Parsley*, divers sorts of *Lettices*, *Dill*, *Fennel*, *Asparagus*, &c. And of Fruits of the Earth, *Water-Melon*, *Pomponies*, *Cucumbers*, *Citruls*, &c. And of Pulse, all sorts of Beans and Pease, which grow up to a great height on Stalks or Trees.

The Fruit call'd *Fokky-Fokky* by the *Indians* is shaped like a Pear, sometimes near a yard long, and of the thinness of a Man's Arm: It contains abundance of small Seeds, the Rind being thin, but so smooth and bright, that you may see your Face in them like as in a Looking-glass: The Leaves are green, but rough, and as it were covered with a hairy Substance: They grow up to a good height. This Fruit is one of the best and most esteem'd of all the *Indies*, being of a delicious Taste; and when Boil'd with Wine and Pepper, not unlike our *Artichoke-Bottoms*. They are frequently Eaten both by the *Dutch* and *Indians*, instead of the *European Turneps*, being look'd upon as very nourishing and easie to be digested; besides, that by their Diuretick quality they are good against the Gravel and Stone. There is another wild kind of *Fokky-Fokky*, the Fruits whereof are round, and when ripe, turn yellow, but these are only Food for the Hogs.

In the Plains of *Java* grows a Tree, the Fruit whereof the *Malayans* call *Jamboes*, and the *Dutch*, *Sloes*, or *Small Plumbs*: This Tree resembling in all respects unto our *Sloe*, or wild *Plumb-Tree*; The Fruits being also of an astringent, but not disagreeable Taste: The Fruit when ripe is yellow, and the Juice thereof mixt with *Champana* and *Rose-Water*, is used against the Inflammation of the Throat. The Juice taken inwardly is good against the *Bloody Flux*, and other bilious Distempers. Thus this Juice of the *Indian Fruit Jangomas*, is equivalent in its Virtue to the *Acacia* of the *Antients*, or to our *European Sloes*.

In the Isle of *Java* only, viz. in the Woods near the Shore of the Streight of *Sunda*, grows wild, a certain Fruit, call'd *Cebebes* and *Quabeb*, by the *Arabians*;

Kubbe by the *Javanefes*; and by the rest of the *Indians*, except the *Malayans*, *Kubab Sini*, i. e. *Chinese Kubebe*, not because it grows in *China*, but because it is transported thither in great quantities. The Tree which bears this Fruit is both in Leaves and Branches not unlike to our Apple-Tree, but somewhat lesser. The Fruit is round, smaller than Pepper, of a dark brown colour, and if pinch'd with the Nails, will emit a certain Liquor like unto the Cloves. This Fruit is in so high an Esteem among the *Javanefes*, that they will not permit them to be transported, unless they are Boil'd beforehand, to prevent their being transplanted into another Place. They gather some of them before they are ripe; These are light, with a rough Rind, within which is a small soft and whitish Kernel. When they are ripe, the Rind is smooth, have a bigger Kernel, and are much heavier than the others. Before they are quite ripe, they have an Aromatick, biting, and bitterish Taste, and when chew'd offend the Brain: But the ripe ones are neither so sharp nor so bitter, and don't send so much of their offensive Vapours up to the Head. they are reckon'd hot and dry in the third degree; are good to Attenuate the Slime in the Stomach and Breast, expel Wind, and correct the cold Symptoms of the Womb. Chaw'd with Mastick, they draw the Phlegmatick Humours from the Head, and strengthen the Brains. They are in great Request among the *Javanefes* and other *Indians*, who steep them in Wine, and take them to raise their Appetite to Venery, and to Warm the Stomach. Three or four Chaw'd, disperse the Vapours which occasion Giddiness in the Head; but care must be taken to Spit out both the Phlegm and *Cubebes*, and to keep the Nostrils close while you are a Chawing, that so the Smell and Scent of them may penetrate with the more Efficacy, and affect more immediately the Head.

The *Javanefes*, *Malayans*, and other *Indians*, use very frequently for the relishing of their Sawces, a certain Drug called *Hin*, by the *Arabians*, *Alut*, and by the *Europeans*, *Asa-fatida*, by reason of its ill Scent. This Shrub, out of the Root of which this Juice is express'd, grows in *Persia*, betwixt *Gamron* and *Lava*. * is of two sorts; the first is not un- like our *Oster*, out of the Leaves and Sprigs of which is squeez'd the *Hin* by a Press, and the Juice afterward coagulated in the Sun: The second sort is

much stronger and worse scented, being the Juice express'd out of the Root of this Shrub. This Juice, and that of *Anfion* or *Opium*, are two of the chiefest Commodities the *Dutch Trade* in the *Indies*. Our *East-India Ships* bound to *Java* and other *Indian Ports*, do always carry a considerable quantity of this Juice from *Persia*, which they Exchange with the *Javanefes* for such of their Country Commodities as they have occasion for.

Both great and small *Cardamome*, (as the *Arabians* call it) called *Mul'gnetus* by the *Indians*, grows likewise in the Isle of *Java*. The small *Cardamome* grows on a Stalk with small Joints, like Reeds, the Leaves being also like theirs) and grow in Clusters like them; but the *Cardamome* seldom grows above two or three foot high, and the Leaves rubb'd betwixt your fingers, emit a very odoriferous Scent. From the Root first sprouts forth in Ears like the *Spicknard*; the Flowers being of a pale colour, not unlike the *Orange-Flowers*. After those come certain Husks, which contains these well-scented Seeds, which are green, but in time turn of a dark Vermilion colour. The *Cardamome* is a most excellent Spice of extraordinary Virtues; having an agreeable heat consonant to our Nature, without leaving any heat behind it, which is the reason that it is Chaw'd without any addition. It promotes Urine, and the Monthly Terms of the Women; opens the Obstructions of the Spleen and Liver, and procures a Sweet-Breath. The great *Cardamome* grows plentifully in the Woods of *Java*; the Flowers grow on the Stalk like the *Hycinth*; it differs from the small *Cardamome* in divers respects: It grows to the height of six foot, the Leaves are larger, and the Stalks not knotty like the Reeds. The small *Cardamome* sends forth an Ear from the Root; and the Husks are sometimes a Finger long. However, the Leaves and Flowers are of the same Scent in both; but the Leaves of the great *Cardamome* are not only much larger, but also covered with a Lamina on the under side. This Shrub is very pleasant to behold, of a light green colour, with white Flowers tipped with Purple red at the Extremities.

The Plant called by the *Malayans* *Monti Bebek*, i. e. the *Ducks-Beak*, from its shape, grows in the Gardens of *Java* on a somewhat longer Stalk than the *Cardamome*, being a sempervirent Herb; the Leaves also differ from those

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1662. of the *Cardamome*, being carved or edged in the circumference. The Inhabitants use the Juice of this Herb against Pustules and other Exulcerations, of a bilious Nature; and steep in Vinegar, it is a good Remedy against the *St. Anthony's Fire*; The *Malayan* Women lay it upon the Heads of their Children, to corroborate the Brains.

Indian
Sorrel.

In the Isle of *Java*, and adjacent Islands, grows an odd kind of Sorrel, having no resemblance to the *European* Sorrel, growing up to the height of six foot, with a strong, hard, and three corner'd Stalk not unlike the Hemp; the Leaves being also not unlike those of the Hemp, beset with sharp small Prickles. The Flower has but one single Leaf of a pale yellow colour, but of a Purple colour below. The Leaves Chaw'd have the same Taste as our Sorrel, but are more oily: The Seed is Thorny like that of *Carduus*, and of a cooling and drying quality. The *Malayans* Eat this Herb among their Sallads; They also take the Leaves, and after they have mixt them well with the Saw-dust of Sandel-Wood upon a Marble-Stone, and a little Cocoe-Oil and Vinegar, make a Cataplasm of it, which they apply to the Head to Cure the Tooth-Ach, proceeding from a hot Cause.

Benzoin-
Tree.

In the Isle of *Java* grows likewise the Tree, out of the Bark of which, after an Incision made, flows that well-scented Gum called *Benzoin* or *Benjuin*, being a Shrub or Tree spread into many Branches of the thickness of a Man's Arm.

Nardus.

About *Batavia* grows a Plant in great plenty, called *Nardus*, most in request among the *Javanese*, who used it in their Fish and Boil'd Meat Sauces, to give them a relish. They steep the *Nardus* in Vinegar, and make a Syrup of it with Sugar, which is esteem'd a good Remedy against the Coldness of the Bowels, and opens the Obstructions of the Spleen and Liver. This Vinegar and Syrup Cures also the Stings of the Serpents and Scorpions, if applied outwardly and taken inwardly at the same time.

Amfion,
or Opium.

Amfion or *Amfion*, as it is called by the *Indians*, and *Opium* by the *Europeans*, is nothing else but the Juice of Poppy's, much used by the *Javanese* and other *Indians*, especially when they are upon the point of engaging their Enemies. The *Amfion* is a very useful Drug to the *Indians*, without which they would be at a stand how to Cure many Distempers in this hot Climate, as the Bloody-Flux, Burning Fevers, and such like Dis-

tempers proceeding from the Gall. The poorer sort of the *Indians* Boil the Leaves and Sprouts of the *Amfion*, out of which they make a slighter sort of *Opium*, by coagulating the Decoction called *Pouff*.

The Fruit called *Pyzang* or *Indian Figs*, as also *Bachovees* from the *Portuguese* *Pyz*, Word *Bakovia*, are called *Pyzang* or *Banana's* by the *Malayans*, *Gedars* by the *Javanese*, *Thio* by the *Chinese*, by the rest of the *Indians*, *Oncelli*, by the Inhabitants of the Isle of *St. Thomas*, *Oncella*; and by the *Arabians*, *Maus* and *Muza*. The Stem or Trunk of this Tree grows up in long oval Scollops to the height of 20 or 30 foot, in six months time; its circumference being of four foot, but so soft, that you may cut it with a Knife like a Cabbage Stalk. It spreads its Branches very loosely, and bears Leaves, some of which are a foot and a half broad, and five, six, or seven foot long; green on the uppermost side, but dark on the other side, with a thick Vein through the middle. The Fruit has an Ear, the Stalk a yellowish brown, is very pleasing to the sight, and shap'd like a Cucumber, turning at the Extremities towards one another as they hang on the Tree: Before they are ripe, they are of a Parrot-green colour, but when come to full Perfection, yellow both in and out-side. When the Fruit is fit to be gathered, the Stem is cut down to the Ground, and the Fruit, which is green as yet, taken and hung up in the House, where it ripens and turns pale-yellow in a few days. The Rind is so thin, that it may be taken of without a Knife. Neither the Tree nor Fruit produces any Seed, but a very handsome Flower of the bigness of an Ostriches Egg, which sprouts forth on the top out of large Budds, and opens its Leaves by degrees. Whilst the Stem has Fruit enough to nourish, the Leaves fall of one after another: Out of the before-mentioned Knot or Flower comes forth a Branch, on which grows the Fruit in a Cluster, sometimes one or 200 together; so that sometimes one Branch is as much as a Man can carry, and each Stem or Trunk brings forth no more than one Cluster. There are divers sorts of these Figs, distinguish'd by the Inhabitants, by different Names, Shapes, and Taste: and they put them to various Uses: some have a way of drying them in the Sun, when they Taste as pleasantly as the *Portuguese Figs*: Of this kind I tasted at *St. Anthony*, one of the *Salt-Islands*. The

ions, but on the outside like the *Ananas*, or Pine-Apples. The Fruit is green at first, but after it is gathered and ripened yellow: It has a thick Rind, covered with a kind of three cornered thorny *Lamigo*, but don't prick. Within this Rind you have certain Divisions like as in a Honey-Comb, which contain certain Kernels or Chestnuts larger than Dates, enclosed in a yellow Pulp, which is Eaten. The Kernel is generally of the bigness of a Joyn of a Man's Thumb, and two of them be sometimes found in one of these Fruits if it be of the largest size; some are yellow, others white within; the harder, the sweeter they are. The Fruit is of an agreeable Scent, yet of a rough Taste, and if Eaten raw, create Winds; but Roasted like Chestnuts, are well-tasted, and a Provocative to Veneri, for which reason they are frequently eaten by the common People. If you eat too much of this Fruit, it inflames the Blood, produces Loosenesses, Exulcerations in the Bowels, and Bloody Fluxes. In short, this Fruit is very unwholesome by reason of its Lusciousness, and is commonly evacuated by Stool just as it is eaten; the Pulp about the Kernels being so tough, that it is scarce to be manag'd with the Teeth; The Kernels are eaten boil'd by the Inhabitants with a little Salt instead of Rice. Of this Fruit there are two sorts; One is call'd *Barka*, and is the best, the other *Papa* or *Girasol*, which is softer than the other; as you may perceive by pressing it with your Fingers. They grow all over the *Indies*, but those of the Isle of *Ceylon*, and the Coast of *Malabar* are the best; I remember that the Queen of *Signari* presented me with one, which was of so delicious a Taste, that I could meet with none afterwards like it.

The Flower
Siampin.

This Flower is call'd by some the Flower of *Camboja*, because it was transplanted from thence to *Batavia*, tho' others look for its Original as far as *China*, whence it is call'd *Pakjaboa*. It grows all about *Batavia* in the Gardens, on knotty Trees, which grow sometimes twelve Foot high. It bears no Seed, but thick oily Leaves, white on the Extremities, but a pale yellow towards the Stalk; some have red Spots on the upper side. The Flower sprouts far at the Ends of the Twiggs, in a broad Knot, which produces several Flowers, the Scent whereof is like our *May* Flowers, but stronger and not so agreeable. The Leaves of the Stem are long, poin-

ted at the End, green and full of Veins; The Wood is grey; and near the Top where the Flower Buds out, surrounded with many young Sprigs.

The Flower call'd *Katsiepiri* by the *Malayans*, *Korban* by the *Javanese*, and *Micuboa* by the *Chinese*, grows in the Gardens of *Batavia*, the Tree being not unlike a Palm-tree, but somewhat higher, and with larger Leaves. The Flowers sprout out of pale green Buds, are well scented with thick, oily and snow white Leaves, with yellow Seeds in the Middle. This Flower is in great Request for its pleasing Scent, being sold sometimes for Two Pence a piece.

The Rice-flower is call'd by the *Portugueses* *Fulo di Arroz*, by the *Malayans* *Boingo* *Pisfa Pria*, and by the *Javanese* *Pella Sidanga*, all in the same sense from its Scent, which is like Rice, when it comes boiling hot out of the Pot. It grows on a kind of Vine, which spreads its Branches like our Vines, with very fair broad Leaves, like those of the Quince Pear-tree; and are as green as a Leek. The Branches grow so thick that the Sun cannot penetrate them, being supported by Bamboo Sticks. The Flower has single white Leaves, streaked with white within, and in the middle a pointed Sprout, surrounded with small Buds.

The Apples call'd *Pompons*, by the *Dutch*, *Jamboe*, by the *Portugueses*, and *Thoe* by the *Chinese*, grow scarce any where else in the *Indies* but in the Isle of *Great Java*, especially in the Gardens of *Batavia*. This Tree is produced by no other ways than either by laying off of the Branches, like as we do our Vines, or from the Seed of the Fruit; The first bears Fruit the second Year, but the Tree which comes from the Kernel or Seed does not bear till the third or Fourth Year. The Apples are of a Gold Colour without, and some of them Red within; their Taste being not unlike our Cherries. Some are white and somewhat sweeter; They are very like Oranges, both in and out side, except that they are five times as big, some weighing Ten or Twelve Pounds, and being Ten or Twelve Inches in Circumference, so that one Apple is sufficient for two or three at a time. They grow in Clusters four or five together on thin Twigs supported by *Jamboe* Canes, without which they would either break or hang down to the Ground. The Tree also grows like the Orange-tree, except that the Branches are somewhat thicker and closer, and the Leaves

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broad. The Blossoms have white Leaves, with a yellow Seed within being of the bigness of our Apple Blossoms; The Fruit continues almost all the Year round, and after it is gathered will keep four or five Months. It delights in a fat Soil, and the Ground must be kept clear of Weeds near the Stem.

Most and the best of the *Indian Fruit* some continue throughout the whole Year, except few, among which that are call'd *Mangas* by the *Javanese*, and *Pao Ampelan* by the *Malayans* is one; The Trees which bears this Fruit are sometimes as tall, thick and well Spread as the largest Oak Trees in *Europe*. The Flowers which are white, sprout forth of certain small Twigs growing on the Branches, which produce such vast plenty of Fruit, that when they begin to ripen, they are forced to support them with Sticks. Their time of gathering is chiefly in *September* and *October*; tho' less or more they continue throughout the Year, but not in such plenty, and most of the Trees bear Fruit, but every other Year. The Fruit is something larger than a Plumb; green at first, but when ripe of an Orange Colour; some are spotted, and being of the same Colour on the inside are very pleasing to the Eye, but somewhat crabbed in Taste; The Inhabitants make divers Relishing Pickles of them; They boil them in a certain Pickle, and make them as good in Taste as the best *Portuguese Olives*; Others are Pickled with Vinegar and green Pepper, and are used with roasted Meats like our Pickled Cucumbers. They are also Preferred with Sugar for the use of the Women; They have another way of taking off the Rind and the Kernel, the space of which they fill up with Sugar, Butter and Eggs, and so make a delicious Dish of them, very pleasing both to the Palate and Stomach. The Fruit, if eaten any great quantity after it is ripe is very unwholesome, but moderately used, is good against the Bloody-Flux. The Tree is produced out of the Kernel; and does not bear till some Years after, neither does it bear Fruits for several Years before they die.

The Fruit call'd *Mangostan* by the *Malayans* and *Manges Tanges* by the *Java*, carries the Bell before all the other *Indian Fruits*, for its agreeable Taste. It grows chiefly about *Bantam*, and in some places of *Malacca*. The Trees which bears this Apple, grows no higher than our Plumb or Mulberry-tree,

having a freight Stem of the bigness of a Mans Calf of the Leg; with a rough Bark, its Branches growing up like those of the Clove Tree; Both the Leaves and Branches affording a very agreeable Sight. The Apples hang at the Extremities of the small Twigs, each being cover'd with two Leaves, of two Palms in Length, having abundance of Veins; they are somewhat of a pale Green on the out side, but light Green on the inside. This agreeable Fruit comes forth from a pale green Bud, which opening produces the Blossom, and these the Fruit. On the Top of the Apple is a kind of a Coronet, which opens as soon as it begins to ripen. The several points of this Coronet has so many Marks, to direct you how many Kernels are contain'd in the Apple; which are sometimes Six, sometimes Eight; but those which have the most Kernels, are generally the best. The Fruit has a very thick Rind, not unlike our Granate Apples, of a Purple Colour without, and whitish on the inside; Its Taste is somewhat Crab-like, not unlike the Rind of the Granate Apple, and somewhat inclining to bitter; The Pulp which is round the inward Kernels, is sometimes white, sometimes inclining to red; being exceeding pleasing to the Palate, and not unwholesome for the Stomach, notwithstanding its cooling Quality, it being scarce ever known, that any Body forfeited himself by the eating of this Fruit, a thing otherwise very common to the cooling Fruits of the *Indies*. These are accounted very proper even in Agues, and have towards the Bottom about the Stalks three or four different Rinds or Shells. These are brought in such vast quantities from *Bantam* to *Batavia*, that you may buy many of them for Sixpence; and I have seen several of them in the Gardens about *Batavia*, one whereof bore Fruits very plentifully, which makes me believe they would thrive very well hereabouts.

As far as I remember, there is scarce any kind of Fruit Trees in the *Indies* which casts its Leaves so as to remain bare except this Tree, which as well as the Fruit is call'd *Katopper*. The Tree grows up very tall, with thick Branches and Leaves, which afford a very plentiful Shade; It is in all respects like an Elm-tree, except that its Leaves are above a Palm in length and very narrow, with yellow Veins. The Stem of this Tree is very strait, out of which come forth

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forth the Branches one above the other in due order. The Fruit grows in Clusters on the Extremities of the Twiggs with the Blossom, which are small white Flowers with a yellow Seed, and many green Buds not open'd yet, near them; The Fruit is enclosed in a hairy Substance, which turns yellow, and shrinks as it ripens; within which is a hard Shell, which contains commonly one, and sometimes two Kernels. These are as sweet as Almonds, being not unlike them in Shape, and are eaten and used otherwise like Almonds; The Shell is so hard that you can scarce crack them with your Teeth. There are divers sorts of them; some having a pale red Shell, which are bigger, others a yellow one.

The Javanese Rottangs.

The *Javanese Rottangs* grow in those Country's wild; And are different in their kind; Some would have them to be a kind of Reed, because they grow sometimes with Knots or Joints; whereas otherwise they have no resemblance either in the Stem or Leaves to the Cane or Reed kind. This grows so fast, and twists its self sometimes so close up to the very Tops of the highest Trees, that they die for want of Air. They are much used in the *Indies*; However the best walking Canes are brought from *Japan* and *Siam*. They bear also a kind of Fruit, of a brown Colour like our Earth-Nuts, with a very thin Rind, containing two Kernels, which are white but of an unpleasant Taste, and therefore scarce ever eaten, except a small portion thereof next to the Rinds which is well tasted. The *Chineses* make divers sorts of Pickles of this Fruit; in the nature of the Pickled Olives; and draw an Oil from them which is very good to heal Wounds.

The Tree and Fruit Anrac.

The Tree and Fruit call'd by the *Portugueses* and *Dutch Anrac*, is call'd *Sarborosia* by the *Malayans*. It grows in divers places of the *Indies*, to the height of an ordinary Apple-tree, with rough Leaves, green at first, but turn brown as the Fruit begin to ripen, and grow directly opposite to one another, like those of the Tree *Gojovai*, but are not so broad. It bears no Blossom, the Fruit coming forth of Buds like the *Portuguese* Figs; which has a rough Rind, with pale green Knots, not unlike the Pine-Apple, it comes to full Maturity in three Months time, when it is gathered, and kept till it grows soft, that it may be broken with ones Hands; within it resembles a rotten Medlar, being

full of Seeds: and the Pulp of so agreeable Taste, that one can scarce be satisfied with it. The inhabitants make many Incisions in the Bark, to make the Tree bear the better, as we say of our Walnut-trees, when the Twiggs are well beaten whilst they are gathering the Fruit. There is another sort of these Figs call'd *Atanoane* by the Inhabitants which are lesser, as is likewise the Tree, which rather resembles a Shrub, with narrow Leaves, but above a Palm in length. The Fruit is of the bigness of a *China Apple*, yellow and shadow'd with an Orange Colour, but white within, with brown Seeds; They are much more luscious, and when cut open emit a Scent like Rose Water, being accounted very comfortable to the Brains, and therefore held in great Esteem. This Fruit likewise sprouts forth out of long green Buds; which opening, contain another round Nut or Bud, which produces the Fruit.

The Date Trees grow in great plenty in *Persia* near *Gomron*, and delight much in Sandy Grounds. Some of these Trees have of late Years been transplanted to *Batavia*, of which I saw a young one in Mr. *Peter Moeth's* Garden, the Draught of which I have inserted, but whether it will bear Fruit time will shew. The Date Trees continue in their full Vigour for many years; they have, like the *Coco-trees*, very small Roots, and the Trunk is thicker near the top, than towards the Root. The Pith of the Tree is accounted excellent good to encrease Sperme, and an Appetite to Venerie, and the *Persians* about *Gomron* are so fond of this Fruit, that they eat it at their Meals, as we do Bread, or the *Indians* Rice. The Dates hang in yellow Shells on the Trees, being of a delicate taste, especially if eaten green. There is a Male and Female Date-tree; the last of which bears Fruit only; they differ also in this, that the Female has a thicker and longer Stem, but the Blossom is the same in both, and shoots forth in a great Bunch or Cluster on the top of the Tree, of the thickness of an Arm, which opening after some time produces the Flowers, and those the Fruit. The *Persians* cut off this Knot from the Male Tree before it opens, which they cut into divers pieces, one of which they put into the Knot of Cluster of the Female Tree, (which they have a way to open) pretending thereby to make the Tree bear greater plenty of Fruit.

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62. They have many Stories of the Male and Female Trees, tho' not worth the inserting here.

ter-
ons, or
kas. The *Water-Melons*, called *Batiek* by the *Indians*, as also *Patekas* or *Pateko*, grow almost in all the Countries betwixt the two Tropicks of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*; yet the nearer to the Equinoctial Line, the better they are, and continue in vigour all the year round, except in the height of the Rainy Season. Some are white without, as at *Batavia*, but the red ones are the best; They have a thin green Rind, which is soft and tender within. The Pulp is bright, and so tender as to melt in ones Mouth like Sugar. The Seeds are black, not unlike our *Pompon* Seeds; The Plant creeps with its Stalks and Leaves along the Ground like the *Pompions*, and at their opening resemble our *Cucumbers*. The Fruit is sufficient for four Persons to feed upon; and is, among all other Fruits that are Eaten raw, the most pleasant and harmless, though you Eat ever so much of it. However, moderately Eaten they are best, when they are very refreshing, and acuate the Stomach; whereas in too great a quantity they are obnoxious, and may occasion the Bloody Flux: They grow best in Sandy Grounds.

have seen some of them in the Gardens of *Holland*, but the Fruit has a watery Taste.

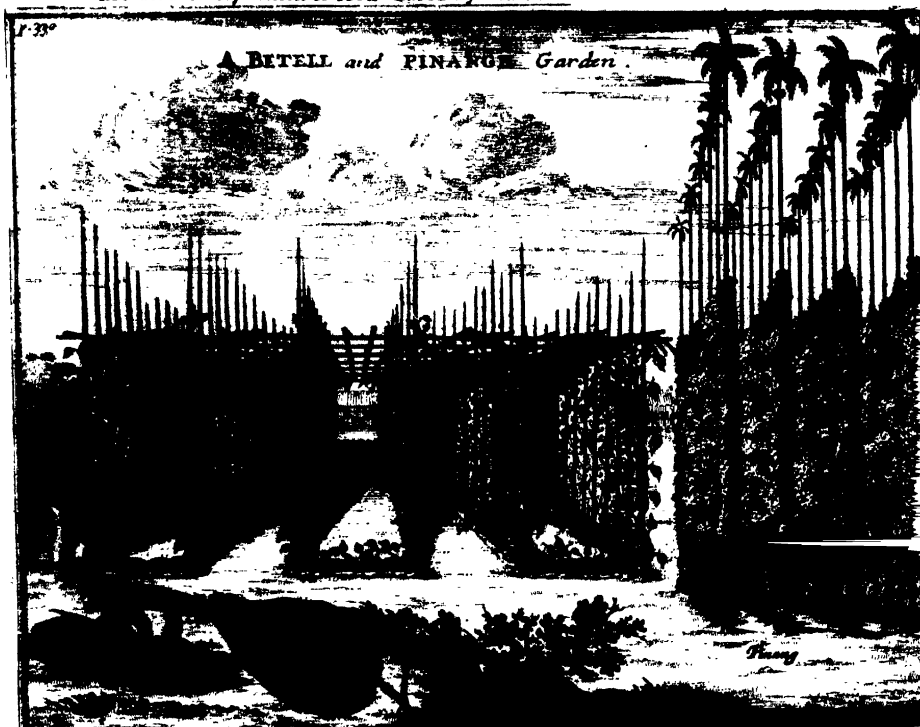
The Fruit called *Ananas*, by the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, is called *Nuna* by the *Malayans* and *Javanese*, and *Unglay* by the *Chineses*. The Plant which produces his Fruit delights to grow in shady Places and a fat Soil: First shoots forth a stalk of an Inch thick, and a foot long, on which near to the Ground grows the fruit, not unlike a Melon, with a well colour'd Rind, being of a pale red colour, mixed with Orange colour Streaks, which towards the Extremities are green. The Fruit looks yellow within. They are sometimes five Inches in circumference, and nine long, weighing perhaps five or six Pounds. Below and round about the Stalk come forth certain sprouts like *Houfe-Leek* or *Aloes*, with 15 or 16 carved Leaves of the same colour as the Fruit, green in the middle, and of an Orange colour about the edges. The *Ananas*, after it is come to its full Perfection, is one of the most delicious Fruits of all the *Indies*; but before they are well ripe, they contain a corroding Poisonous Quality; of which the Ripe even have some Remnants, and therefore ought not to be Eaten in too great

1662. a quantity, unless you cut them into small Slices, and by pouring some *Spanish* Wine upon them draw out the sharp Humour. Some use Water instead of Wine, notwithstanding which they often create a heat in the Throat; but as they are Diuretick, so they are accounted good against the Gravel: But without being steeped in Wine or Water, they would Exulcerate the Palate of the Mouth and the Tongue, and cause a mortal Bloody-Flux. They have a way of preserving them with Sugar, and are thus transported frequently from the *West-Indies* into *Europe*. This Fruit has so fragrant a smell, that when it is cut it fills the Room with a smell like *Rose-Water*: In Taste they approach next to our large *Strawberries*, which being very inviting to the Palate, makes one Eat too much, and Inflames the Bowels, or occasions Burning Fevers, for which reason they ought to be Eaten with caution. Those of the Isle of *Ceylon* exceed the rest in Taste; those growing near *Batavia*, and in other Parts of *Java*, are not so fine. The Fruits ripen in six Months; when they are cut from the Stalks, which remain thus; or else they take the Sprouts, and having cut them from the main Stalk, put them thus without any Root in the Ground, which afterwards produce new Plants. The Fruit *Ananas* grows in most parts of both the *Indies*, and some are of Opinion, That the first Plants thereof have been transplanted many years ago from *Basil* unto the *East-Indies*.

Among other *Indian* Plants, which are beneficial to human Kind, is that called *Betel* or *Betele* by the *Indians*, and *Siry Betel* by the *Malayans*, *Sury* by the *Javanese*, and *Lauheu* by the *Chineses*, which is one of the most inconsiderable ones. It resembles at a distance the *Black Pepper*, and runs up with its Branches round Trees, Stalks, Posts, or any other thing it meets with, like our *Hops*, to a good height, delighting especially in a well Dung'd Soil, and shady Places; and growing but slowly in the open Air: It requires also a considerable heat, which is the reason that it is Planted near the Sea-side, and after all must be defended and covered against the cold Night-Blasts, being so tender, that it can't bear the least Cold. Both the Branches and Leaves are in all respects like those of the *Pepper*; the Leaves being sometimes six Inches broad, and as many long, of a dark green colour, having several Veins through the length.

and 5 or 6 crosswise; the Stalks are an Inch broad. The Leaves have a Spicy Taste, very penetrant and somewhat adstringent. They are so generally used in the *Indies*, as if the Inhabitants could not live without them. They take a single Leaf, and a small quantity of Lime made of burnt Oyster-shells, then folding the Leaf together, they put into it the Lime, and a fourth part of the Nut *Areka*, (or *Pinang*.) which augments the astringent quality of the *Betel*, and draws the Spittle: After they have Chaw'd it thus a while, the first Spittle is red, like stagaated Blood, which being pass'd, they swallow the rest. The first Spittle taints the Lips with a pleasing red, as soon as it affects the Brains, which is chiefly attributed to the *Areka*; and I have seen some, who, tho' used to Chew this mixture, were seized with Swouning Fits: It never fails to create a Giddiness in the Head to such as are not used to it, which is soon Cured by

rubbing their Gums with a little Salt. The Juice thereof, which is swallowed down, has an astringent and corroborating quality of the Stomach, after the first Spittle which contains the Lime, is spitted out: It closes the upper Orifice of the Stomach, disperses the Vapours arising from Drunkenness, and revives the Spirits. It corrects a stinking Breath; cures the Tooth-Ach and Scurvy, fastens the Teeth, and strengthens the Gums; but makes the Teeth as black as Jet, an Ornament much affected by the *Indians*; and if you Chew too much of this mixture, it will loosen and corrode the Teeth. *Betel* Chaw'd without Lime, produces a green Spittle, but with Lime, makes it red; Persons of Quality mix some Musk, Ambergreece, or Camphire with it: The use of it is so frequent here, that no Body pays a Visit to another, but a small Dish of *Betel* is brought immediately. Nice People Spit in Pots.



Pynang-Tree.

The Ancient Herbalists have placed the *Pynang*-Tree among the Palm-Trees, perhaps because its Stem, Leaves, and Branches, are not unlike the *Coco*-Tree. It owes its Original to the Kernel of

the Nut like the *Coco*-Tree, and grows all over the *Indies*, especially in the *Isle* of *Ceylon*, where they drive a great Traffick with these Nuts, and transport them in prodigious quantities to the

Coast of *Madura*, and other Places. In a few years after it is Planted it bears Nuts. From underneath the Leaves sprout forth certain Twigs, which grow close together, and are full of small white Leaves, emitting a most fragrant Scent at a considerable distance, especially Mornings and Evenings. After these Flowers come the Nuts, called *Fausel* by the *Arabians*, *Areka* by the *Indians*, and *Pynang* by the *Malayans*: They grow very thick together on both sides of very strong Stalks, being green at first, but turning yellow by degrees; some are of an Orange colour. Some of these Nuts grow not so close on tender Twigs; others, which are of an Orange colour, grow out of certain green Husks in Bunches like Grapes; they are covered on the outside with a hairy Substance. This Tree equals in height the *Coco-Tree*, but the Stem seldom exceeds six or seven Inches in thickness, neither has it so long and many Branches as the *Coco-Tree*, and the Leaves are shorter and broader. These Trees look very oddly at a distance, being so thin of Stem and affording so many Branches, so that they are beaten by the Wind on all sides, yet never break. The Stem is spongy within, but the Bark very hard, of which they make Laths for the coverings of their Houses, for which they are very useful by reason of their straightness. The Fruit resembles an Acorn, but is four times bigger; however, when cleaned from the hairy Threads, the Nut scarce exceeds the bigness of a Nutmeg, and looks like it within. The Kernels are soft, and good for the Stomach. They make no other use of them but for burning with the *Betel* Leaves and Lime as we have seen before: They cleanse the Mouth from the hairy Strings with a pair of Needles, and cut the Nut if large in two or three pieces, and this put in a Dish of *Betel*, and mix'd with a little *Chaw*, they Chew so long as it will last, and spit out what remains. The *Pynang* Nuts with the hairy Leaf will dissolve insensibly in the Mouth. Such as are not fit for use of *Pynang*, especially before it is come to its full growth, will certainly be seized with the Head, and will be a great source of Pain.

Suryboa is a certain Plant which runs up close round the *Pynang*-Tree to a great height, and being Planted in rows, afford shady and agreeable Walks. The Leaves and Branches are like those of

the *Betel*, or of Pepper: The Fruit is not unlike in shape to the *Bengal* Pepper, growing on small and green Stalks of two Fingers length: It is green and chequered, of the length of a Palm, but scarce an Inch thick, containing a white Kernel with small Seeds. These Kernels are used with the *Areka* instead of *Betel*, being a pleasant Chaw. They cut them through the middle, and taking one half of the *Pynang* Kernel likewise cut in the middle, they tie both together with a Cotton Thread, and with the addition of a small quantity of Lime made of Oyster Shells, use it like as they do the *Betel*; it has the same effects, and being not so common as the *Betel* is more esteem'd among Persons of Quality.

Dap-Daf, or *Dap-Dap*, is a very agreeable Fruit both raw and dress'd, having a very pleasant Taste, of a mixture of sweet and sour, and of a cooling quality. It grows out of the bottom of a Stem of a Tree, having very fine Leaves, the Flowers or Blossom, consisting of small red Leaves. The Fruit is inclining to red, mix'd with black spots of an oval Figure, and ragged, bent a little at the end like a Cucumber. It contains a white Kernel of a delicious Taste, being enclosed in a whitish Rind. These Trees bear Fruit all the year long, and grow properly in the *Molucca* Islands, from whence they have been transplanted into the Gardens of *Batavia*, but do not thrive so well there as in their Native Soil, being much pester'd with Aunts or Pismires, who do incredible Mischief to the Fruits there, whereof I took the opportunity, and was surrounded by them, when the Ground was dug up, and a small Cistern was made, and water withstanding when the Fruits were covered with Pismires, scarce could I discern them.

The Fruit called *Tamarind*, known by the *Malayans*, and by the *Javanese*, are by the *Europeans* called *Red Currants* from their resemblance to our *Currants*, tho' in their qualification they are very different. These berries grow on bare Trees with large Leaves, and are the Chinese *Tamarind*, and in large Towns in *China* are sold in the streets, being of the same bigness as ours, but are of a sour taste; notwithstanding which they are much coveted, and sold and used in great quantities at *Batavia*, in the same manner as we do our *Red Currants*. They grow in the Gardens about *Batavia*, and bear Fruit

Fruits every three Months, but most in September.

The Tree called *Moringo* by the Portuguese and Dutch, *Ramony* by the Malaysians, and *Kelor* by the Chinese, is found not only in all the Gardens, but also before the Houses: It has a White Blossom, which sprouts forth from White Buds, having a yellow Seed within. The Fruits grow several together, being enclosed in hard Husks, not unlike our French Beans, except that the Husks are round and longer. So soon as they are ripe, they are gathered, and the Twigs on the top being cut off, others sprout forth in their stead, which bear new Fruit. The Leaves are very smooth and thick, in taste not unlike the *Coco-Leaves* in Holland; but not so biting and penetrant. They Stew these Leaves with Meat, or Eat them alone, as we do our Spinage, being well-tasted and cooling; the same they do with the Husks, whilst they are young, but when old, are tough; so that both the usefulness and pleasantness of this Tree is a sufficient Encouragement to the People to afford it a place in their Gardens; especially since it wants no great Industry to Plant it, as growing out of a Sprig of the Tree planted only in the Ground without any Root, which in a few months begins to Blossom and to bear Fruit.

The Tree called *Torre* by the Malaysians, *Tary* by the Portuguese, *Rombang Juri* by the Javanese, and *Husk-Tree* by the Dutch, does not rise above the height of an ordinary Apple-Tree: He brings forth certain Husks hanging straight down on thin Stalks of about a quarter of a yard in length, and the thickness of a little Finger. The Husks contain 8 or 10 small Pease, which are Eaten as well as the Leaves, which are round and small growing on small Twigs; and the Flowers, which are surprising at first sight. They sprout forth out of green Buds in the shape of a Half-Moon, with Purple-colour'd Points, and streaks of the same colour within: From the innermost Leaf come forth certain long and thin Sprouts like Fillets, with yellow hairy Points; The Stalk is green, but the beginnings of the Leaves of the Flower, are white, interspersed with Veins to the Extremities, with a Parrot-green colour, intermix'd with some red, which affords a most agreeable Spectacle to the Eye: The Inhabitants also make use of the Leaves as a Sovereign Remedy against the Stings of the Serpents, in which case they squeeze them betwixt two Stones,

and mixing a little Salt with them, apply them to the Tumour, which gives immediate Relief.

The Portuguese have given it the name of *Folio di Inverno*, or the *Devil's Leaf*, or *Hellish Leaf*, because it will overrun all Places wherever it lights: The Malaysians call it *Garrak*, and the Javanese, *Klatte*: It has several Physical Virtues, against divers Distempers. There are two sorts distinguish'd by their different colours; one having green Leaves, and growing very fast; the other being brown and red, like the Leaves of our red Cabbages, and growing up to the height of 12 or 14 foot, with carved Leaves hanging on very long Stalks. On the top sprouts out a bunch of green Buds, which opening by degrees, produce yellowish Flowers; after which comes the Fruit, not unlike a Chestnut, containing a Bean or Kernel, which is very good Food.

The Plant or Herb called the *Broad The Namerado* by the Portuguese, and *Bajan Nor Dierdia* by the Malaysians: The shape of the Leaf which grows on the Stalk of this Plant chequered with various colours like a Tulip, is altogether like our Beetes, and used in the same manner; but is preserved for the Beauty of its Leaves, which are on the top, as an Ornament of the Gardens. There is another sort resembling in colour our red Cabbages, and is frequently planted by the Chinese, who Sell it in great quantities in the Market of *Batavia*: It is of an agreeable Taste, either Boil'd with Meat, or Stew'd by it self.

The Tree which produces the *Javanese-Cotton*, is called *Kappok* by the Malaysians, *Jerondo* by the Javanese, and *My* by the Chinese, grows up to the height of a great Mast, spreading its Branches directly straightways on all sides: The Bark of this Tree is white, as far as the lowermost Branches, but from thence to the top green; The Flowers which are white come forth out of certain Buds growing out of the Branches; then come the Fruits of the bigness of a Hens Egg, pointed at the end, being green at first, but turn brown like a dried Oaken-Leaf. These Fruits hang on the middle and end of the Branches, two and two together, seldom one alone. They open at last near the Stalks, and produce the Cotton-Wool, which covers the Seed, and extends its self when exposed to the Air. The Seeds are black, not unlike the brown Pepper, but somewhat smaller. The Cotton-Wool is gathered in the Indies, in October and November: where

662. with they drive a considerable Traffick all over the *Indies*, where they are used instead of Feathers, to Stuff their Cushions, Bolsters, and Quilts withal, Feather-Beds being unknown here; but is not long enough for Combing, or for Weaving; Great care is to be taken that no Fire come near it, for if it takes fire it burns with such violence, that scarce any Water can quench it: This Tree grows wherever it is planted.

The Tree *Jamboes*, as the *Indians* and *Javanese* call it, the *Portuguese* *Kofado*, the *Malayans*, *Jamboe Ramus*, and the *Chinese*, *Ileapont*, affords a very agreeable Entertainment to the Eye, while it stands in full Blossom. It grows up very regularly, in the shape of a Pyramid, the Branches growing in good order, neither entangled within one another, neither above one another. It rises to the height of a large Pearl-Tree in *Europe*, and takes deep Root. The Leaves are long and green, at the Extremities of the small Twigs sprout out green Buds, which produce Flowers with Leaves as red as Blood, containing certain red Fillets within: The Fruits are of an Oval figure, resembling in bigness and shape our Sugar-Pears, which grow in Clusters 23, 24, and 25 together: Some are red, others white, but both of the same Taste, tho' the white ones are reckoned the best. They smell very sweet, but are somewhat mellow; The Stone which lies in the middle has a large but bitter Kernel, which is never Eaten. Abundance of these Flowers which produce no Fruit, fall from the Tree upon the Ground, which cover the Ground underneath, and afford a pleasant sight. The Stalks of the Flowers are red, not unlike the Sea-Lions, but not so long. These Flowers have so pleasing and savory a taste, that they are used and Eaten as a delicious Sallad. The Fruit has a sweet, yet relishing taste, and allays the excessive Heat of the Stomach; if Stew'd with Sugar, and a little Wine, they Eat like Stew'd Pears. The best I ever met with were in the Isle of *Ceylon*, where they grow in great Plenty. These Trees are produced from the Seed, and bear Fruit in the 4th year, and three times in a year, so that they never are in want of this Fruit, throughout all the Seasons: 'Tis generally believed, that this Tree, for his sweet-
flowers, and well-tasted Fruits

transplanted from *Malacca* into other distant Countries. There is yet another sort of *Jamboes*, which grow to the Isle of *Ambonia*, on Trees

no bigger than our Cherry-Trees; but they are not so well tasted, so that this Tree is cultivated there rather for its Blossom, which is red also, than the goodness of the Fruit.

Among many other Fruits, which if Eaten raw, are crabbed and soure upon the Tongue, we must not pass by in silence what the *Portuguese* call *Nelyka*, the *Malayans* and *Javanese*, *Boa Malakka*, the *Chinese*, *Soaly*, and the *Dutch*, *Wild-Boa Mo-lakka*. They grow in vast numbers on thin Twigs, and are greenish of colour; the Twigs have small green Leaves growing close together. The Fruit has a fourth taste, and is very cooling, for which reason it is in request by some, tho' generally no great account is made of it. They are in their Prime in *August*, and are then to be sold in the Market in *Batavia*.

The Tree called *Canary* by the *Ma-layans*, *Javanese*, and *Chinese*, is an *Indian* Oak-Tree, which grows very high with lofty Branches, and very smooth Leaves, interwoven with divers Veins. The Stem grows thick, and extends it self into several Protuberances near the Root. The Rangers of the Forests keep a watchful Eye over these Trees at convenient distances, when the Acorns begin to fall, because the Wild-Boars appearing in great numbers, they shoot them; so that during that Season, the Wild-Boars Flesh is sold at a cheap rate in the Market of *Batavia*. The Fruit is nothing else but an Acorn or Nut, produced out of a yellow Blossom growing on small Twigs. The Nut or Acorn is enclosed in a green Shell, and next to that another, which is so hard, that you must break it with a Hammer if you will come at the Kernel, which is as white as an Almond, and of as good a taste, being covered by a thin Skin.

In and near the City of *Batavia*, grows in the Gardens a certain Flower, both in Scent and Figure not unlike our *Camomile-Flower*, but whether it obtains the same Virtue, is unknown hitherto. The *Topasses* call it after the *Portuguese*, *Fulo di Madre*, i. e. *Mother-Flower*, because its Leaves and the Flower are somewhat like the *Matricaria*, and perhaps of the same kind. It grows about a foot high with large carved Leaves: The Flower which is white, sprouts forth out of green Buds, with double Leaves carved at the ends.

The Flower called *Four Lights* comes forth out of small Buds, being not unlike a single Gilliflower, but of a bright red colour. It consists of 4 carved Leaves, which

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which have certain pleasant curls at the ends. The Leaves are dark green on the inside, and pale green without; chequered with Streaks which run all along to the point of the Leaf, which has the shape of an Heart. This Flower is kept only for Ornaments sake, but is soon faded.

Alli or Water Flower.

There is scarce a Lake or Pool in this Country, but what produces some Flower or other, but the Flower called *Alli* is found in great plenty all along the Ditch or *Gracht* betwixt *Ansjol* and *Jacatra*. It is a pretty sort of a Flower, which may be kept a pretty while in Water; It comes forth out of long and large Buds, is pale green without, and white within with yellow Seeds. After it is opened, it is not unlike a *Tulip* or *Lily*, except that the Leaves are green on the out side. Its Virtues are unknown as yet, but is kept for Ornaments sake.

White Violets or Jarron.

The Leaves of this Flower growing close within one another like our Violets, it has got the name of a *White Violet*, scarce differing from it in any thing but the Scent. It grows wild on certain Shrubs without *Batavia*; when they are planted in the Gardens, the Stalks thereof are cut down close to the Ground, when new Stalks sprout forth, which bring Flowers in great plenty. The Inhabitants who call this Flower *Jarron Jarron*, say it was brought hither from the Isle of *Rely*. The *Malayans* call it *Benga Sufun* the *Javanefes* *Malati Rompah*, and the *Chinefes* *Belehoa*. It much resembles the *Kaisopiri*, but is not so strong of Scent, tho' it has no Scent at all, except in the Morning, before the Sun-Beams have dry'd up the Dew from its Leaves. The Leaves are pale green, in Shape not unlike Peach Leaves, but something broader; The Flower issues out a pale green turn'd Bud, of the bigness of a double *Daffadil*, and is snow white.

Cotton of Bengale.

There is a certain sort of Cotton, which is transplanted from *Bengale* to *Batavia*, call'd by the *Chinefes* *Algodan*, but by the *Malayans* and *Javanefes*, *Kapas* or *Kappas*, the Tree bears Flowers and Fruit throughout the whole Year. So soon as the Flowers are gone, there buds out a Knot, containing the Cotton or Wool; The Leaves are carv'd in three places, being not unlike a certain Herb the *Dutch* call *Duckfoot*. The Flower is brown red, having within certain pointed Fillets. This Cotton is fit for Weaving.

Wild Mangas.

The Fruit call'd *Batjan* by the *Javanefes*,

Malayans and *Chinefes*, is a kind of wild *Mangas* of so strong a Scent, that you may smell it before all other Herbs in the Market. The Tree which bears this Fruit, is very delightful to the Eye, and not unlike the *Mangas-tree*; but the Leaves are somewhat bigger than those of the *Almond-tree*, of a dark green Colour. The Blossom is also like that of the *Mangas-tree*, and yellow. The Fruit is green, of the bigness and shape of a *Limon*, within which grows certain Almonds, which are much more taking to the Eye than toothsome, tho' the Smell is much more disagreeable than the Taste, which is bitterish, and somewhat nauseous, and not comparable to the true *Mangas*; which is the Reason they are not much planted near *Batavia*, but abundance of them are brought to Market there from *Bantam* in *October* and *November*.

About *Batavia* and all over the Isle of *Java* grows a certain Tree call'd *Marokko* or *Novukko* by the *Portugueses*, *Dap-Dap* or *Dadap* by the *Javanefes*, *Daradap* by the *Malayans*, and *Oylenjo* by the *Chinefes*. Its Leaves are like those of the *Poplar-tree*, but as big again, smell very well, and grow on yellow Stalks. These Leaves being interspersed with many yellow Veins, appear at a distance, as if the Tree were cover'd with Flowers. The Inhabitants lay these Leaves over their Pots, in which they have their boil'd Rice, the Steam of which draws out from thence a very agreeable Scent; but have no other use that I know of.

The Plant call'd *Raisfobank* by the *Malayans* and *Javanefes*, *Bantohoa* by the *Chinefes*, *Datura* by the *Turks* and *Persians*, *Duroa* by the *Indians*, and in a broken Dialect *Dutter* by the *Dutch*, grow wild in the Woods, almost all over the *Indies*; it seldom rises above the height or thickness of our red Cabbages, the Stalk being very like the same, but the Leaves brown, pale green and carved. It bears divers Flowers, which open every Morning, and close up again about Noon; they are white within, and pale yellow without; some being near a Palm in length, and of the Figure of a Bell, others carv'd at the Extremities; After these comes the Fruit, which has a pale green Rind, cover'd with thorny Prickles; they seldom exceed the bigness of our yellow Palms, and contain yellowish Seeds. Whether this Plant has the Virtue of intoxicating to a degree of Madness for a certain time, as some have it, I am not able to determine.

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Kananga.

but this I am certain of, that the *Topasses* and other *Negro's* who keep it in their Gardens near *Batavia*, look upon it as a fable. It is properly a kind of *Nightshade* or *Henbane*.

The Trees call'd *Kananga* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneses* and *Chineſes*, bear leaves of a Parrot green Colour, above which comes forth the Blossom; they are planted near the *Betel*, which winds about them, and growing to a great height; their lofty tops are conspicuous above most of the other fruitful Trees in the Gardens; As far as I know, they have no other use. Besides that, these Trees are easily to be discern'd from the rest by their crooked hanging Boughs, they commonly set a little Windmill in the tops to frighten the Birds out of the Garden, especially the great Batts here, which keep their Rendezvouzes in these Trees, and are seen hanging with their Claws to the Branches thereof with their Heads downwards, and that in such Numbers, that you see sometimes more Batts than Leaves on a Tree.

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The *Indian Oak-tree* produces no eatable Fruit, yet does its Wood make a sufficient amend for this Defect, being the most lasting of all, and as good as our *European Oak*. This Tree grows up to a great height, as may be seen by the long pieces of Timber in many of the Churches, and other Lofly Buildings of *Batavia*. This Tree is sufficiently known by its large Branches and broad Leaves, which sprout forth out of the Boughs and Branches, being intermix'd with green Veins of a pale brown Colour, and somewhat rough, something resembling the Figg Leaves, but are not carv'd; at the Extremities of the Boughs, sprout forth certain Flowers not unlike the Hops, which produce Acorns, the Seeds from whence this large Tree takes its Root; the Inhabitants use the Leaves in the Pleurisie; They take a certain quantity of the Liquor contain'd in the Coco-Nuts, in which they boil some of these Leaves, to the Consumption of half the Liquor, and this Decoction they give the Patient to take inwardly; which appeases the Pain. I have seen pieces of this Oak-timber as streight as an Arrow, no less than forty Foot long, and of 2½ foot Diameter to the very top, of this thickness; and nothing more coming than to meet with Boards of this good of three and more Foot broad. The *Malayans* call this Tree *Kyati*, from whence they call this Oak Wood, *Kyati Wood*; which is exceeding hard,

and has the same Veins as our Oak; being very lasting, and not subject to be worm-eaten; being Proof, especially against the Mice, which sometimes will eat whole pieces off the Timber within, tho' the out side appear very sound.

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The Fruit call'd *Water Pompions* by the Dutch from their Shape, are call'd *Katolas* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneses*, and with a broken name *Katilas* by the *Portugueses*. It is neither a Tree, Shrub, Herb nor Plant; but sprouts forth in the nature of small Branches, from a small Seed, and spreads to that degree, that it runs over the tops of the Houses with its Leaves and Flowers. The *Indians* frequently lead them over their Cisterns in which they Bathe, being sustain'd by Bamboo Canes to keep off the Heat of the Sun-Beams. They bring Fruits the whole year round, but especially in *April* and *August*. The Flowers are like those of our Pompions, and fade without producing any Fruit. The Fruit is of two sorts; one grows to the bigness of our ordinary Pompions, but the other which is the best, scarce exceeds in Bulk our Cucumbers or Melons. They are used in the same manner for Salad. There is another sort of the length of a Man's Arm, but no thicker than a good walking Cane, the Rind being full of Spots; That of which I took the Draught, was 13 Inches long and 3½ Diameter, weighing 3½ Pounds. When the Gardners have a mind to make this Fruit grow longer than their ordinary Size, they fasten a Weight with Wire thread to the Extremities of it, which stretches it downwards to a prodigious Length. The Leaves and Branches are like those of the Pompions; The Fruit is green inclining to yellow on the Rind without, but white within; as are also the Seed.

Water
Pompions

If we should enter upon giving you an Account of all the Flowers that grow in the Isle of *Java*, it would require an entire Volume; Among the Chiefest and Best is that Flower call'd *Champakka* of *Siampakka* by the *Malayans* and *Indians*, and *Vinhua*, by the *Chineſes*. The Tree which produces these Flowers, grows up to the height of our moderate Pear-trees or Peach-trees, with large wrinkled Leaves, intermix'd with many Veins. The Branches or Boughs grow all in a strait Line from the Tree, and afterward turn upwards; they are generally so weak, that no body can climb up to the Tree, so that the Flowers which grow on the top, must be taken down with Bamboo Canes or Reeds.

Cham
pukka.

These Flowers are in great Request among the *Indians*, for their odoriferous Scent, and used in Garlands: the Scent is betwixt a Rose and a Violet, and so strong, that it may be smell'd in the Houses, as the Flowers are carried by in the Streets. They are of two Colours, viz. of an Orange Colour and green; not unlike the Blossom of a *Spanish* Orange-tree; but resemble in Figure the *English* Saffron. This Flower is one Ingredient of that famous Ointment made by the *Indian* Women call'd *Rorbery*; they also Adorn their Hair among the rest with this Flower. This Tree also bears Fruit, which grows out of the Sprigs like Bunches of Grapes, and are of the same Colour and Bigness, but fit for nothing.

The Great
creeping
Beans.

The Branches which produce the Beans, call'd by the *Dutch* the *Large Creeping Beans*, are call'd *Katsjang Parang* by the *Malayans* and *Javanese*, and run up in many small Branches to such a height, that their curled Sprigs on the top grow beyond the Pinacles of the highest Buildings. At the Bottom they are of the thickness of a Man's Arm, and change their Leaves and Fruits, without any alteration to themselves; They bear fine green and thick Leaves, intermix'd with small Veins; The Blossoms are of a Purple Colour, and before they open pointed at the End; The Husks which contain the Beans, are green like ours, having a purple Colour'd String all round the Husk. They are of divers sorts, among which these following are most in Request.

Abas de
toro.

The *Moor's Bean* call'd *Fabas de Moro* by the Inhabitants, are very large, and run up to a great height; they commonly plant them near the *Pynang-trees*, which serve them for Supporters. The Husks are about a Foot in length, and an Inch in breadth; They are chiefly used by the *Chinese* and *Javanese*, but neglected by the *Dutch*, by Reason of their unfavoury Taste.

Gondola.

The Bean call'd *Gondola* runs up likewise to a good height, affording a very agreeable Shade; The Leaves boil'd or stew'd are very cooling; The Ranks don't hold above one year, tho' the Beans will keep green three or four years; I did plant some of the *Large Creeping Beans* at *Koulang* about a Summer-House, four or five of which yielded me near six Bushels of Beans.

Kadjang.

Kadjang as the *Javanese* and *Malayans* call it, and the *Chinese* *Petau*, is a kind of Pease, known by all the Inhabitants of *Batavia*, which grow in vast Plenty

in the Fields about *Batavia*. When they are ripe, they are gather'd and dry'd in the Air. These Pease are of the Bigness of our Vetches, which grow among the Winter Corn, and grow with green Shells at first, but turn black afterwards. Betwixt each two Leaves sprouts forth a Bud, which produces a Flower, and this the Pea. These Pease are of great Advantage to the Ships in their Return home, and when boil'd with Bacon and well Butter'd, are very good for the Stomach. If you plant them in a Pot, with Earth and keep them well water'd, they will come in twice 24 Hours, and make a good Salad aboard a Ship.

The Tree, the Fruit whereof, the *Javanese* call *Makandou*, has very broad, thick and fine Leaves, the Blossom is long and white; after which comes the Fruit *Makandou*; in all respects like a Pine-Apple, except that it is not pointed at the End, neither so hard, but soft. Before it is ripe, it is green, but afterwards yellow, and almost insipid. The *Malayans* Roast it in the Ashes, and take it inwardly against the Bloody Flux, Asthma and Pleurisie. In the Isle of *Java* grows a certain Tree with Leaves like those of the *Ash-tree*, and a knotty Stem or Trunk. It bears a Fruit like unto our Hazle-Nuts, the Kernels whereof, after they are taken out of the Shells, are of no ill Taste, yet a little astrigent. The Leaves apply'd to Wounds and Ulcers, cleanse them and render them fit for healing; a Spoonful of the Juice of the Leaves is a good Remedy against the Worms. Out of the Stem grows a Twig, but to no great height, which brings forth yellow Flowers, like those of the *Nightshade*; after these come the Fruits, which before they are ripe are green, but afterwards red, and of a circular Figure; If you squeeze them betwixt your Hands, they send forth such an ill Scent, that no *Asa Fetida* or *Sagapenum* is comparable to it; for which Reason the *Indian* Women apply to the Nostrils of such Persons as are afflicted with Fits of the Mother; The Indians look upon them as not fit to be eaten.

In the Woods of *Java* grows a certain Shrub, call'd *Danlomas*, to the height of six Foot, spreading its Branches at a good distance, like our *Water Willow* in *Holland*; and that in such vast Quantities, that the *Chinese* are forced to root them out with Fire and Steel. The leaves are not unlike those of the *Bulfinch*, and covered like wife at the ends with small Clusters of flowers like C

Daulon
tas.

der-Tree; after which come certain Berries that are very bitter; both the Leaves and Flowers smell like the Camomile-Flowers, and contain the same Virtues: Its Decoction is excellent good against the Cough, and nothing provokes the Monthly Terms of the Women beyond this Remedy.

The Fruit *Mangam* is look'd upon by the *Javanefes* as the greatest Antidote in the World, even beyond *Bezoar*, *Maldiver-Nuts*, &c. The Tree which bears this Fruit grows upon the Graves of their Kings, and the Fruit is of the bigness of a *Coco-Nutt*. Whenever the King of *Bantam* intends to give a mark of his particular favour to any of his great Men, or some Foreign Minister, he first puts his Drinking Cup upon this Fruit, and then Drinks to the Person he intends to Honour.

In the Isle of *Java*, on the Banks of the Rivers, but especially about *Bantam*, grows a certain Plant, the Leaves whereof resemble altogether the Horn of *Alce*, from whence the *Javanefes* have given it the Name of *Simbar Mangiram*, and the *Malayans* that of *Tanda Roufa*; It has no Root, but instead thereof a Veiny Knot or Lump, which lies not under ground, but either upon Stones, or in hollow Trees, sending forth its Leaves on all sides. This Plant is Sempervirent and full of Juice, and if some of the Leaves happen to rot by the Rains, the next Sun-shine produces others in their stead. The *Javanefes* use these Leaves like as we do the Roots and Leaves of the White Lilies, viz. to make Poultices of to apply to Tumours; but they are not proficuous in the *St. Anthony's Fire*, which shews, that this Plant is very hot, which its bitterish and biting Taste seems also to intimate. Taken inwardly it Purges by Stool, and applied to the Navil kills the Worms.

The Flower called *Tratty*, or *Tongjong* *Tratty* by the *Malayans* and *Javanefes*, *Tienhoa* by the *Chineses*, and *Fulo de Tanke*, i. e. *The Flower of the Lake*, by the *Portugueses*, is very large and fair, and grows most commonly in Pools and standing Waters. The Stalk grows to the height of a fathom above the surface of the Water, and the Flower resembling our Tulips, except that it has broader Leaves, and is at least as big again. Some are of a Purple colour near the Points of the Leaves, which by degrees turns pale yellow or white, towards the Stalk. Some are quite white, but of the same

ing of the Buds, these Flowers emit a most fragrant Scent, and discovers to us their Beauty, which by reason of its pleasant colour attract the sight of all that pass by. They sprout forth out of a green Bud, which bursts open like those of the Peony Flowers: Some of the Leaves grow upwards, like the Flowers, being of the breadth of a brim of a Hat, and bright green; Some lie flat and close to the Surface of the Water, being round, out of the midst of which comes forth a Stalk with the Flower. After the Leaves are fallen off come forth round Husks or Buds of the bigness of a Man's Hand, of a green colour containing a pale yellow Seed, and many small and yellowish Beans, which lying bare in part, resemble the *Faba Egyptiaca* of *Dioscorides*, viz. This Husk being flat on one side, is as if it were cut asunder in the middle with a Knife, and discovers about 30 Beans placed in a Circle. As these Beans grow to their full bigness, they are enclosed in a peculiar Husk, and when ripe resembles the green Husk of a Hazel-Nut without the Shell, and are not unlike it in taste, being very sweet, but somewhat Phlegmatick; they are sold daily in the Market of *Batavia*: It seems to me to be a kind of Water-Lilly, having broad and red Leaves, and being the same both in the Stalk and Root, tho' it differs from our *Dutch Water-Lilies*, which are white or yellow, but are of a Purple colour in the *Indies*: It also differs from ours in the Fruit and Husk. The Leaves of this Plant are esteemed cold in the third degree, like our *European Water-Lilies*; wherefore also the *Dutch* here after the Example of the *Malayans*, give the Decoction thereof in Burning-Fevers, Frenies, Bloody-Fluxes, and other Hot Diseases. There is also another sort, with pale purple'd Flowers; and a third also worth seeing. There grows also in the Rivers and Pools abundance of what is commonly called *Ducks-Meat*, being a Food the *Ducks* are mighty fond of, whereof the *Chineses* keep here great Numbers. In the standing Pools and Rivers grows also the *Potamo Ceyton*, or *Fountain Herb*, and *Water-Plantain*, which if chew'd, causes great Burning in the Throat and upon the Tongue.

Nothing more frequent in the *Indies* than to see the Trees bear Fruits all the year round, but the Fruit called *Langzap* by the *Malayans*, *Kakajan* by the *Javanefes*, and in a broken Dialect *Laufen* by the *Portugueses*, is a round Fruit, which is

Langzap.

662. once a year, viz. in February. The Trees which bear these Fruits, hanging in Bunches like Grapes, in vast quantities, spread in a large circumference with lofty Branches, and pale green Leaves like the Laurel Leaves, or those of the Chestnut-Tree, but are not carved. The Fruits have soft and yellow Rind like our Peaches, containing a white and sharpish Liquor. They resemble most our yellow Plumbs, but are inclining to red and white within, the Pulp being divided by certain Partitions, is of a somewhat astringent Taste like our red Corinths, and so luscious, that one can scarce be satisfied with them; they are in great request here, being accounted very good to allay the Heat of Burning Fevers: each has commonly two or three Kernels, from which you must suck the Pulp, the Kernels and Skin being both bitter. The Fruits sprout out of small yellowish Buds or Knots, after the Blossom. They grow in vast plenty in the Isle of *Atcheyna*, and especially at *Gilolo*, where I have seen prodigious quantities of them brought to Market. The Isle of *Java* produces another sort of this Fruit, called *Boa Rampi* by the *Malayans*, and *Kipandung* by the *Javanese*, differing from the former only in the outside, being for the rest the same in taste and virtue; for which reason they might well be called the *Javanese Lansen*: These are ripe in *October*, and are brought out of the Country to *Batavia*.

These Purple Plumbs are so called by the *Dutch* from their colour, but by the *Javanese*, *Gapak*, and by the *Malayans*, *Boka Gobok*: They grow in great plenty on Trees of a moderate size: They are of a Purple colour without, but white within, with red Stones. They have a sourish Taste.

The Fruit *Jambulang* is the same with our Black Cherries, which is the reason the *Dutch* call it by that Name here, but the *Javanese*, *Duat*, and the *Malayans*, *Kriango*; tho' they are of an Oval figure; and not of so agreeable taste, approaching to our great Sloes; they ripen in *Autumn*. The Tree which bears these Fruits is also much taller, as the Black-Cherry Trees, and spread their Branches at a great distance. The Leaves are dark green, taper towards the Stalk, and broader at the ends, being intermix'd with many Strings or Veins. The Flowers have red Leaves with small Fillets within: The Fruit is brought to Market at *Batavia* by whole large Baskets full in the Months of *September* and

October. It is look'd upon among the Inhabitants as a very good Remedy against the Bloody-Flux.

The single Shoe-Flower, is called by the *Portuguese*, *Fulo de Sapato*, i. e. Shoe-Flower, because the Flower Chaw'd affords a Juice, which is excellently good for Blacking and Beautifying of Shoes. There are two sorts of it; which may be distinguish'd as Male and Female, like our Peony Flowers. Out of the Flower, which is darkned, and not unlike our common Roses, sprouts forth on the top a yellow Stalk, at the end of which Bud out Leaves like a Coronet, covered with a yellow Wool: The Leaves are green, and carved at the Extremities like the Nettles: These produce large Buds containing the Flower. They are of astringent of taste, and consequently good for The Water Distill'd thereof is good for Burning Fevers, and applied outwardly to the Forehead procures sleep. There is also another kind of these Flowers, with single leaves, of aabella colour, which grow upon small Trees like our *Saccharifera*. They spread their Branches at such a distance, that they are frequently used for Arbours; they also make Baskets of the Twigs. The Inhabitants wash their Heads with the Decoction of these Leaves, and when steep in Vinegar, use it against the Looseness; they also apply it to Bruises. These Bushes or small Trees require an excessive heat for their growth, which is the reason they commonly Plant them against the East-Walls here, as we do in *Europe*, against the South-Walls, for the exercise of Heat. There is likewise a Shoe-Flower with double Leaves, not differing from the former except in its Leaves, and the Coronet in the middle, which are both of a bright red colour like a Ruby.

The Flower called *Dukol* by the *Javanese*, *Bale Adap* by the *Malayans*, and *Fulo di Poco*, i. e. Flower of the Bush, by the *Portuguese*, grows every where in the Hedges, to the height of 12 or 13 foot; it produces at the top a white Leaf growing straight upwards, near unto which the Flowers, which are of an Orange colour, grow in Clusters. The other Leaves are dark green, with white Veins running through the middle.

The Fruit called *Bueng-Tan-jong* by the *Malayans*, *Konbang* by the *Javanese*, *Kauky* by the *Chinese*, and *Coco-Plumb* by the *Dutch*, grows on very high Trees with wrinkled Leaves. The Flowers, which are very small, and of anabella colour, open every morning, and

Fulo
Sapato
single
double
Shoe
Flower

The
Dutch

th a most fragrant Scent, but close again against Sun-set. The Fruit is the bigness and shape of a Hazel-Nut, green at first, but turns yellow afterwards, and of an Orange colour at last: The Pulp which is of the same colour, grows about a brown Stone, but being of a soure Taste, this Tree is admired and planted chiefly for its Flowers sake.

The Fruit called *Karembolas*, and likewise *Kamozia*, *Karabelli*, *Chamarah*, and *Bulanbach*, by the *Indians*, grows in many Places of the *Indies* on a Tree, with a slender Stem, Twigs, and Leaves; which is produced from the Seed, and growing to the height of an ordinary Cherry-Tree, bears a Flower of a pale blue colour, after which comes the Fruit, which is green at first, but turns yellow, resembling in shape our Pumpions. Some of these Trees, (which is very strange) produce a Fruit of so delicious a taste, that nothing can be beyond it; whilst others of the same kind bear a Fruit so astringent and soure as can scarce be imagined; when they are cut in the middle, they represent in the inside a Star. The Leaves of the Tree are green, not unlike the Rose-Tree Leaves, but not carved and full of small Veins.

The Tree which produces the Fruit called *Boca Bidara* by the *Malayans* and *Javanese*, and *Masjam* by *Chinese* and *Portuguese*, and by the *Dutch*, *Prick-Plumbs*, from their thorny Prickles, grows up to the height of our Cherry-Trees, with ash coloured Leaves, with a triple Vein. Its Twigs are covered all over with almost invisible Thorns or Prickles: It produces Fruit all the year round, in such plenty, that the Twigs bend to the very ground. The Fruit is of the bigness of a Hazel-Nut, of a dark green colour without, but white within, containing a Stone of an Isabella colour: The Flowers are yellow, having no more than Five Leaves, with as many small Stalks betwixt them. This Fruit being of an agreeable taste, tho' somewhat astringent, is Eaten raw, and very cooling. The Tree grows wild at some distance from *Batavia*, but has been of late years cultivated in their Gardens.

The Root called *Gadang*, by the *Javanese* and *Malayans*, has got the Name of a *Javanese* Turnip among the *Dutch*, because it grows like our Potatoes in the Earth, and is of the bigness of our Turnips, tho' it differs much from them both in substance and taste. It bears dark green Leaves, with white Streaks or Veins, betwixt which grows forth

a Twig with Flowers of a Purple colour. They are accounted very nourishing and wholesome if not used in too great a quantity.

Here grow divers sorts of Mushrooms or Toadstools, called *Kulet* by the *Malayans*, and *Jamor* by the *Javanese*. Some are of a red, others of a pale green colour; they grow without any Seed out of the moisture of the Earth. Some of them are used here like as in *Europe*, and are Eaten with Wine and Sugar.

The Plant, the Root whereof is called *Borbori* by the *Javanese*, *Saffian di Terra*, i. e. *Saffron under Ground* by the *Portuguese*, *Kurkun* by the *Arabians*, and by the *Latins*, *Radix Curcumæ*, or *Curcuma-Root*, has Leaves not unlike those of the *White Hellebore*, viz. thick, long, and broad, smooth, and interspersed with many Veins. The Stalk is thick, and grows up to a considerable height: The Flower is of a Purple colour, and the Root resembles the *Gentian-Root*. After the Flower comes the Fruit, like a Chestnut, containing a round Seed not unlike our Pease. The Root contains a *Saffron* yellow Tincture, whence it has got the Name of *Indian Saffron*. The *Malayans* Boil and Eat them both with Fish and Flesh, and look upon them as the most Sovereign Remedy in the World, against all the Obstructions of the Liver, Lungs, and Spleen; against the Gravel and Stone, the Stoppage of the Monthly Flowers, and other Diseases of the Womb; but most especially against the Yellow Jaundice: This Root is one of the main Ingredients in that Ointment, called *Borbori* by the *Javanese*, wherewith they anoint the whole Body.

The *Indian Tree-House-Leek*, grows in the Isle of *Java*, on the *Mango-Trees*, and a certain *Indian-Oak* called *Kyati* by the *Malayans*. The Shrub has long Leaves, in taste, not unlike our Sorrel, but are more Juicy, and much thicker, like our common House-Leek. It has long round Roots, out of which sprout forth certain Threads, which fasten to the Trees and Stones, and grow thus till they come to their full Perfection. It has a small white Flower of an Aromatick, approaching to the smell of Citrons, for which reason the *Malayans* look up to it as a great Strengthenor of the Sinews and Brains. The Leaves and Flowers made up into a Conserve, are good against the Cramp, and very Cordial, like our *Borage-Flowers*. After the Flower comes the Fruit, of the length of a Finger, and an insipid taste, con-

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Mushrooms.

Indian Saffron, or Borbori.

The Indian Tree-House-Leek.

tain- 62. This Plant has a certain Quality of resisting all Putrefactions and Poisons; for which Reason the *Malayan* Physicians prescribe it as an infallible Remedy against poison'd Wounds, occasioned by the poison'd Darts, and other Weapons of the *Javanefes*, which they poison with the Blood of a certain Newt, call'd *Gekko* by the *Dutch*.

an onica. The Fields and Woods of *Java* produce a certain Herb call'd *Veronica* by the *Europeans*, with a white Flower; The *Malayans* and *Javanefes* call it *Oribat Marta*, i. e. a Remedy for the Eyes, because its Juice allays the Inflammations and Defluxions in the Eye. The same Juice or the Decoction of the Herb, they also use against old Coughs and Consumptions. By Reason of its Diuretick Quality, they also prescribe it for the Gravel and Stone, and the *Gonorri-vulenta*. The Leaves bruised are also apply'd outwardly to Ulcers, as having a singular drying Quality.

lkas. The Plant call'd *Kolkas* by the *Arabians* and *Moors*, has a very thick Root, large broad Leaves, and bears a red Fruit growing in Clusters, not unlike the *Arum*. It contains a slimy poisonous Substance, for which Reason the *Javanefes* cut them in Slices, and steep them three or four days in River Water; after which they squeeze the remaining Juice out by a Press, and having laid the Roots to dry, make a kind of Meal or Flower of it, of which they make Cakes instead of Rice. The *Malayans* and *Chineses* prepare them in the same manner. The Bread made of these Roots, which the *Javanefes* of *Materan* were forced to eat, 1629. at the Siege of *Batavia*, for want of Rice (their Magazine of *Tengel* being destroy'd by the *Dutch*) occasion'd a pestiferous Bloody-Flux in their Camp; The *Chineses* and *Malayans* also boil these Roots, but throw away the first Decoction, and putting on fresh Water, boil them again, and afterwards eat them with Vinegar, Oil of Cocoe, and Pepper as we do the Red Beet-Root.

The *Indian Betony-Tree* has speckled Leaves like our *Pulmonaria*. The Flowers sprout forth like Ears, sometimes a thousand in one Ear, of a pale blew Colour, like our *Rosemary* Flowers. The Decoction of this Plant they account a good Remedy against Spitting of Blood, the Consumption and Coughs, call'd *Sabit Hary*, i. e. the Disease of the Heart, by the *Malayans*, who comprehend the

Liver, Lungs, and even the Spieen, under the general Name of the Heart. The *Indian Women* use the Juice thereof as an Antidote against the Sting of Serpents, Scorpions, and such like venomous Creatures.

Java produces all sorts of Grass, and among the rest, a peculiar kind, which has four Ears crosswise on the Top of the Stalk, the Leaves being for the rest like those of common Grass. There also grows here another sort of Grass, of the same kind with six or eight Ears, which contain small Seeds. The *Malayan* Physicians prescribe the Root and the Grass it self for the Bloody Flux, stoppage of Urine, Exulcerations and pains of the Kidneys, and to promote the Monthly Times in Women. *Java* produces likewise another kind of Grass differing from the rest in the Roots, which are three or four small Knots, which when chew'd, have a Flavour like Cloves, but are not so hot in the Mouth.

The *Indian Primeprint* has got its Name from its Resemblance to ours, in its Leaves as well as Flowers; tho' the Leaves thereof have a more odoriferous Scent than our *Primeprint*; and the Flowers, tho' the same in shape, yet differ in their Colour from ours; those of the *Indian Primeprint* being inclinable to a Blew, whereas ours are as white as Snow; but the Berries of both are black. Like unto this is a certain Shrub call'd *Alkanna* and *Henne* by the *Arabians*, and *Chinnet* by the *Persians*, except that its Leaves are somewhat less. The Leaves of *Alkanna* are in great Request throughout the *Indies*, to give their Teeth, Lips, but especially their Nails, a red Tincture, a thing much esteem'd among the *Moors*. They prepare the Tincture, by steeping the Leaves after they have been rubb'd small upon a Marble Stone, in fair Water mixt with a small quantity of Lime; with this the *Turks* and *Persians* also Dye their Horses Tails. The Leaves chew'd leave a piquant taste upon the Tongue, yet without any Sharpness. Both these Shrubs are in high Esteem among the *Indian Women*, who use the Decoction of the Leaves, in all Diseases of the Womb; and have an Opinion, that it keeps them young; And to confess the Truth, they have a peculiar Virtue (if boil'd in Water) to cure the *Indian Gout* or *Barraneness*, call'd *Beriberi*; It grows all over the *Indies*, and the *Malayans* call it *Sabit Hary*.

The *Indian Sage Tree* grows twelve Foot high

to be seen about *Batavia*; and if planted in the Gardens, spreads its Roots to that degree, as not to be easily rooted out again. The Flowers are white, the Leaves very long and of an agreeable Scent. They Cultivate the Trees in the Gardens by pruning and cutting the Roots and Shoots at certain times, and by this means make it as good and as wholesome as our Garden Sage. The *Malayan* Women use it against the Distempers of the Womb, mixt with the *Sagaudi* and the *Daulontas*, wherewith they bathe themselves. The Flowers are prescribed by the Physicians to correct the cold Humours of the Brain and Sinews, and by reason of their Diuretick Quality are very proper in the Dropsic. Our Garden Sage as well as *Rosemary*, are a kind of Rarity here, the Excessive Heat of this Climate being as unnatural to them, as the Cold is with us in Winter.

The *Indian Verbena* grows also in *Java*, being altogether like ours, except that the Ears are somewhat longer and harder. They apply the Flowers bruised to Exulcerated Legs, by Reason of their drying Quality, requisite in the healing of Wounds, especially at *Batavia*, where the moist and hot Climate renders the Cure thereof very difficult. A Spoonful of the Juice of the Leaves taken inwardly, cures the Cholick and Bloody Flux; and the *Indian* Women attribute to this Plant a Secret Virtue against Witchcraft.

In the Woods of *Java* grows a certain kind of *Esula*, which shoots up to a great height, with a three corner'd Stalk, sometimes of the thickness of a Man's Leg; It has abundance of thorny Knobs, which being however not very hard, don't prick; The Leaves grow at some distance from one another, being not unlike those of our *Housteek*; out of the Stalk, (after an incision made) issues a milky yellow Juice, of a sharp taste. This Juice reduced to the Consistency of an Extract is administred in the Dropsic, Lameness and other Distempers proceeding from Cold; it purges both by Stool and Urine. This Plant differs not either in Shape or the Manner of growing from that, which affords that yellow Juice call'd corruptly by the *Apothecaries* *Gutta Gemoni*, and by the *Indians* *Lonan Kambodia*, because it is of the Product of the Kingdom of *Kambodia*.

In *Java* also grows a certain kind of *Morison Solia*, resembling ours in its Flow-

ers, Leaves and the Stalk. But the Fruit is much larger, and as hard as a Stone, containing a mealy Pulp. The *Portugueses* have given it the name of *Terva da Rosarios*, the *Rosary Herb*, because the *Malayan* Women use to make their Rosaries of the Fruit, and wear it about the Neck instead of Necklaces. Both the Herb and Fruit is proficuous in the Distempers of the Kidnies and Bladder.

The Fruit call'd *Boa Kamba* or *Kaman* by the *Javanese*, *Boa binfel* by the *Malayans*, and *Lesfise* by the *Chinese*, is by the *Dutch* call'd the *Indian Pear*, by reason of its Bigness, and Resemblance to our Pears. When ripe, they are of a pale yellow, with black Spots, hollow within, with blue Seeds, the Pulp adhering close to the Peel. They are scarce ever Cultivated in the Gardens of *Batavia*, by Reason of their crabbed Taste, tho' very agreeable to the Eye; They are brought in great Quantities into the Market there, especially in *February*. The Tree grows up to a great height, having a brittle and coarse Wood and Leaves.

Rambustan or *Rampostan* as the *Malayans* call it, is one of those Fruits, which are produced without Flowers, for this comes forth only out of a green Bud. They grow in Clusters on very small Twigs, of a Tree of the height of our Cherry-trees, are of a Purple Colour, and resemble at a distance our Chestnuts, whilst they are hanging on the Trees. Within is a slender quantity of a Pulp, of an acid agreeable Taste, and in this a Stone. They come to Maturity in *February*. There is another kind of *Rambustan* growing on shorter Twigs than the former, and being cover'd with a hairy Substance; But tho' these two Fruits are very different in outward appearance, their Taste is much the same.

The Fruit call'd *Satarra* by the *Malayans*, *Gandaria* by the *Javanese*, and *Romani* by the *Portugueses*, resemble our yellow Plumbs, but are somewhat bigger. The inside is not unlike the *Mangas*, and in Taste like the *Balsian*, yet not altogether so sour. They are green at first, but turn yellow mixt with an Orange Colour; the Pulp is likewise yellow. The Inhabitants Pickle and use them like as we do Olives; they are of no disagreeable Taste, but something more hairy than the *Mangas*.

The *Javanese* Flower call'd *Fule de Ja* (in the same Sense) by the *Portuguese*, is

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gueses, *Benga Japan* by the *Malayans*, and *Quiboa* by the *Chinefes*, delight in shady places; The Stalk is not above a Foot high, some of which produce white Flowers, others of an *Isabella* and purple Colour, sprouting forth with small Knobs between the Leaves; and no sooner do the Leaves of the lowermost Flowers fall off, but others come forth on the top in their stead. The Stalk after the Leaves have been cast, produces a Bud, containing a black Seed, as small as Tobacco Seed; Tho' this Plant will grow without it, if you put only a Twigg of it in the Ground. These Flowers have no other use but to divert the Eye.

The Tree
Patty.

The Tree call'd *Patty* by the *Malayans* and *Javanefes*, grows in many Gardens about *Batavia*, being cherish'd by the Inhabitants, by Reason of its spacious Branches and fine Leaves, which afford an agreeable Shade; It rises up to the height of an Apple-tree, with thin Branches, on which you see the Fruit hanging on the Stalks, three and three together, of a crabbed Taste, and therefore not regarded; they resemble the Pine Apple on the one side, and have a Seed within. The Leaves are of a lively green Colour, and grow very close together.

Mary-
golds.

The Flowers call'd *Marygolds* by our People, have got their Name rather from their Colour, than any other Resemblance to ours. The Leaves are dark green, like those of the Apple-tree, but somewhat less: On the tops of the Twigs sprout forth certain Orange colour'd Buds, which opening, produce the Orange colour'd Flowers with four Leaves, they have no other use than to please the Eyesight.

The Hunts-
mans-tree.

The *Huntsmans Tree* is a kind of *Wild Palm Tree*, the Stem whereof is covered with a grey Rind or Bark, twisted about as it were with Circles. The Leaves which are bright Green, grow on long yellowish Stalks, the lowermost of which, turn yellow by degrees, and hang downwards; being for the rest very agreeable to the Eye. The Fruit is not near so big as the least Coco-Nuts, and has no other use, except that the Inhabitants draw a certain Syrup and Sugar, which they sell to the Neighbouring Countries. The Wood of the Stem is very durable, provided it be kept from the Air, and so hard, that they can neither Saw nor Cut it; but are forced to split it by

pieces of Wood in it; Some of the *Indians* make their Bows of the Twigs of this Tree; and the *Chinefes* at *Batavia* make of the Leaves and tender Sprouts, Fanns to cool themselves with. The *Malabars* make use of the Leaves instead of Paper; which they know how to order with a great deal of Dexterity; For, the Leaves being about three Inches broad, and above a Yard long, they make Holes at one End of them, and so tie as many of them together with a String, as they have occasion for at a time. They write with an Iron Pencil, wherewith they know how to Imprint and Cut their Characters on the uppermost Surface of these Leaves, as that it they remain indelible. This they perform for the most part without keeping their Eyes so close and earnestly upon them, as we do. These Leaves are also very durable, and will not easily putrefie, even in Water; I have several Letters writ to me upon these *Olen* or Leaves by Persons of great Quality among the *Malabars*. This Tree also yields a Juice like the *Coco-tree*, which if boil'd, tastes very sweet, and is apt to Inebriate; but if not boil'd, turns sour immediately. But the chief Use they make of it is, to boil it into Sugar. This *Huntsmans Tree* is none of the lowest Rank among the many kinds of Palm-trees of the *Indies*, being much Esteem'd and Cultivated for its Usefulness, especially in the Isle of *Ceylon* and in *Javaparnam*, where you see whole Woods of this Tree.

About *Batavia* grows a Tree of a most delightful Aspect, with most pleasant Leaves, hanging downwards. The Stem, which is very thick, and Branches, send forth small sprouts full of green Buds or Knobs, which produce red Flowers, not unlike a small Lily; after which comes the Fruit, growing in Clusters, resembling both in bigness and shape our small Cucumbers, about the thickness of an Inch, and a Fingers length. They have a green rind, and within it a Seed, not unlike that of the Cucumbers, but somewhat more round. The *Malayans* and *Javanefes*, call this Fruit *Billingbing* and *Blinbing*. This Tree is among the Trees what the Sheep are among the Beasts; for they not only rob it of its Flowers and Fruit, but also of its Leaves and Rind, sometimes to the very Root, as having their peculiar use in Physick: So that this Tree would make the very slender appearance for the most part.

The Tree
and Fruit
Billing-
bing or
Blinbing

168 were it not, that provident Nature, did almost cover its Stem and Branches with gloriſerous Flowers and well-taſted Fruits. The Fruit is very Juicy and Cooling, but ſomewhat aſtringent; for which reaſon it is ſeldom uſed alone, but in Sauces, to give a good reliſh: The Fruit is alſo preſerved with Sugar. Our Phyſicians there, prepare a Syrup out of the Juice, and preſcribe it in the exceſſive Heat of the Liver and Blood; and this Syrup is alſo mix'd with the Decoction of the Rice, before it is peel'd, called *Pady*, and given in Fevers. This Juice alſo quenches the Thirſt, and has one peculiar quality, that notwithſtanding its aſtringency, it takes away that ſour taſte of divers other Fruits, which ſets the Teeth on edge.

The Herb called *Hounds*, or *Dog's-Tongue*, from its reſemblance to ours, which bears the ſame name, is by the *Javaneſes* called *Suroe*, by the *Malayans*, *Sudu-Sudu*, and by the *Chineſes*, *Kautſu*. The Stalk is thick below, but grows thin towards the top. As you pull off the Leaves, you ſee a milky Juice drop out of it; of which two or three drops dropt into the Ear, cures the Ear-Ach; as its uſe is only in Phyſick, it generally grows wild.

The Indian
Dog's-
Tongue.

The Plant, called *Bitter-Green* by our People, has got its Name from its bitter taſte: It grows in the Gardens of *Batavia*, and creeps up to the next Tree or Stalk, almoſt like the Branches of the Cucumbers, but that its Leaves are deeper carved, and more pointed. The Fruit is alſo not unlike a Cucumber, yellow with green Streaks, and a thick Rind, yellow within, with a red Kernel. When it comes to its full Perfection, it is marbled with an Orange colour. The *Dutch* make no account of this Fruit, by reaſon of its bitter taſte; but the Inhabitants uſe it in their Sawce called *Karry*, and put the Root and Leaves in their ordinary Drink, which preſerves it for two or three days, whereas otherwiſe it would turn immediately. They Cure the bitterneſs with Sugar.

Among all the Garden Fruits, there is ſcarce any that exceed the *Durions*; 'Tis true, the Scent of it is not unlike that of Rotten Figs, and conſequently not very inviting to ſearch after the Kernel, which makes amends for the ſmell, being of a luſcious taſte. The Tree which produces this Fruit, grows crooked, with abundance of Branches; and very harſh Leaves pointed at the end, of a Palms leſſe, ſometimes grey on the outſide,

but bright green on the other ſide. They are not inferiour in height to the tallſt Trees of *Europe*. The Fruit *Durions* grows in Cluſters on the thickeſt ends of the Twigs, and ſprouts forth out of a green Bud, which growing bigger and bigger by degrees, opens at laſt into an ſhallow colour'd Flower, ſurrounded on the outſide with hard Leaves, like a Rind: This Flower produces a thorny Fruit, of the bigneſs of a *Melon*, covered with a thorny Rind, not unlike the Fruit *Jaka*; it is green at firſt, but turns yellow. It has four Partitions within, in each of which you ſee a Stone like a Peach-Stone, of the bigneſs of a Cheſnut, containing a delicious ſweet and white Kernel. Before they take out the Kernels they ſtamp the Fruit under foot, to avoid being wounded by the thorny Prickles. The *Durions* are always Eaten raw, being reckoned one of the wholeſomeſt Fruits in the *Indies* if uſed moderately; but if in exceſs, Inflame the Blood, and raiſe Pimples in the Face. They ſeem to have an Antipathy againſt the *Betel*, becauſe they will not grow near it, but Die. They come to Maturity in three Months time, and chiefly in *October* and *November*, tho' I have ſeen them alſo in the Market of *Batavia* in *Auguſt*, for they are to be had all the year round, but not in ſuch Plenty. They grow much about *Bantam*, whence they are brought to *Batavia*. The firſt that I ſaw was in the Grounds of *Chriſtian Chandelſhour*, near the great River of *Batavia*; and ſince that I have met with them in divers other Places thereabouts; ſo that this Fruit thrives as well here as at *Bantam*, but no where better than near *Malacca*, where the *Durions* are of an exceſſive bigneſs.

The *Pepper*, called *Lada*, or *Laden*, by the *Malayans*, and *Maritſia* by the *Javaneſes*, grows on tender Branches, with abundance of Knots, and creep up along Stalks or Trees like our Hops. Sometimes they will climb beyond the Pinnacle of the higheſt Trees, and afterwards hang downwards. On the Stalks or Twigs of theſe Branches the *Pepper* grows in ſuch thick Cluſters, that they are ſcarce to be diſcern'd from the leaves. Theſe ſprout forth out of the Buds of the Branches, being green, and interſperſed with Veins, not unlike thoſe of the *Cinnamon-Tree*, pecked at the Extremity, ſometimes of the breadth of a Hand, and long in proportion, of a bitteriſh taſte, and hot upon the Tongue: After the Leaves come forth certain Twig;

Twigs or Stalks not unlike those of the Hazel-Nut Trees, on which hangs the Berries, like our red Currents, but in larger Clusters; these Berries turn black as they ripen. The Pepper is one of the chiefest Commodities in the Spice-Trade; the best grows along the Coast of Malabar, near Koylang, where I used to Buy great quantities for the Companies Use: The Pepper must be Planted in a rich Soil, and bears Fruit within the year. In Malabar it ripens chiefly in January, but in other Places sooner or later, according to the difference of the Climate. In the Isle of Java it ripens in October, and is gathered in November and December; and is then green, but turns black, as it is a drying in the Sun; after which it is made up into Balls of 80 or 90 Pounds. The best Pepper, is, white, close and biting within: There is also a sort of long Pepper. The Indians also make a Pickle of green Pepper. Of the Sagon-Tree, represented in the next Print, we have treated before.

Wild
Onions.

The Portuguese have given the Name of a Wild Onion, or *Sabolas de Matte*, to a certain Flower, because its Root resembles that of an Onion, tho' for the rest it has not the least congruity with it. The Javanese and Malaysians call it *Hakung*, and the Chinese, *Tankio*. This Flower grows in a Bunch on the top of a thin Stalk, but near three foot high. They come forth out of red Buds, are of a high red colour, with Purple colour'd Streaks of a Palm in length; are very delightful to the Eye, and of no disagreeable smell, especially in the morning before the Dew is dry'd up by the Sun-Beams, for which reason they are much cheris'd in the Gardens of Batavia. The Leaves of this Plant are above three foot long; and spread all round about, being pointed towards the Extremities.

The Roots of Potato's, called *Patates* by the Portuguese, after the *Brasilians*, are called *Ubi Tora* by the *Malaysians*, *Ubi* by the *Javanese*, and *Hamsa* by the *Chinese*. These Roots grow in the Ground on Branches, with Leaves not unlike the Cucumber Leaves: Some of these Branches bearing white, others blue Flowers, shaped like Bells. The Chinese cultivate these Roots in the Fields near Batavia, which must be well Dung'd beforehand; They cut the Ranks near the Extremity, which they put into the Ground, and let them grow for some time. Then they cover these Ranks with rich Earth at a foots distance perhaps, into which

the ranks send forth their Roots, which come to Maturity in a short time, and sometimes grow to the thickness of a Man's Arm, and a Foot long. Some are red on the outside, and these are in greatest Esteem at Batavia, but don't approach in goodness to those of Brasil, especially near Rio St. Francisco, where these Roots are red both within and without. This Root is frequently Boil'd by the Dutch both with Fish and Flesh, excelling in taste and Sweetness much our Parsnip-Roots or Artichokes: They are also Eaten raw with Salt, Oil, and Vinegar, like a Salad, but are not of so easie a Digestion then; The best way is to Roast them in the Ashes, which makes them taste like Chestnuts, and are good to stop the Looseness, a Symptom very frequent to those that Inhabit near the Line; for which reason this Root is in great Request here, and cultivated with a great deal of Care, which makes them very cheap here; for you may Buy as much for a Half-penny as will suffice for a whole Meal. In the Isle of St. Thomas they use them instead of Bread. They also make a kind of Drink of them. They Boil a considerable quantity of these Roots in a Kettle well covered, till they are soft or tender; then they stamp them well, and put them in a Vessel with Water, where they begin to ferment in twice 24 hours, when the Vessel must be stopp'd up; which done, it turns clear, and as strong as good Beer.

Besides the Potato's, there grows another Root about Batavia, called *Injames* Injame by the Portuguese, after the *Brasilians*, or *Byra* by the *Javanese* and *Malaysians*, *Byra* and *Siasini* by the *Chinese*. It has a very fine green Leaf, and interspersed with Veins: The Root has commonly five or six Inches Diameter, and is one foot and a half long, having a brown Rind, but is white within. The Flower is of a greenish colour. These Roots are sold in the Markets of Batavia by the piece, weighing each 15 Katty, or thereabouts, a Katty being a pound and a quarter, according to our weight, so that 30 Persons may Dine upon one Root. Its taste is however not near so good as the Potato's, and being of a hard Digestion and very dry, are not much look'd after by the Dutch, but the Natives are very fond of them.

The Tree which bears a kind of Blue Plum, spreads its Branches very far, but not unlike the Mulberry-Tree, except that its Leaves are of a different shape. You see this Tree frequently at

1662. the same time, laden with Flowers and Fruit, both ripe and unripe: The Wood is very tough, so that you may venture to climb'd up by the smallest Branches:

The Flowers are of an agreeable scent, especially in the Morning before the Dew is gone: This Fruit is not regarded at *Batavia*, because the Markets are overstock'd with them by the Country People, who bring them in vast quantities thither out of the Mountains; tho' for the rest it is of an agreeable taste, somewhat like the Dates. They are rarely to be met with here in the Gardens. This Plum comes forth out of certain Buds, consisting of five white Leaves each, and grows on the Twigs like our oval Plumbs. It is green at first, but turns to a dark red, but the Pulp is white, within which are three Stones. The *Malayans* and *Javanese* call these Plumbs *Boa Soa*, or *Sau*, the *Chinese*, *Theely*, and the *Portuguese*, *Fruite de Manilla*, i. e. Fruit of *Manilla*. At *Batavia* I never saw but one Tree, bearing at the same time Flowers and ripe Plumbs.

Java produces divers sorts of *Oranges*, among which, three are prefer'd before the rest, viz. the common ones, and those of *Japan* and *China*. The Trees are much of the same height, but different in their Leaves. Those of *Japan* have broader Leaves than the ordinary ones, and these again broader than those of *China*. They all are of a different taste, yet very agreeable. The *Japanese* *Oranges*, are the biggest and most juicy, but somewhat inclining to a sour taste; Among the ordinary ones, some are exceeding sweet, others quite Crab-like. The *China* *Oranges* have a pleasant taste, betwixt sweet and sour, being prefer'd here before the rest, having a very thin rind: They are preserv'd with Sugar, like the *Portuguese* *Figs*, and thus transplanted all over the *Indies*.

Tho' this Fruit called the *Wild Jamboe* by our People, and *Jamboe* by the *Malayans* and *Javanese*, has not the least resemblance to the *Jamboe* we have given a Description of before, in outward appearance, because that grows upon high Trees, with a most delightful Blossom; whereas this grows upon a low Tree not unlike our *Mulberries*, without any Blossom, but is produced out of certain green Buds, not unlike the *Figs*, yet are they the same in taste, and divers other Qualities. Some of them are extremely well tasted, and quench the Thirst. Some are dark red, others white, mix'd with red, and that on the

1662. same Tree; where they grow in Clusters in such prodigious quantities, that they cover the very Leaves and Twigs, as if they had been spread over with a Scarlet Cloth. They are of the bigness of a Sugar-Pear. In *Amboina* they grow in such Plenty, that you may see the Ground under the Trees covered with them, every one being free to gather them: One reason whereof is, that they being used there as we do our *Acorns*, for the fattening of Hogs, which the *Moor*s and *Mahometans* abominate, they are not much regarded.

The Weed called *Tobacco* by the *Malayans* and *Javanese*, after the *Portuguese*, grows in all parts of the *Indies*; the *Chinese* call it *Hun*: *Tobacco* being frequently used by the Inhabitants, is consequently in great request, and carefully look'd after; That of *Ternate* being esteem'd the best, is most generally made use of at *Batavia*. They have a way of tying several Leaves, weighing about two Pounds together, with small twisted Canes; each parcel of the best being commonly Sold for Six Pence; but you may Buy also very good *Tobacco* at *Batavia*, for Two Pence. In *Amboina* each Family commonly Plants as much *Tobacco* in their Garden as they have occasion for, not troubling themselves with any other Plantations. About *Batavia*, the Plantations of *Tobacco* are chiefly managed by the *Chinese* and *Javanese*, and this Weed grows here and Thrives extremely well, provided it be planted in a rich Soil, when it will grow up to the height of eight foot, with Leaves of 18 Inches long and eight broad. The *Indians* don't take *Tobacco* through Pipes, but have a way of rowling one or more Leaves (according as they are big) together, and lighting the same at one end, suck in the Smoke as we do with our Pipes. The Women commonly take of the worst sort, and rowl up their Leaves in a piece of dry'd *Pyssang*.

Among all the Flowers of the *Indies*, *Fula Mogori*, that call'd *Fula Mogori*, or *Mugri*, i. e. *Gori*. The Flower *Mogori*, by the *Portuguese*, *Kombans Malati* by the *Javanese*, and *Radiboa* by the *Chinese*, is more esteem'd by the Inhabitants; which they Plant with singular care upon long and well dung'd Beds, with little Walks betwixt them: The Stalk on which this Flower grows, seldom exceeds two foot in height, and grows like *Briars*; The Leaves are smooth like the *Quince-Pear*-Tree Leaves, the Flowers exceeding white, consisting of four Leaves, which seldom open, and imitate in their odoriferous

1662 riferous Scent our White Lily's, but are no bigger than the Blossom of an Apple-Tree. The *Javanefes* of both Sexes wear these Flowers upon Strings on their Festival Days. I remember that at a certain Turnament on Horseback at *Japara*, I saw the *Javanefes* thus adorn'd with these Flowers, some of which had these Strings ty'd several times round above their Ears, with the two ends hanging down before, upon their Breasts. They also Distil a Water out of these Flowers, which they esteem a great Cordial in fainting Fits, especially, much beyond our Rose-Water; it being reckoned equal with Orange-Flower-Water. They prescribe it in Burning-Fevers, and Head-Achs, proceeding from a hot Cause. The *Javanefes* also wash their Faces with this Water, to make them smooth. The Leaves bruised are a good Remedy against the Rheum or Defluxions of the Eyes: These Flowers grow in vast plenty all the year round, and are sold in the Streets by the Slaves.

The Tree is called the *Melancholy-Tree*, has got its Denomination from its opening its Flowers not till after Sun-set, which continues no longer than the night time. Hence the *Portugueses* have given it the Name of *Arvore da noyte*, i. e. *The Night Tree*: At *Goa* they call it *Paravutake*, at *Malacca Singadi*, in the Kingdom of *Dekan*, *Pul*, the *Arabians*, *Guart*, the *Persians* and *Turks*, *Gul*, and the *Malabars*, *Mogli*, i. e. Trees, for its Excellency's Sake; for which reason the same *Malabars* call the Water Distill'd from the Flowers; *Mogli Water*: There is another kind of this Tree, which begins to Blossom in the Morning, and is bereaved of its Leaves by night: These Trees grow for the most part about *Cochin* and *Malacca*.

The Plant. called *Boenga Mera*, by the *Malayans*, *Komhang Merak*, by the *Javanefes*, and *Konksion* by the *Chineses*, has very fine green Leaves, growing on small Stalks, close together. The Flowers, which are not unlike our Gilliflowers, are high red, but yellowish at the Extremities: They no sooner open, but drop off, leaving commonly small Husks behind them, which contain a kind of Pease, but are not Eatable.

Among several other sorts of Beans which grow and are Eaten at *Batavia*, those called *Kassian Goedi* by the *Malayans*, and *Kassian* only by the *Javanefes*, but by the *Chineses*, *Lak Goetuin*, exceed the rest. They grow in the Fields all about *Batavia*, especially in those belong-

ing to the *Chineses*: The Stalks and Husks of these Beans are pale green, and somewhat Woolly; but the Leaves are smooth, and resemble those of our *French Beans*, being intersperied with many Veins. The Blossoms are white, and sprout forth out of green Knobs or Buds. These Beans grow almost all the year round, and consequently are no small advantage to the Inhabitants of *Batavia*, affording very good Food to the Labouring Men; as likewise for our Ships, because they will keep a great while at Sea.

The *Turkey-Wheat*, called *Maiz*, by a general Name among the *Indians*, and *Jangon* by the *Malayans*, *Javanefes*, and *Chineses*; grows in many Places in the *Indies*, and in good plenty about *Batavia*; for they take the Corn fresh out of the Ears, and put it into the Ground, which produces fresh Corn in three Months time. It is Boil'd and Roasted with the Chaff, and look'd upon as a great dainty; some of this Corn is white, some red. The *Indies* produce also Rice, Ginger, Cotton, and Sugar, in many Places, Figs, Quince-Pears, Apples, Lemons, besides many other Fruits.

Thus much concerning the Trees, Fruits, and Plants of the *Indies*, and of *Java* and *Batavia*, in particular; we will now proceed to give some account of the Living Creatures of the *Indies*, and begin with the Fishes.

The *Sea-Purpoise*, or *Hog-Fish*, is about 15 or 16 Inches long, and about seven in breadth. It has a very thick Skin, and such close and hard Scales, that scarce any instrument will pierce them; but when Boil'd, the Scales come off with ease, and the Skin is very soft. Their Flesh is very white resembling the Breast of a Boil'd Capon; the Mouth is but small in proportion of the rest of the Body, but is arm'd with two rows of white glittering Teeth, one above the other below. Upon the Back, which is brown, you see a sharp Fin, of half a Fingers length, which the Fish can erect at Pleasure, and such another is below near the Navil. The other Fins are not so strong, of a pale blue colour: The Belly is white, and glittering like Silver, but the sides are mix'd with yellow, which by degrees towards the back, turns into an ash colour. It has large brown shining Eyes, and when Boil'd is of a very pleasant taste.

The *Amboinese Fish* has got its Name because it is found chiefly in the Rivers of *Amboina*, that being very so-

Arvore da noyte, or, The Melancholy Trees.

Boenga Mera.

Kassian.

Turkey Wheat Maiz.

The Sea Purpoise, or, Hog-Fish, Sea-H.

is a very good taste, is look'd upon as a dainty here. It is about a Span in length, something like our Perch both in shape and taste. Its colour is inclining to brown, with blue Streaks under the Head, the Fins below the Mouth are likewise blue, but those on the sides are green and speckled. It is both a very wholesome and toothsome Fish, especially with a good Sauce.

The *Stone-Bream* is a most excellent Fish, some of which are four foot long; they resemble our *Breams*, (which has begot them their name) but are much bigger. Their Eyes are very large, with a large red Mouth, as are also the Fins and Extremity of the Tail. They are catch'd at Sea with a Hook, being not easily to be taken with the Net; and are Eaten either Broil'd and Boil'd. There is another kind, but not so good as the former, the Flesh of which shrinks when they are cut, from whence some call them, *Shrinkers*.

The Fish called *Baldpate* has got its Name from its Head and Neck, being without Scales, whereas the rest of the body is covered with them. It is of a greyish colour, its Mouth, which is very wide, being spotted with red. The Eyes are large, yellow, and starting out of the Head: It is one of the best sorts of Fish that can be Eaten, of a very agreeable taste: It is taken both in the Sea and Rivers.

Among that great variety of Fish found in the *Indies*, most of which turn immediately after they are catch'd; there are however a few that will take Salt, like our Herrings; such is the *Sea Black*, a Fish much of the bigness of a Herring, but not so long, and something broader: It is green on the Back, but white on the Belly, with a forked Tail: The Head is of a very odd shape, with a wide Mouth and large Eyes. They are catch'd in prodigious quantities, because they swim in vast Shoals, like the Herrings, especially on the Coast of *Malabar*, where they Dung their Rice-Fields with them. They are of a tolerable good taste, but not so good as our Herrings.

This Fish is called *Thurd* Fish, because it delights in nasty Places, tho' otherwise it is of no ill taste, but is not regarded. It is very flat, about a Span in length, and near of the same breadth. The Belly is blue, and the Body is full of brown spots.

The Fish called *Yellow Tail* is in shape and bigness like a *Bream*, with very sharp

Mouth. The Back all along to the Tail is inclining to a yellow, and the Tail very yellow, whence it has got its name. The Belly is blue, inclining to a brown towards the forepart. It has red Fins, and is catch'd with Hooks at Sea near the Rocks: It is both a wholesome and toothsome Fish.

The *Kael* Fish, as our People call it, *The Kael* is a kind of Pike with a large piked Mouth-full of Teeth, and large bright Eyes. The Belly and Tail is of a Purple colour, but the Back brown: It is very thick and plump, about a foot and an half long, Swims very swiftly, and of a good taste, but somewhat hard.

The *Ravens* Fish, has got its Name from its Mouth like a Bill under the Head. It is about a Span in length, red on the Back and Tail, but inclining to yellow on the Belly, and has two yellow Streaks on each side which vanish by degrees. It is a very firm Fish, and very wholesome to Eat, and is taken in Salt-Waters.

The *Kings* Fish has obtained his Title from its excellent taste, being one of the best and most wholesome Fishes of the *Indies*. Some are five foot long, and have long forked Tails. The Back and Sides are full of brown spots, but the Belly is white. They can open their Mouths very wide, and are very greedy after Carrion.

The Rivers and standing Pools afford also abundance of *Eels*; they are generally black on the Back, which turns pale towards the Belly, and are full of blackish Spots. It is the general Opinion here, That they are a kind of Water-Serpents: There is another sort of a ruddy colour with yellow Streaks, having a sharp Head with very small Eyes; some of them are a foot and a half long. They are Eaten by none but the Natives.

There is another kind of *Sea-Eels*, or rather *Water-Serpents* in the *Indies*, of about three foot long, of a brown colour, chequered with black spots like the Skin of a Serpent. The forepart of the Body is slender, but is as thick again towards the Tail. It has a long Head and Mouth with sharp Teeth, but so small as scarce to be discerned. It delights in Rocky Places, and serves the Natives for a dainty. This Fish has one peculiar quality, *viz.* That those who kill or exenterate it, are commonly seized with a trembling, and sometimes with fainting; which however continues not long; which seems to intimate that this Creature contains something of Reason which

Flounders are in Shape and Bigness like ours, except that they have Teeth, wherewith they take hold of all they light on; They also are as well tasted as the Dutch Flounders; they have here also Turbutts and Soals, little different from ours both in Shape and Taste.

The *Klip Fish* is a kind of Fish with a smooth Skin without Scales, flat, broad, and of the bigness of our *Plaice*; It is brown on the Back, spotted with white, but very white towards the Belly, with many Streaks of various Colours. The Mouth and Eyes are like those of the Bream, and it is a well tasted Fish.

The *Cod Fish* here is of the same Size and Colour with ours, except that it has very sharp Fins on the Back and the under part of the Mouth jets out beyond the uppermost.

The *Horn Fish* has got its name from the Horn upon his Head, and two more underneath, which being very brittle, is also very poisonous, and if part thereof remain in a Wound, will scarce admit of a Cure; and if you happen only to be wounded by it, it will Exulcerate immediately.

The *Flat Fish* is about a Foot long, with a smooth Skin without Scales, and a white Mouth; It glitters all over like Silver; on the Back it has a small Fin, and one more on each side. Underneath the Belly, it has only one Fin which is instead of the Tail. It is a Fresh-water Fish, of a very good taste, but full of small Bones, and therefore not much regarded.

The *Red Fish* is a kind of a Bream, of a dark red Colour, as are likewise the Fins; however the Belly is blew, and has two yellow Finns; It is very thick of Body, and the Head is sharp at the End, with a large Mouth and yellow Eyes, some are four Foot long.

The *Bitter Fish* is of the Shape and Bigness of a *Carpe*, with large Scales and red Fins, and two black Streaks round the Tail. It is a fine well-tasted Fish, but being full of small Bones, is not much in Request.

The *Parrot Fish* has got its name from its Mouth, which turns like the Bill of a Parrot. It is a foot long, and sometimes bigger. It is of a greenish colour, marbled or chequered towards the Head with yellow. Both the Fins and Eyes are of a blue colour; the last d surrounded as very large hard Teeth;

wherewith they often bite off the Hooks. This Fish is very greedy after Muscles and Oysters, which it cracks to pieces to come at the Fish. It is a very firm Fish and of a very good taste.

The *Short Nose* is a Fish like our *Haddock*, having a round Body; It is yellow on the Belly, and the Fins are of the same colour. The Mouth is just un the Nose, which is very short; It is well-tasted Fish.

The *Bone Fish* is of the bigness: shape of our Carps, but flatter, and another Head: It has large Scales, a forked Tail; its taste is very good, but being full of small Bones, is not much regarded.

The *Sand Smelt* resembles in colour and bigness a small *Whiting*, and round of Body, and inclining to a yellow on the Belly: It is a Sea-Fish, and of an excellent Taste.

The *Pack Fish* is generally above a foot long, with a smooth Skin, without Scales, but being very bright, it varies in colour according to the various Position its Body, appearing sometimes blue, then green, and soon after of a purple, some other colour. It is a long Fish, but not broad, not unlike a great *Smelt*, with a forked Tail, and Teeth in its Mouth. Tho' it is a well-tasted Fish, yet being full of small Bones, is not Eaten, except by the Natives.

The *Chinese Fish* is round, and about a Span long; The Head is like an eel, with small Eyes, and a long Tail. It is green on the Back, but white on the Belly. It is a fresh Water Fish, and well tasted, but those catch'd in Ponds are counted unwholesome.

The *Pitt Fish* is no bigger than a little *Smelt*, with a round Body, full of green and yellow spots, and without Scales. The Eyes, which they can draw in and out, are starting out of the Head. The Back they have sharp-pointed Fins. They delight in muddy Places, notwithstanding which they are well-tasted; They are very nimble, and will leap a great way.

The *Mullet* is a very fine Fish, which being catch'd in particular Places only, is let dry'd in the Sun, and transported all over the Indies. It is white of colour, chequered with blue and purple; It swims with great swiftness, and is so nimble, that it will not only leap over the Net, but even over the Fisher-Boat. These Fishes are of a dainty taste whilst in Season, but at certain times they are peppered with Worms, at which time they

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The Sea-Snipe.

they are neither toothsome nor wholesome.

Nothing more common than to give Names to Fishes in Foreign Countries from what they most resemble; whence it is, that the *Sea Snipe* has got its Mouth, which is like the Bill of a *Snipe*. Some of them are five foot long, with a Head like that of a Hog, and large bright Eyes: On the Back are large and sharp Fins, reaching from the Head to the Tail, and full of spots.

The Korets

Some *Korets* are six or seven foot long, have large yellowish Eyes, and a forked yellow and greyish Tail, with yellow Fins; under the Belly, which is blue, inclining to green, and under the Tail, are divers Fins. They are very bright, and shine like Silver, when they are catch'd at Sea with Hooks: They are very well tasted and not unwholesome, being sometimes a great Refreshment to those Ships that come to these Parts.

The Sea-Devil.

This kind of Fish has deservedly got the name of *Sea Devil*, by reason of its ugly shape; having the Eyes on one side, and the Mouth in the Concavity below the Head. Its Tail is like that of a *Roach*, with two Teats on each side, pointed towards the end: The Skin on the Head is full of brown spots; Some are near seven or eight foot long, but afford very coarse Food.

The Stip Fish.

The *Stip Fish* has a Skin full of Spots, is well-tasted, and taken generally with Hooks near the Isle of *St. Vincent*.

The Sea-Pigeon.

The *Sea Pigeon* has got its name from the resemblance of its Head to that of a Pigeon; and of its Breasts portuberaing like those Creatures. This Fish is without Scales; but not without divers Spots. It is but rarely catch'd, and none of the best tasted.

The Sea-Hedge-Hog.

The *Sea Hedge-Hog* is justly so called from its sharp Fins about the Head and Mouth, which is round, and has very large Eyes. They can't Swim very swiftly, and consequently would soon fall a prey to other Fish, were it not that Nature has arm'd them with these pointed Fins against any attempt.

The Suckers.

The *Suckers* are represented at length in the Cut, tho' there are some much bigger. They are blue, with bright yellow Eyes, a smooth Skin without Scales: They have no Teeth, but broad Lips, wherewith they will Suck, and adhere so close to other Fish, that they will rather be kill'd than let go their hold. They will stick so close to the *Shark* that they are often catch'd with them. They are Eaten sometimes for want of

better Food, but are but of an indifferent taste.

Some *Sharks* are eight, ten, or fourteen foot long: Their Skin is rough and sharp, and they have a double row of Teeth, and some three or four Rows, which are covered with the Gums. Their Eyes lie forward near the Mouth. It is a very pernicious Fish, which oftentimes bites off an Arm or a Leg, of those that divert themselves with Swimming. The *Sharks* bring forth their young ones alive, which follow the *She-Shark* wherever she goes, and in bad Weather creeps into her Belly, and come out again after the Storm is over. It is observable that certain Fishes of a foot long always Swim after the *Shark*, which are plainly to be seen in still Weather.

The *Sea Car*, (the Draught whereof you see in the Cut) is a very odd Creature, both for its colour and shape. The Eyes are exceeding large in proportion of the Body, the Back is of a Purple colour, and the Belly blue, with divers purple spots. The Tail is in comparison of the rest of the Body, vastly large, and pale red, wherewith it Swims, it being destitute of Fins. However, just on the Front of the Head, it has seven Fins, which stand out straight forward like those of the *Shrimps*. It affords very good Food, especially if dry'd in the Sun.

The *Klip Fish*, or *Soldiers Fish*, is a kind of a Bream, but sometimes grows not above to the length of a Span: It is flat and of a pale colour: On the Back it has sharp Fins like a Perch; a sharp Tail, and yellow Eyes. It is one of the best Fish in the *Indies*; of a very delicious taste.

The *Sea Eagle* is an odd kind of Fish: It has a Tail like a Roach, with large Fins like Wings, a thick Head, and tastes like a Roach.

The *Sea Cat* is a round Fish of a Span in length, of a very odd shape; The hindermost part of the Body being an oval Lump, on which hangs the Head. It has long and large Eyes, a smooth Skin, inclining to blue, but brown upon the Belly. The Intrails of this Fish contain a certain Gum, out of which the *Chinenses* make their Ink. They dry this Fish in the Sun, as the *Dutch* do the *Plaife*, and are in great Request among the *Indians*, tho' they are of no case Digestion.

The *Leaping Fish* is so called, because they Leap and Play continually upon the Surface of the Water. They are of the bigness of a Herring, and

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Fish on the Back, from the Head to the Tail. They have a knotty Head, and the Body of a greyish colour, with black spots; but toward the Belly they begin to be white. They look very fiercely before they begin to Leap. They are Sea Fishes, and of a very good taste, especially Broiled.

Pampus.

The *Fish Pampus* is above a foot long, and about a Span in breadth; for the rest in colour and shape, not unlike our *Plaice*, with a smooth Skin: The Eyes stand on both sides, and the Mouth straight forward. It is a well-tasted Fish, especially if dry'd and Eaten as the Dutch do their *Plaice*.

Peyxe
Kok.

Peyxe Kok, i. e. the *Fish Kok*, so called by the *Portugueses*, because when taken it makes a noise or sound like *Kok*. It is taken near the Isle of *St. Vincent*, and is but an indifferent Fish.

The Blower.

The *Blowers* are huge Fishes which appear now and then in the open Sea. They have got this Name from their drawing in of the Water, and spouting it out again with great force into the Air.

The *White Fish* is about the bigness of a *Whiting*, with a round hanging Belly, a straight Back, and turn'd up Mouth: Its Tail is forked, it has one large Fin upon the Back, and abundance of small ones betwixt the Belly and the Tail. It is full of Streaks all over the Body, and on the Mouth it has two long Teats: It is of a very good taste.

The *Five Finger Fish* has got its name from five black spots on each side, resembling the Prints of Fingers. Its Length is about a foot and a half, with a small Head, large Mouth, and brown pointed Fins towards the Tail. It is of a shining blue colour mix'd with purple, without Scales. It is of a pretty good taste, and taken in the Sea all over the *Indies*.

Karappa, or *Round Fish*, is not unlike a *Whiting*, of a very good taste: It has but a small Head and Tail, but a pretty bulky Belly. Below it has some Fins not unlike those of an *Eel*.

Some of the *Flying Fish* are near as big as a *Corvette*, of a bluish colour on the Back, but inclining to a brown towards the Tail. They have large Eyes, and large yellowish Fins, and resemble in shape our *Smelts*: They are of an agreeable taste, but not easie to be catch'd, except when they Fly against the Sails, which they frequently do, and so fall upon the Ships Deck.

The *Fork Tail* is a long and round

Fish, with a very long forked Tail, whence it has got its Name. Its Head is not unlike that of a *Herring*, with a long Teat on the top of it; and two more below near the Mouth, like those of the *Shrimps*, but larger, they keep them close to the Body when they are a Swimming. They are of the bigness of a *Mackrel*, but of no extraordinary good taste.

Some *Soals* here are a foot long, of the same colour as ours, and as well-tasted; but their Heads are strangely shaped, the Mouth turning quite to one side, as well as their Eyes.

The *Bonites* are not unlike the *Corbena*, but with lesser Fins and blue Streaks, which vanish by degrees towards the Tail. The Back is of a dark brown, and the Belly white, the Eyes blue, surrounded with a yellow Circle. Some are a foot and a half long, and very bright when first taken, which is done without much difficulty, because they follow the Ships, and are very greedy after a Bait. They Eat best if they are Salted a little before they are Broil'd.

The *Sword Fish* has a very odd Head, not unlike that of an Owl, with a very wide Mouth: The Skin is hard, the Back grey, the Belly white, without any Scales. On each side of the Sword, which is above five foot long, are 27 Teeth: Their whole length, including the Sword, is generally 25 foot long, and so thick, that scarce two Men can grasp them. Near the Eyes they have two Nostrils, through which they draw the Water in and out.

The Fish call'd *Siap Siap* by the *Javanese*, is a River Fish in great request among the *Javanese*, and is taken in considerable quantity near *Batavia*.

The *Pyed Fish* has got its name from its spotted with pale blue spots: It is about a foot long, and pretty thick, without Scales. The Eyes, which are yellow, are surrounded by a blue Circle; underneath the Throat hangs a Crop extending it self to the Tail: It has a little Mouth, and on each side a yellow Fin. It is in great Esteem among the Inhabitants, and well-tasted, but contains a certain venomous matter, which must be carefully taken out when they are gutted.

The *Five Eyes* have got their name from Five Black Eyes, enclosed in yellow Circles, which are in the Fins near the Tail. They are smooth and yellow without Scales; pretty thick with a small Head and sharp Nose, which turns over the

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the Mouth, near which they have two red Fins; they are catch'd in the Rivers and are well-tasted.

Sea-Bats. The *Sea Bat* has got its Name from its resemblance to a *Bat*: It has two yellowish Wings streak'd with three blue streaks; a long Tail, thick Head and large Mouth. By its taste it seems to be a kind of *Thornback*.

The Gadgoun. The *Gadgouns* of Java are of the length of a Finger, but scarce an Inch thick. They are speckled with pale blue and other colours, without Scales; they have small fork'd Tails; are catch'd in the Rivers and are exceeding well-tasted. There is another kind of them taken in the Sea, in such prodigious quantities, that they sell a whole *Canoe* full for eight or ten Pence, and Fatten their Ducks and Geese with them.

Carps. The *Indian Carps* are taken in the Rivers being not in the least different from ours either in shape or taste.

The Sea-Monster. The *Sea Monster* is an odd kind of Fish, having a knobby Star of eight Tacks upon the Head, and upon that a certain Excrecency resembling a Bishop's Mitre: From the sides of the Head issue two Fins of the same length with the Body of the Monster. It has a very dreadful wide Mouth, and very broad Tail, wherewith it guides it self in Swimming.

Shrimps and Creafishes. They have divers sorts of *Shrimps* and *Creafishes* in the *Indies*; and of the latter sort, a certain kind which have Teeth like a Saw on the Back; Some of them are of that bigness as to weigh six Pounds, of a delicious taste, and very wholesome, being accounted good for such as are troubled with the *Asthma*, or Spit-Blood. The *Sea-Shrimps* are a Salt-Water Fish, the biggest of which are near a Span in length, and have Shells like ours, of a fallow colour with a red fork'd Tail. Out of the Head come forth divers Fins, on which hang two small thin Horns. They are very well tasted, and five or six are sufficient for one Man's Meal. The *River Shrimps* are about the bigness of our *Sea Shrimps*, of a blue colour, with a small Head and thick Body. Out of the Head come two long Fins, as fine as a Thread; Their Shell is not so hard as the former, neither are they so well-tasted. The Rivers here afford also abundance of *Creafishes*, which are taken in holes among the Oysters. They are better tasted than our Lobsters.

The Sea-Star. The *Sea Star* is an odd shap'd Fish with five Branches or Tacks, like a Star: They are of a pale red colour, an Inch

thick, covered with a knobby Skin underneath which are many small Bones. They have a hole in the middle of the Head, which they draw their Sustainance: They are never to be seen at Sea, except in Calm Weather, and are taken and kept rather for Curiosities sake than any other use.

The *Sea Crabs* are of about the bigness of a Span, of a most curious colour, the Shell being speckled with yellow spots; besides which they have three purple spots enclosed within white Rings. Their Claws are yellowish towards the Body, afterwards white, and at the Extremities of a high Purple colour, their Eyes are fixt upon certain small Tacks an Inch breadth without the Head. There is also a kind of *Blue Crabs*, some of which are a foot and a half long: They are of a Purple colour spotted with white: The Claws are blue, and of a purple colour towards the Body: Their Eyes are fixt upon small Tacks like the former, and stand a Fingers length without the Head. They are a Salt-Water Fish, and very well-tasted.

There is another kind of Lobsters not quite so big as the former, which run very swiftly: Their Eyes stand likewise about two Inches breadth without the Head, especially whilst they are running, but otherwise can draw them back, and lay them close under two Fins. Their Bodies are marbled with divers colours, the Claws of a purple colour; Behind they have two small round and blue Shells, edged with yellow. Some are of a considerable bigness, and of a very good taste. There is another sort of *Sea Crabs*, of the same bigness as the *Blue Lobsters*, but easily to be distinguish'd from them by their colour, which is inclining to green, with red Claws, and by their taste, which is exceeding delicious; these being the best sort throughout the *Indies*: Their Eyes stand likewise an Inches breadth without the Head. Some *Sea Crabs* here are of a prodigious bigness, and are as well as all other Shell-Fish best in the Encrease of the Moon. Some Crabs here cast their Shells, and during a certain Season of the year abide under Ground till they grow again. The *Indian Oysters* are preferr'd before those of Europe.

The Muscles of the *Indies* are like ours, but somewhat bigger; The Shell is brown both in an outside and in an inside. There is another sort of *Sea Crabs* called *Red Crabs* by our People: They are of a red colour; they are

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they open two sharp Horns, and on the other end, a pale yellow Tail, where-with they can fasten themselves in the Mud. They are of the same taste, and used like ours, as well as those we commonly call *St. James's Muscles*. Of Oysters they have also several sorts, the biggest adhere to the Rocks, some to the Roots and Tacks of the Trees; They are all of a very good taste, and are either Stew'd with Spices, or Eaten raw with Lemon Juice and Pepper.

Abundance of *Purple Snails* are found in the Islands over against *Baravia*: The Scallop or Shell is of a yellow colour, of the bigness of a good Citron, with curious Windings at one end. Within this Shell is the *Snail*, which is round, plump, and yellow, streak'd with black. They are Boil'd and Eaten by the *Chineses*, who have a way of polishing the Shells, and pick out of the middle of the Snail a certain purple colour'd substance, which they use in colouring and making of red Ink. There is also another kind with green Shells, streak'd with black, white within, and of the bigness of a Child's Head: The Snail is of the same colour, and is not ill tasted. Another sort has a shell pale red marbled with white, and curiously twisted, of the bigness of an Orange: The Snail is of the same colour, and is Eaten as we do our *Perewinkles*, but is of a hard Digestion.

The *Quallen* are a certain Product of the Sea, of a mucilaginous substance, without Head or Tail, or Entrails; they commonly are of the bigness of a Trencher, and sometimes lesser. They have purple edges all round them, wherewith they Swim. In the midst is a certain white spot, (which is sometimes bluish) wherein perhaps their Viscerals are contained. If they are forced ashore, they are Dissolved. The *Chineses* have a way of Distilling a certain *Arack* or Strong-Water out of them; which is excessive hot, sharp, and unwholesome, causing Exulcerations in the Body. For if this substance happen to adhere to the bare Skin of a Man in Swimming or otherwise, it burns with great Violence, and raises Blisters immediately.

The *Dorades*, by some called *Sea-Dreams*, are a kind of *Dolphins*. They have long and sharp Fins on the Back, and a very long Tail; underneath the Belly they have three Fins, the last of which extends as far as the Tail. Some are 4 or 5 foot long, and rather broad than thick. They Eat tolerably well, if Sal-

ed before they are dress'd, but are of a hard Digestion: They are sometimes taken with the Hook, being not easily catch'd with the Harpion, by reason of their nimbleness, which is such, that they will Leap sometimes five or six foot high above the Water, after the *Flying Fish*.

The *Indies* afford excessive large *Thorn-Scates*, some of which are as big in circumference as a moderate Table, and will suffice to Dine forty People. They have vast long Tails, but are of the same colour with ours, and of the same taste, but are hard of Digestion; but the young ones are much better: Their Fins, which are very large, are of a purple colour: All Fish with Scales cast their Spawn; but those without Scales bring forth their young ones alive.

INDIAN and JAVANESE Birds, and Four Long'd Beasts.

IN the Isles of *Sumatra*, *Banda*, and the other adjacent *Molucca* Islands, The Bird is to be found a certain Bird, called *Emeu*, *Emeu*, or *Eme* by the Inhabitants, and *Casuaris*, by the *Dutch*. He walks constantly with his Head straight upright, when he is about five foot high, and about three in length from the Breast to the Tail. The Head is in proportion of the Body, but small, very smooth, and of a dark blue colour. Before on the Neck, hang two red Teats, or Bags. The Eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the Ear holes; and almost at the extremity of the Bill two Nostrils; and from the midst of the Bill to the crown of the Head, grows a hard yellow Substance, like a Cockle-Shell, especially in the Males. They have very long and gross Legs, covered with a yellowish Rind, their Feet are thick, knobby, and without Spurs; instead of which they have on the forepart three long horny Claws in which they differ from the Ostriches; whose Feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with Feathers, or rather with Plumes, of a dark red mix'd with black. Those upon the Breast and Thighs grow two and two together, but those on the Tail are much longer and stronger. Underneath the Feathers, which grow on both sides, are hidden certain Pens, which serve them in running, for these Birds are scarce able to raise themselves from the Ground. They are exceeding greedy, devouring every thing they meet with, even to Iron

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and Burning Coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any alteration; nay, they sometimes throw out what they have Eat, not till a year after, without the least Signs of any Digestion. For the rest they live upon Herbage. Their Strength consists in their Legs and Feet; and run so fast that no Man can overtake

them, and when exasperated, kick with their Feet backwards and sideways like a Horse. They lay greenish Eggs upon the ground among the Shrubs, scarce so big as our Hen-Eggs, speckled with dark green spots. The Yolks thereof are Eaten by their Inhabitants. They have neither Tongue nor Tail.



Flying-Cat.

Among the several sorts of *Flitter-Mice*, or *Bats*, that which by some is called a *Flying-Cat*, may well challenge a place; its Head, Tail, nay the whole Body and Bulk resembling to a Cat. It differs from the *Bats* in this, that whereas they hang on certain Tacks, this hangs on its Claws, and hides it self within its Wings: The Hair brown red, except on the Back, where it is black. Betwixt the fore and hindermost Legs grows two Skins, a little Hairy on the outside, which serves them for Wings. There is also a sort of *Flying Apes*, these have very sharp Teeth and Claws, and very lively Eyes.

The Hunting Bird.

In some parts of the *Indies* you meet with a certain Bird call'd the *Hunters Bird*. The Breast and whole Body is black, but the Tail grayish; The Head is dark yellow. but without Feathers:

below the Neck hangs a Bag, not unlike those of our *Turkeys*; The Bill is distinguish'd by certain twisted Rings, by which they discern their Age, every Year producing one like our Oxen Horns. On the top of the Bill grows a horny Substance; they are look'd upon as a Rarity; and sold at a dear Rate.

In the Isle of *Mauritius* you meet with a certain Bird call'd *Draught* by the Inhabitants, and *Dodgers* by the Dutch. Its bigness is betwixt an *Ostrich* and a large Turkey, and has also some Resemblance to them in his Feathers and Tail. His Head is very large, not unlike that of a Cuckoo, but cover'd all over with a Skin. The Eyes are large and black, the Neck crooked and very thick: The Bill is very long, thick and pale blue, except towards the Extremities, the uppermost whereof is blackish. And the

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undermost yellowish, but both sharp and beak. He is very thick and round of Body, covered with soft grey Feathers, like those of the *Ostrich*; the Belly and hindermost part are so thick as to touch almost the Ground, which is the reason he is easily catch'd. On both sides he has certain Pens instead of Wings, of a pale yellow colour, and instead of the Tail five curl'd Plumes of the same colour. His Legs are short and thick, with four large Claws. The Meat, especially that of the Breast, is fat and toothsome enough, and three or four of these Creatures afford a Meal for 100 Persons. In his Stomach is sometimes found a certain porous hard Stone.

The *Parrakets* are of a green colour, of the bigness of a *Starling*; Their Bills are yellow, the Neck red mix'd with green, and the Wings yellow at the Extremities: They are found in vast numbers in the Woods, and are easily tamed

and taught to Speak. There are divers sorts of them of different colours.

The *Martins* here are as big as our *Magpies*, of a black colour with a yellow Bill; and a yellow Tuft upon the Head. The midst of the Wings is white; the Feet yellow, with large crooked Claws. The *Javaneses* are great admirers of this Bird, and teach him to Whistle and Speak, which he does as distinctly as a Man, but with somewhat a rough Voice. There is another sort of them not so big as these; They are found all over the *Indies*, and feed upon Rice and other Fruits of the Earth.

The *Indian Crows* are pale blue, in shape betwixt a *Heron* and *Stork*. The Head and Neck is somewhat of a darker colour, with a curl'd Tail, and sharp Bill. They live most in Wildernesses, and fly (as they say) sometimes, as far as *Europe*, under a certain Leader, who flies sometimes before and sometimes behind.

Flying Bird.

tail

Bill

A Duck

The Bird
Rubus.

The Bird *Rubus* is of the bigness of a *Starling*, with a blue Bill and Legs, the Back and Tail red, and white and black Wings. The Head is green, and in his Tail he has two large feathers, like the *Paradise Bird*.

In divers parts of the *Indies* are very large *Bats*, exceeding in bigness our *Cats*: In the Isle of *Java* are some of the ordinary sort, no bigger than a *Pigeon*; they live in the Woods, and are accounted a dainty by the *Javaneses*. In the Night

time they will get sometimes into the Chambers if the Windows be left open, and draw Blood from such as are asleep there.

There are two sorts of the Bird called *Gwira*, they are both white, mix'd with some brown Feathers. One sort has a red Belly, and the other a blue Tail, with one very long Feather in it.

The *Pocro* is a long, but slender Bird, of a Span in length including the Bill and Tail. The Bill is somewhat crooked, and the Tail like that of the Bird *Gwira*. His Feathers are bluish, mixt with yellow, and his Feet very small. He feeds upon Pisimires.

In *Java*, you meet often with *Cormorants*, not unlike our Geese, except that they are much bigger; underneath the Bill hangs a large Bag, which they can extend and draw together at pleasure, and in it keep such Fish as they have swallow'd. Their Feet are like those of the Swan, and their Bills are crooked towards the Extremities. They are so greedy of their Prey, that they rush out from among the Flags with such violence, that they are easily taken by that means. They swallow Oysters with the Shells, and keep them in their Bags till they open, when they spew them out again and swallow the Oyster. They are frequently found in the Isle of *Din Ding*, and soon discovered by their Noise.

All over the *Indies* you meet with *Ducks* in great numbers, resembling ours both in bigness and taste. They are generally dark yellow, with a black Bill and Legs, large Bellies, and Tufts on their Heads. But whereas the *West-India Ducks* have hanging Bellies, these carry them more upright. By reason of the excessive heat they are not easily brought to sit upon their Eggs, which are generally laid under Heats, or found cradled in Horstedung or Ovens. Their Meat is very wholesome, provided they are well fed.

The *Wide Bill* has got his Name from his Bill, which reaches up on both sides to the Eyes: He is scarce of the bigness of a Pigeon of a pale black colour, with black Wings, and underneath the Eyes and Bill white. They are brought to Market in great quantities at *Batavia*, their Meat being well tasted.

The *Strand Bird* is a kind of *Snipe* of the bigness of our *Wood-Cocks*. Their Feathers are green mix'd with black, they are sold in great numbers at *Batavia*, and in taste are not unlike our *Wood-Snipes*.

The *Indian Turtles* are not altogether

so big as ours; and of a yellowish colour mix'd with grey: They have a black Feather in each Wing, and the Tail is black and white; under the Neck they are somewhat brighter, and the Breast almost red. They are taken in great quantities in the Rice-Fields, and are fat and well-tasted.

The *Indian Geese* are much finer and larger than the *European Geese*, resembling rather our *Swans*, their Necks being excessive long, of a yellowish colour, but their Bills black. Along the Back, upon the Wings and Tail they have dark grey Feathers mix'd with some light ones; but on the Belly they are white. They have not so shrill a Voice as our Geese, but differ not in the least from them either in shape or taste, their Feet being likewise red. They have both wild and tame ones.

In divers Places of the *Indies* are great quantities of Birds of Prey, as Eagles, Hawks, Kites, and such like, which do prodigious mischief both among the wild and tame Fowl, and are of such Strength, that they carry sometimes a young Pig away and devour it in the Woods or among the Rocks. There is a certain Bird of Prey here, which you see moving in the Air without moving its Wings; and another called *Jin* by the *Chineses*, exceeding all the rest in nimbleness: It is greenish on the Back, but white on the Belly. The Eyes are quick and red, and the Bill yellow, bent like a Hook at the end. Their Feet are likewise yellow, arm'd with long and very sharp Claws.

The *Kokoy* is a kind of a *Heron*, but much exceeding ours in Beauty, being yellow before and green in the hindermost part. On the Head he has a delicious Plume, spreading all over the Neck. The young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones are tough and taste much after Fish.

Kolibry is the least of all the Birds, being no bigger than a *House-Fly*; it has a very sharp Bill, wherewith it sucks its sustenance out of the Flowers, though some are of Opinion it feeds upon the Dew. It has all the Colours of the Rainbow, and its Wings are not unlike those of the Pigeons or Ducks: It builds a very Nest to the South under the Branches of Orange, Limon, or Cotton-Trees, to defend it self against the Injuries of the North Winds: Its Eggs are no bigger than Pease. There is another Singing exceeding fine, but is not so well colour'd; it weighs not above 24 Grains, and

Date Recd



and is catch'd by throwing hot or any thing else upon it.

In the Woods of Java you see vast Numbers of Birds not unlike our *Quails* or *Throftles*, but of the bigness of our wild Pigeons; Their Bills are however somewhat longer than those of our *Quails*, and their Noise is very different. They are of so cold a Constitution, that if exposed on the cold Ground, they are in danger of perishing by Cold, for which Reason they hide themselves, cover'd with their Wings in the hollows of Trees, immediately after Sunset, and at Sun-rising come forth again and begin to Chirp with a great deal of Chearfulness.

Quails.

The *Indian Quails* resemble those of Europe; are brown on the back and blue on the belly; they have a yellow Bill, and four Claws, viz. three before, and one behind; they don't make any Noise, but are very good Meat.

Rice-birds

The *Rice-bird* is of the bigness of one of our Pullets, but something longer Legg'd, with brown feathers on the Body, a red Head, and very large Claws; they live among the Rice whence they have got their Name, and eat very deliciously roasted.

Pheasants.

In many Parts of the *Indies* are also *Pheasants* with long and pointed Tails; some are white on the Breast and about the Eyes.

*utter-
ies.*

They have prodigious Numbers of Butterflies of various Colours; They have long Bills, which they can stretch out when they suck the Juice of the Flowers, or draw back at pleasure. Some are of a most delicious Colour, intermix'd with blue, white and red, beyond what can be express'd. They are generally of the bigness of the Palm of the Hand, when their Wings are spread; some have larger Wings than others, and have two small Feathers on their Heads.

*Wood Pi-
cons.*

The *Indian Wood Pigeons* are of the bigness of our Tame Pigeons, with brown Spots on their Backs; a white Belly, purple colour'd Breast, and red Feet; They resemble entirely our *Turtle Doves*, or common Pigeons, live generally in the Woods or in the Rice-fields, and are a most delicious Food; when they are Tam'd, they will breed in our Houses.

be Lory.

The *Lory Bird* is a Bird as big as a Parrot, but of a much finer Colour, with a Lofly round Breast, cover'd with yellow Feathers. The Wings are green, the Head black and shining, with a yellow Bill. The *Indians* give sometimes a Crown for such a Bird, because they

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will Learn and Speak several Languages, and are very tame; There is another with large and long Tails, sometimes three quarters of a Yard long, these are blue on the Back, and yellow under the Belly, and commonly call'd *Kakkatams* or *Indian Ravens*. Another kind there is, which is white all over, except a yellow Tuft on the Head, which they set upright when they are vexed. They have also some resemblance both in shape and bigness to our *Mag. Pies* or *Blackbirds*; these imitate a Man's Voice much more distinctly than the Parrots; They are of a bluish Colour, mix'd with dark blue Spots and Streaks, they have a yellow Tuft on the Head, which is black, and as smooth as Velvet.

The *Yelambers* are as big as our Larks, with a thick Bill and red Feet; their Feathers are yellow chequered with grey, they are catch'd in prodigious Numbers, and sold in the Markets of *Batavia*; being look'd upon as a Dainty.

The *Rice Sparrows* are no bigger than our ordinary Sparrows, and of the same Colour, except that their Bills are somewhat thick, with a few black Feathers near the Tail, and some white ones underneath on the Belly, their Feet are blue. They are found in such prodigious quantities, that the Inhabitants are scarce able to preserve the Rice from being devour'd by them.

These Birds properly call'd *Parroquets*, are no bigger than our Larks, but have a very fine green Head and Wings; the Back underneath the Wings is of a high red Colour, the Breast light green, and the Tail of a most agreeable Colour; They are found in the Woods in great Numbers, feed upon Rice and Fruits, but will not speak, being kept only for their Feathers sake.

The *Indian Pullets* are generally white, with long red Tails, and their Feet almost cover'd with Feathers, and a bright red Comb on the head. They are not much bigger than our largest tame Pigeons, but very well tasted. They were first transported to *Batavia* from *Siam*. They have also a kind of tame fowl with black Feathers, Legs and Flesh, which however is not ill tasted, and accounted very wholesome; Another kind there is that have Hair instead of feathers, others have their feathers turn'd forwards the Head in lieu of declining backwards.

About *Batavia* and many other parts of the *Indies* abundance of *Herons* are to be seen in the low Grounds; They are in bigness the same with our *Herons*,

Yyy

with

are above a Finger in length, of a ruddy colour, inclining to black, some with, others without Wings. They are very pernicious to the Fruits of the Earth; and, even in the Houses, scarce any thing can be preserved against them without a great deal of Care. It is observable, That an *Ant* meeting another with something in her Mouth, will give way to her if she be not laden herself.

attempil-
s.

The Gardens about *Batavia* are extremely pestered with *Caterpillars*; they are about five inches long, with long brown Horns, standing upright on their Heads. The Head and whole Body is yellowish, but the Wings inclining to a green, spotted with yellow. They Feed upon Herbs and Leaves like the *Locusts*.

chron-
els or
Knobs

This Infection got its Name from the knotty Corruption of its Body, which, as well as sweet is of a pale green co-

lour. It has two fore Legs covered with a hard Shell like a *Crab* or *Crab-Fish*. It seems to be a kind of *Locust*, and feeds upon greens, but can neither fly, nor run very fast. There is another kind, with a monstrous Head and Neck, and a thick Body, on the hindmost part of which are two small Pins like Thorns. The two Fore-feet are enclosed in a hard Shell and of a very odd shape; It has two Wings, but can scarce fly, by Reason of the weight of its Body.

There are many sorts of *Sugar* in the *Indies*, and of a very different Bigness; some are above four inches long, and have very thick Legs. Others have 8 Feet, a thick speckled Body, and a round Head with brown Eyes. They have two Teeth bent like Hooks, and they bite fiercely. There are also pickles made of these Trees.



The Lynx. The *Lynx* is a fierce Creature, of the bigness of a large Dog, and in shape seems to participate both of that and a Cat. He is of a brown colour checkered with Red, with black Streaks; His Tail is very short, and the Ears very black; he lives upon Prey, and is extremely nimble.

The *Sukotyro*, as the *Chineses* call it, is a very odd shap'd Beast; It is of the bigness of a large Ox, with a Snout like a Hog, two long rough Ears, and a thick bushy Tail. The Eyes are placed upright in the Head, quite different from other Beasts; On the side of the Head, next to the Eyes stand two long Horns, Sukotyro
or Suetario.

662 or rather Teeth, not quite so thick as those of the Elephant; It feeds upon Herbage, and is but seldom taken. Of the Jackall we have given a Description before.

en with inches. On the Cape of Good Hope, but especially in the Isle of Madagascar are certain Oxen with thick Bunches upon their

Necks and Shoulders, which being nothing but Fat, is melted and used by the Inhabitants like Butter; but these Oxen have not so great a quantity of Suet about their Kidneys as ours. The Cows of this kind frequently bear two or three Calves at a time.

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Ma- The Macassar Fox has got his name from the Isle of Macassar, where he is most found. He has an excessive long bushy Tail, which stands upright, flat Feet, long Claws, and short Ears, just as he is represented in the Cut.

s and they. There are divers sorts of Apes and Monkeys distinguish'd by peculiar names. Some are very small, others middle sized, and others as big as a Boy of eight Years of Age; such an one I saw myself once at Batavia. In many parts of the Indies, where the Inhabitants think it a crime to kill any living Creature, the multiply to a prodigious degree, and are very tame; They live for the most part in Woods, and feed upon Fruits. Some are green with a long Beard and large Eye-brow, like an Ancient Man; Some, call'd Cicatik by the Indians, have long bushy Tails, for Vol. II.

which Reason they are reckoned by some among the Fox kind. There is another sort call'd Saragofe, with long Tails, which they carry straight upright. Another sort are call'd Deaths Heads by the Dutch, from their pale Faces. The Suri Monkeys are in Bigness and Shape not unlike a Squirrel, but of a yellow colour; they have short and round Ears, large Eyes, and a large bushy Tail, wherewith they can cover the whole Body. They can leap at a great distance from Tree to Tree, and guide themselves with the Tail so exactly, that they seem to Fly. There is a certain sort of Monkeys or Apes, that are not in the least mischievous; they are no bigger than a Rat, but have a long Tail, which they carry upright. They have a green, soft and woolly Hair, somewhat inclining to a grey about the Eyes,

Zzzz and

1662. and a little white on the Feet. They have short Ears, a sharp Mouth, and brown Nose, the Feet being like those of an Ape. But these are very scarce. Those call'd *Sanguinys* are like-wise of the bigness of a Rat, and very nimble; Their Face, Hands and Ears are black, and the rest of the Body of a Chestnut colour, except that they have some dark yellow Hair along the Back; They have very long Tails, feed upon Fruits, and are very diverting.

The Pismire eater or Ants bear.

The *Pismire eater* or *Ants bear*, is so called, because he feeds chiefly upon *Ants*; There are three several sorts of *them*; The first is of the bigness of a young Hog, the second somewhat lesser, and the third like a Cat, but longer. They are all of a ruddy Colour like a Fox, with a long sharp Mouth, small Ears, and a Head like that of a Pig.

Stags.

Abundance of *Deer* or *Stagare* found in the Forests of the *Indies*, they are easily to be tamed here, so that they will feed among the Cattel. They are generally red, speckled with white, and much of the same bigness as ours. They have large Ears, long Legs, and are white underneath the Belly. The Horns of the Male are wrought towards the Head, and brown and very hard towards the Extremities. Their Flesh is very well tasted. With the Deer Skins a great Traffick used to be carried in the Isle of *Tayoman*, whilst the *Dutch* were Masters of it; for they used to take many Thousands of them only for the Skins sake, which were sold to the *Japoneses*; and scarce to preserve any part of their Flesh, except the Tongue, which is accounted a Dainty here.

The Iron Pig or Porcupine.

About *Baravia*, and in the Woods of *Java* are abundance of *Iron Pigs* or *Porcupines*. They grunt like Hogs, and are covered with a certain painted Pens or Pegs like Iron, whence they got their name. They are of different Sizes, some of the bigness of a good large Dog, but somewhat longer, and more short Legg'd. They are generally brown, with a grey Tuft on the Head, and a Mouth like a Hare, with two great Teeth both below and above, like a Horse, the two Fore-feet like those of a Deer, and the Hind most like a Bear. The Pins or Pegs are very sharp, a Foot long, and chequer'd with black and white. When they are at Rest, they lay them close to the Body, but if they are vexed, they can by contracting themselves, cast them forth with such Strength, that they kill Man or Beast; Thus some years ago, a

dead Lyon was found at *Good Hope* with a *Porcupine* in his Body, wherewith he less been kill'd. In the *Indies* retire into Holes, where without either eating or drinking. They feed upon Herbs and Roots, and cast their Pens as other Creatures do their Hair; In the Stomachs of some of these Animals grows a certain Stone, which by reason of its Sudorifick Quality is accounted very good in Pestilential Fevers, just as the Stone found in the *Vesica Biliaris* or Gall Bladder of the *Wild Boars*, is reputed the most Sovereign Remedy in that Distemper call'd *Morderi* by the *Javaneses*, and as much dreaded among them as the Plague in *Europe*, because it commonly kills in a few Hours time.

There are several sorts of Hogs in the *Indies*, some with, but the most without any Hair; Hogs Flesh is accounted wholsomer and better than Beef or Mutton, and is by the *Chineses* prescrib'd even for sick Persons. The *Wild Boars* feed upon what Roots or Fruits they can meet with, and I remember that I saw a considerable Number of them swim cross the Water in the Isle of *Dinding* neer *Malacca*, to look after Provisions. In the Gall-Bladder of the *Indian Wild Boars*, grows a certain porous Stone, call'd thence *Piedra da Puerco*; i. e. *Hogs Stone* by the *Portugueses*; it is Sudorifick, and Expedient in Malignant Distempers; They steep it in Wine for twelve hours, and give the Infusion to the Patients; or they give the Quantity of 25 Grains powdered, in Wine. Women with Child must be cautious of it, because it makes them Miscarry, it being a general Opinion among the *Malayan Women*, that they can procure their monthly Times, with only holding this Stone in their Hands.

The *Javaneses* Sheep are much of the same bigness as ours, some being white, others pyed, white and red, with short Legs, and little or no Wool. Their Meat is not so good as the *European* Mutton, Pork being much prefer'd before it here. The Sheep have sometimes Teats hanging below their Throats like some of our Hogs, others have such long Ears that you may tie them together underneath the Throat. Others have Tails of 20, 30 or 40 pounds, being one Lump of Fat, which eats best boil'd. Some have a plain Hair like our Goats, others a curled Wool, like our Sheep, and are milk'd like Cows.

Tame and Wild Boars.

Sheep.

A Young Cocoa Tree

An Old Cocoa Tree

*The
Pynang*





J 6 2.
Elephant
the Goats.

The Goats here are not near so big as the Sheep, nor is their Flesh so well tasted, tho' the Kids in some Parts of the Indies afford excellent good Meat. Some are white, some pyed, and have generally long Hair. Others have very long Ears, and Horns standing upright on the Head. In some Places they bear three or four young ones at a time: They make Cheese of their Milk.

Bouffles.

The Bouffles are Bulkier, and stronger than an ordinary Ox; they have no Hair, their Flesh is very good, but not so juicy nor so Digestible as Beef, for which reason it is most used among the Slaves, and other labouring People. Their Horns lie close to the Head; some of them are black, and when polish'd, are very useful for several things to be made out of them. The tame Bouffles are used in the Sugar-Mills, Plough and Cart: They Guide them by means of a Chain drawn through their Nostrials: Their Milk is accounted very wholesome: The wild Bouffles that live in the Forests are very fierce, and not easie to be taken.

Oxen and Cows.

Many Places of the Indies afford Oxen and Cows; the Flesh whereof, as well as the Milk and Butter, are very good: Some are red, others white, others pyed, and of several other colours. Some have Horns standing upright on the Head, others crooked Horns like ours; and others long Ears hanging downwards. However, the Beef is much better in some Places than in others: It is generally Eaten fresh, because it will scarce take Salt well in this hot Climate, and is not to be kept above three or four days. They bring a certain kind of Oxen from Suratte to Batavia, not much bigger than a large Dog; they look very fierce, notwithstanding which they are used in small Carts, to draw Children, or any other odd thing.

Horses.

The Horses here are of different sorts and colours, some black, others of a Chestnut colour, and others white and grey. The Javanese Horses are not very tall, but thick and well-set, like the Norwegian or Westphalian Horses, very strong and hardy; but are not near so high-spirited as the Persian Horses, that are transported from Suratte to Batavia, and excel all the rest in Swiftnes, Courage, and Beauty. The Indians carry on their Wars for the most part with Foot Soldiers, and preserve their Horses for the Draught and Travelling.

Thus much of the Isle of Java, and the City of Batavia, we will now proceed to give an Account of our return into Holland.

The Authors Return into Holland.

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The Author's return into Holland.

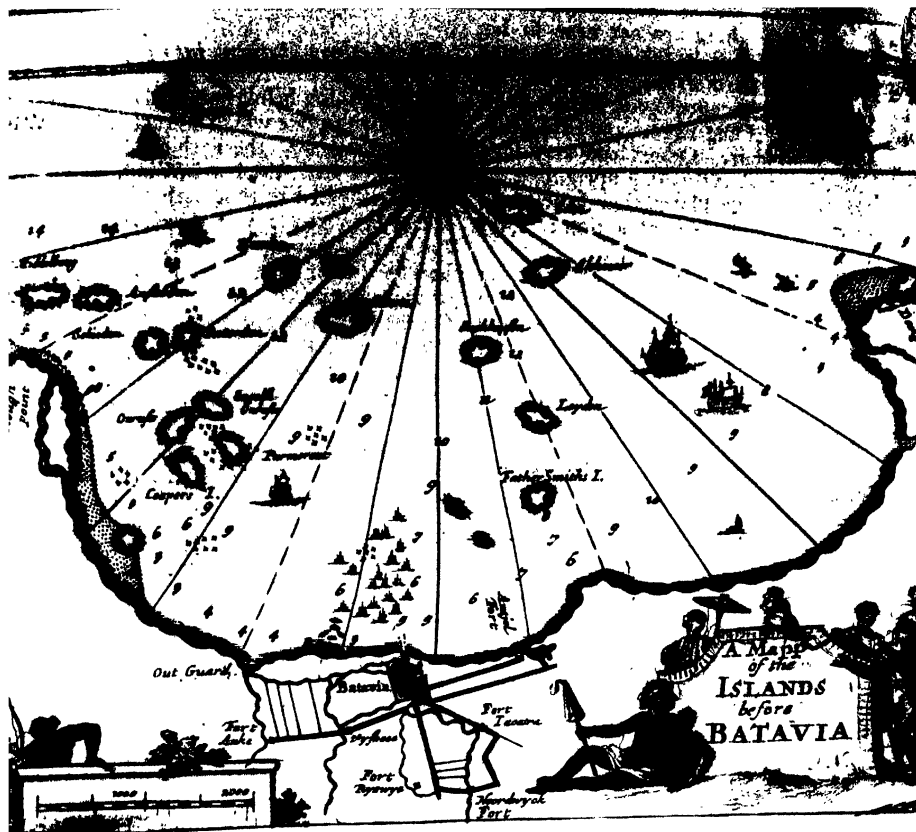
EVERY thing being got ready for our Voyage, we weigh'd Anchor in the Road of Batavia, the 17th of December 1670. and with the Land-Wind, pass'd betwixt the Isles to the South of Batavia, situate betwixt the Ruigenboeck, or Rough-Point, and Karoman, most of which have borrow'd their Names from some Place or other in the United Provinces; as the Cooper's Isle, the Schiedam, Amsterdam, Middleburgh, Purmerent, Rotterdam, the Pigeon Island, the Harlem, Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Edam, Almar, &c. we came the same Evening to an Anchor near the Isle call'd the Men-Eaters Island, near which the Ship called the South-Pole, struck upon the Sands, but got off again. Here a general Review being taken of all the Persons on Board the Ships, such as were found to be Indebted to the Company, were sent back to continue in the Service till they had discharged their Debts.

Then we set Sail again, and had the 19th, the Point of Bantam to the West of us, and Pulo Paly to the North; but being Becalm'd were forced to come to an Anchor at 15 Fathom Water. The 20th, having received some Refreshments by the Golden Lion from Bantam, we set Sail again, but the Calm obliged us to come to an Anchor again at 15 Fathom. The 21st we continued our Voyage, and had the 23d the Point of Java, called Krakkerou to the East-South-East, at 23 Fathom Water. The Commodore having by the usual Signal of the White Flag summoned all the Commanders of Ships aboard him, to know whether they were provided with what was necessary for so long a Voyage, the Golden Lion was sent back, and we had the North Point of the Princes Isle, West to the North; and the 25th the South-Point about four Leagues from us.

About Noon the Commodore went aboard and took a view of all the Ships under his Command, and in the Afternoon set Sail again; we met with several fierce but short Travadoes or Storms, at 7 Deg. and 41 Min. Southern Latitude. The 31st we had another most violent Travado at 9 Deg. 54 Min. but continued not long.

The First of January, one of our Ships Crew died, and we got sight of Land to the South-East, which we found to be the Isle of Mory, and that we were 64 Leagues to the South-South-West of the Princes Isle, being forced thus far to the East

The Isle of Mory.



East by the Tide; we were at the Latitude of 10 Deg. 29 Min. The 2d we had the said Isle to the South-East, and found its Situation to be 52 Min. more to the North than it is placed in the Maps. The 3d, we were within four Leagues of the said Island, at 11 Deg. 15 Min. Hereabouts one of our Ships Crew was found Dead in his Cabin. The 6th we were at 13 Deg. 40 Min. and the 9th at 14 Deg. 17 Min. The same day Mr. *Dirk Indiik* died of a long and lingering Diftermer: As he had been Factor and Fiscal at *Suratte*, and was accounted very rich, his Goods were all Sealed up in the Prefence of the Commadore and the other Commanders. The next following day we made 32 Leagues, and so continued our Voyage with a prosperous Gale till the 19th, when we found our selves at 20 Deg. 54 Min. of Latitude, and at 105 Deg. 14 Min. Longitude. The 26th, the Commadore having by the usual Signal summon'd the Chief Officers aboard him, to adjust the difference in the Compasses, and the same being found only 1 Deg. 33 Min. no alteration was made therein.

The 2d of February we were at the height of 29 Deg. overtaken by a most furious Tempest, with Thunder and Lightning, from the West, and had frequent Travado's till the 4th, and for many days after, had very changeable Weather, sometimes good, sometimes bad. The 26th with break of day we found 112 Fathom depth, but saw no Land; About Noon we found our selves at 35 Deg. 17 Min. steering our course Westward, the Weather being very fair, we saw divers Whale-Fish sporting in the Water, and some Sea-Birds; which, together with the colour of the Water, was a sufficient sign, that we were not very far from Land. The next day we found seven Fathom Water without seeing the Land.

6 The 28th very early in the morning *They discovered*
we discovered Land to the North-North-
West of us, at 45 Fathom depth, and the *ver Land.*
next day after Sun-rising at 38, being
then within three Leagues of the Shore,
which appeared hilly and white. About
Noon we were at 34 Deg. 36 Min. the
Weather cold and fair. The First of
March, we found our selves at 35 Deg. *and*

and steering our Course to the South East
in sight of the Land, which was very
near to the South East, and very
at night, in light of a mountainous
The 1st we still saw Land at
40 Fathom Water, and in the Evening
at 20.

The 6th before Sun-set, we saw the
famous Point of the Table-Bay of the Cape
of Good-Hope, where we cast Anchor be-
fore the Fort, at eight Fathom Water.
Here we met with three Ships, viz. the
Comand Peace, the *Damiana*, and a Yacht
bound for the Indies: and heard the good
News, that the Commodore *Tsbrand Gols-
ke* did come to the Cape, the last 2d of
February, and thence continued his Voy-
age with three Ships the 24th for Hol-
land. Our Commodore being then Sick,
he sent one to the Commander in Chief
of the Cape, named Mr. *Hakkins*, to no-
tify his arrival, and the next day went
ashore himself.

The 8th the *Mary Yacht* arrived at the
Cape from the Isle of *Madagascar*, having
on Board the Marquis de *Mondeverguin*,
a French Governour of *Madagascar*, and
the other adjacent Places under the French
Jurisdiction. He was a Person of 70
years of Age, and of a goodly Aspect.
He sent word to Mr. *Hakkins* Commander
in Chief of the Cape, that he should be
glad to come ashore, provided he might
be sure of a Reception suitable to his
Quality: However, he set Sail again on
a sudden, without coming ashore, per-
haps by reason of the Rumour that was
then already spread abroad of a War
betwixt France and the Dutch.

The same Evening the Ship called the
Spanbroeck came into that Road from
Ceylon, with Advice, That the *Cingalese*
had taken up Arms under their King *Ra-
dya*, and were in the mean while not idle
to provide our selves with what Necessa-
ries we could get for the prosecution
of our Voyage, till the 17th of March,
when the Commodore summoning all the
Officers aboard him, told them, That
he intended to set Sail the next Sunday,
viz. the 23th of March, without staying
for the two Ships we left behind, and a
War betwixt us and the French being
then much talk'd of, he ordered every
Body to be upon his Guard, and to pre-
pare for a vigorous defence in case of an
Attack.

The 20th was spent in letting the Sea-
men go ashore in their turn.

The 21st the Goods of the before-
mention'd Mr. *Indyck*, deceased, were
exposed to publick Sale, and 13 Dia-

monds, besides four more of an
ordinary bigness, with four
Stunks, being found, and a
state Pocket in his Breach,
were seized up, seized by the Company
as Contraband Goods, and the said
Company.

The 22^d after Dinner, the Commo-
dore having given the signal to Sail to
the five Ships, the *Peace*, the *Arms* of
Peer, the Count of *Breda*, *South-Pole*, and
Spanbroeck, they weighed their Anchors,
and after Sun-set were about two Leagues
and an half from the Table-Bay.

The 23^d, a Consultation being held
aboard the Commodore about Regula-
ting the Compass, and the same being
fix'd to 3 Deg. to the West we found our
selves that Evening at 33 Deg. and about
18 Leagues to the South-East of the Ta-
ble Mountain.

From hence we Steer'd our Course to
the Isle of *St. Helens*, of which we got
light the 12th of April, at 16 Deg. 44
Min. without any remarkable Accident.

The 13th with Sun-rising we were
within five or six Leagues of the said
Isle, when the Commodore Summoned
again all the Officers aboard him, in or-
der to Consult what Course they should
take towards the *Ascension* Island.

The 24th we were at 4 Deg. 32 Min.
and the 27th, at 16 Min. of Southern
Latitude, steering our Course North-
West to the West with an Easterly-wind
and brisk Gale.

The next following day we were at
15 Min. of Northern Latitude; and the
29th at 2 Deg. 38 Min. having been
much pestered with sudden Storms and
Travadoes.

The 14th of May, the *Breda* gave a
signal, as if they had seen Land, but it
proved only a Refraction of the Sun-
Beams through the Clouds. The Sea
hereabouts seem'd in the Night-time all
on Fire, a thing usual in hot Weather.

The 24th, at 25 Deg. 29 Min. we
found our selves in the *Kroos* or *Cross* Sea,
(so called from a kind of Water-Cresses,
or Ducks-Meat that Floats in prodigious
quantity upon the Surface of the Water)
and the 25th finding these sort of Her-
bage encrease, we judg'd our selves to
be more Eastward than we intended.

The 30th, at 26 Deg. 15 Min. our
Constable *Mans Timmer* died, and we
were still much pestered with these
Cresses, which continued the 1st and 2^d
of June.

We continued the same Course till the
13th, when it being agreed to fix the

Aaaaa Compass

They leave
the Cape of
Good
Hope.

Sail to the
Isle of
Helens

They pass
the Line.

See the
Brasil
Voyage.

The Mar-
quis de
Monde-
verguin
arrived at
the Cape.

5 6 2. Compass 4 Deg. more to the West, we took our Course North to the East, towards the Dutch Coast.

The 15th, being a foggy day, we discharged every Hour a Musquet, as a signal to the Ships to prevent their being separated from one another.

About Midnight the Commodore sent for me, and in the presence of the Master of the Ship, *Henry Span*, the first Surgeon, and the Minister, told me, That finding himself very ill, he was resolved to make his last Will, which he did accordingly, recommending his Affairs, and what he had of the Companies in his Hands, to our Care.

About six in the morning, he sent for me again, with an Intention to make some Alterations in his Testament, but before the Clerk could finish it, he Expired, without signing of it. We took care to Summon immediately the Council of War, where every thing being settled for the prosecution of our Voyage, we discovered Land the 29th to the North-East at 115 Fathom Water.

The 30th we found our selves over against the Isle of *Fulo*, and understood by one of their Fisher-Boats, that the Peace continued betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, and that 14 days before, 11 flout Ships pass'd that way.

Having provided our selves with some Cods, which we Bought or Exchanged at the rate of two Pence a piece, we gave the Signal by a Cannon shot, to our Convoy, which we expected to meet us hereabouts.

The first of *July*, meeting a Boat betwixt *Fulo* and *Hitland*, we charged the Master thereof with the Body of our deceased Commodore, in order to his Burial in *Hitland*: He had six Crowns given him for his Pains and Charges, with a promise of six more, after we had received certain advice, that he had well discharged his Trust. About Noon our two Convoys, the *Middleburgh* and *Leyden* came up with us, and after the usual Salute, brought us fresh Orders from the Company.

The 2d and 3d of *July*, several of our Seamen, and among the rest, the Quartermaster died of the Dropsie, an usual

Distemper to those that return from the *East-Indies*, and many more falling Sick daily, for want of Provisions, the rest were hardly put to it, especially in our Ship, which being Leaky, four Men were continually employed at the Pump.

The 5th we advanced bravely with a very cold Wind and Air.

The 6th it was fair weather, and we had 18 Fathom Water.

The 7th it proved cold and rainy, at 16 Fathom: The same Evening the Ship called the *Arms vanter Peer* left us, and soon got out of sight.

The 8th of *July* we got sight of the the Dutch Coast, and the Ship *Spanbroeck* having taken its Course towards the *Spaniards Gate*, we were forced to lie by till four in the Afternoon, when with the turning of the Tide, we made the *Texel*, where we came to an Anchor the same Night.

They arrive in the Texel.

The 9th, Mr. *Silvius*, Mr. *Bekker*, and Mr. *Schagen*, came aboard us, three Directors of the Company; who having given the necessary Orders for the Unloading of our Vessels, and taken the Diamonds belonging to the Company into their Custody, discharged the Ships Crew from their Service; and I Embark'd in a Boat for *Enkhufen*, and arrived at *Amsterdam* the 11th. Count *Maurice of Nassau* happening to pass at the same time through *Amsterdam* in his way over *Zealand* to *Cleves*, he sent for me; and I having shew'd him my Observations and Draughts of *Brasil* and the *East-Indies*, he engaged me to meet him the next day again at Dinner, at the House of Doctor *William Piso*, where I took my leave of the said Earl, he being just upon his Departure.

Some days after I appear'd in the Assembly of the Directors of the Company, unto whom having given a satisfactory Account of all my Transactions, they return'd me Thanks; and as a Mark of their Satisfaction, bestow'd upon me another Factors place; so that accordingly I undertook my third Voyage to the *East-Indies*, in the Ship call'd the *Arrow*, before the Expiration of the year.

Nieuhoff gives an Account to the Company.

The End of the First and Second Sea and Land Voyage.

1672.

The Third Sea and Land Voyage of Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF aboard the Arrow to the Isles of Majotte, upon the African-Coast of Mosambique, Extracted from his own Journals, and brought over and deliver'd by Cap. Reiner Klacfort to his Brother Henry Nieuhoff.

MR. John Nieuhoff having Embark'd aboard the *Arrow*, they pass'd by the French Coast the 18th of Decemb. and the 1st of Jan. 1672. at 29 Degr. by the Canary Isles, about three Leagues off of Teneriff, where they met with the *Lyon* bound for the *East-Indies*. They continu'd their Voyage with a prosperous Gale, without any remarkable Accident, and passing the 4th of Feb. the Line, and the 16th the high Islands of John Christian de Akonga at 36 Deg. 36 Min. Southern Latit. Arriv'd the 8th of April within sight of Cape of Good Hope, at 33 Degr. 30 Min. Latit. and cast Anchor the same day in the Table Bay the same night. Here they met with seventeen Vessels, thirteen of which were bound from the *East-Indies* for *Holland*, and accordingly set Sail the twenty fourth. The Ship the *Arrow* had aboard her a large Chaloop or Boat, which being taken to pieces before they left *Amsterdam*, was now set together again, for its more convenient Passage along the Shoar of *Sofala*, *Mosambique* and the Island of *Majotte*.

In this Chaloop (unto which they gave the name of the *Bow*) they Embark'd, and in company of the *Arrow* and another small Vessel call'd the *Goldfinch*, bound for the Isle of St. Maurice (having aboard Mr. Huigens) Governor of that Isle, set Sail the 30th of April. The 6th of June being at 36 Degr. 3 Min. Lat. the *Goldfinch* Steer'd her Course towards St. Maurice, leaving the *Bow* and *Arrow* to prosecute their Voyage towards the Isle of *Madagascar*, which they got first sight of the 20th. They kept along the Coast which was high and rocky, and near a large Point of Land found 20 Fathom Water at a Leagues Distance from the Shoar; and near it a long Sand Bank. They were then at 24 Degr. and being by Reason of the Land Wind, obliged to advance sometimes

nearer the Shoar, sometimes to keep off at Sea; they at last cast Anchor at 30 Fathom, whereas three Leagues from the Shoar, They could find no Bottom. The *Bow* afterwards followed the *Arrow*, but kept closer to the Shoar.

The twenty second they discovered a small Isle not above half a League from the Shoar; where the *Arrow* cast her Anchor at 17 Fathom; they went a Fishing, and brought back along with them two Canoes belonging to the Inhabitants, loaden with *Coco-Nuts* and *Water Limons*. The *Bow* being failed before, and come to an Anchor in the Bay of St. Austin near a small Isle, the *Arrow* followed her thither, and found at the Mouth of the River two white Points of Land jetting out into the Sea.

The Inhabitants brought some Fruits aboard us, and Mr. Hugo and Mr. Nieuhoff went a-shoar the next day, to see whether they could Traffick with them, but could only Exchange a few Slaves with them; however Mr. Nieuhoff catch'd abundance of Fish at the Mouth of the River.

The second of July the *Bow* sail'd within the Mouth of the River to refit, having received some Damage; they endeavour'd to catch some *Tortoises* but could not take any; About Noon the Captain of the *Madagascarians* came aboard us to Exchange some Slaves; and the seventh the *Bow* in which was Mr. Nieuhoff, and the *Arrow* separated, the first some Leagues to the North, but were to meet again at the Island of *Majotte*.

The 14th the *Bow* after 17 Leagues Sail was at 16 deg. 36 Min. Latit within sight of the Continent of *Mosambique*, and at 3 Leagues Distance from the Shoar, found 100 Fathom Water, near a Sand Bank: The next day they came within 1, League off of the Isle of *Paimibris*.

The 18th at 16 degr. 15 min. they saw white Downs, and in the Evening

They come
to the Cape
of Good
Hope.

They leave
the Cape of
Good
Hope.

They Land
at Ma-
dagascar

cast Anchor near a Sand-bank at 18 Fathom, whereas at the Stern of the Ship, there were at least 60 Fathoms. The 20th they passed by a large Bay, cover'd with a great Sand-bank, which at low water has six Fathom Water. The 22^d they pass'd betwixt the Southern Islands of *Mosambique*, named *St. James's* and *St. Joris*, where coming to an Anchor at nine Fathom, they met here with a stout *Portuguese* Ship at Anchor behind the Fort, having aboard the Governour of *Goa* lately come from *Portugal* with three lesser Vessels. The *Arrow* coming likewise afterwards to an Anchor here, divers *Portuguese* Officers came aboard us, to buy certain Commodities, and about the same timethree other *Portuguese* Ships, one of which had the Governor of *Mosambique* aboard her, arrived here from *Sofala*. It prov'd a very tempestuous Day.

The first of *Aug.* the *Bow* and *Arrow* set Sail again, steering their Course *Eastward* to the Isles of *Madagascar* and *Mafseleyn*. The 10th they got sight of the Shoar of *Madagascar* at 15. d. 53 m. and about half a League from a round Mountain cast Anchor at ten Fathom Water. The *Bow* entred the River, and discovered two Boats with Masts, and divers *Canoes*, but could not come up with them. As the Wind hereabout turns every 24 hours thro' all the Points of the Compass, so it is easie sailing along this Coast. The 12th Mr. *Nieuhoff* in the *Bow* sail'd towards the Isles of *Makandari* and *Magelagic*, taking a *Madagascan* Slave along with him.

The 15th the *Bow* and *Arrow* met again, but had not been able to Traffick much; They saw nine Boats with four square Sails pass in sight of them, and in a small River met with another Boat, that furnish'd them with eight Pullets, and told them, that further to the *North* they might meet with fresh Provisions enough. So they set Sail again, and after five days came to a large Bay, where they cast Anchor at seven Fathom. Here they were told, that it was a plentiful Coast, and that *Magelagic* and the Islands of *Makandari* were further to the *East*. The 22^d they came within a League of an Island, where they cast Anchor at 11 Fathom. The 24th Mr. *Nieuhoff* sail'd in the *Bow* up the River, *Magelagic* and returning the 26th reported, That this was the River upon which *Magelagic* stood, a populous and plentiful Place; That he had seen there an *English* Ship, that had brought Slaves there to be carried to *Barbadoes*, besides several other

Moorish Vessels Trading in Slaves. Here-upon Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went thither, and return'd the 30th. About two Leagues into the Country you see a high ridge of Land. The 31st Mr. *Nieuhoff* carried certain Commodities ashore, but could not agree about the Exchange, the Inhabitants offering very little, and holding their Slaves at sixteen Crowns a piece; However the second of *Septemb.* Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went ashore with some Cloves, for which the King had offered some Money before, but return'd unsuccessful, and the *Madagascanians* (a very malicious Generation) having besides this spoil'd the Ponds, where we used to fetch our fresh Water, they set Sail again for the River *Mavigando*, where they cast Anchor the ninth on the *East side* of the Cape, and met with good fresh Water on the *West side* of the Bay. Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* had the good Fortune to exchange some of their Commodities with the King of the Place, and brought back 22 Slaves, 13 Cows, some Sheep, and other Provisions, of which they stood in great want. The 22^d it being resolv'd to sail 36 or 40 Leagues further to the *North*; Mr. *Nieuhoff* sail'd before with the *Bow* to discover the Lands and Rocks, and came into the *Young Man's* Bay, where there is 10, 12 and 15 Fathom Fathom Water. Hence continuing their Voyage, they came the 27th about Noon to the Point or Cape of *Parmira* near one of the Five Islands at 13 Degr. 13 Min. The 29th they were near the Cape of *Komquiso*, where they saw some Fisher Boats. The middlemost of these Islands, is a high, steep and inaccessible Rock, which may be discovered a great way at Sea, some of the Fishermen having shew'd them where their King kept his Court. Mr. *Nieuhoff* set Sail thither in the *Bow*, leaving the *Arrow* in the Bay, and in Company with the Ships *Mate*, and some few Seamen went ashore, in hopes to Exchange some of his Commodities; But on the 7th, the *Arrow* was much surprized to see the *Bow* making towards them, and with two Cannon shot to give the signal of Distress. They sent out their Boat to meet them, which returning with the Master of the *Bow*, gave an Account, That Mr. *Nieuhoff* being gone ashore with some of the Company in the Bay of *Antegoa*, or *Ant Oly Sanbo*, by some stiled the *Murderers Bay*, to Traffick, was not returned, and that therefore the *Bow*, after a stay of three whole days, had weigh'd her Anchors, and set

fail again without them. It was concluded on all hands, that the *Bow* ought to return thither, but Mr. *Hugo* alledging that having at first no more than six Months Provisions, they would be in great danger of being starved if they tarried any longer here, he insisted upon returning to the Cape first, which they did accordingly, and set sail the same afternoon at 25 and 30, and again at 20 and 25 Fathom Water. In the Evening they pass'd near a great Sand-Bank South to the West, and North to the East, of the biggest of the three Islands near the Cape of *Koagiso*, about three Leagues from the said Isle, and the Northern Point and the great Isle of *Nausby*.

This was the end of Mr. *John Nienhoff*, who had spent so many years in viewing the *West* and *East-Indies*, and consequently deserved a better Fortune. What *Hugo* alledged, concerning their scarcity of Provisions, was indeed true enough; but on the other hand, it is unquestionable, they needed not to have bestow'd much time in looking after him. The *Bow* and *Arrow* prosecuted their Voyage, and on the 8th found themselves at 12 Deg. 40 Min. Latitude, having the *West Cape* of *St. Sebastian*, six Leagues to the *North-East*. The next following Day they came in sight of a small Isle full of Trees, about three Leagues from the Cape of *St. Sebastian*, near which place being toss'd to and fro by Tempests and contrary Winds, they were reduced to that Extremity, that they were forced to live upon a Spoonful of Rice

24 Hours; So that after having endured a great deal of Misery, and lost many of their Men, both the *Bow* and *Arrow* return'd to the Cape of *Good Hope* the 17th of *Decemb.* where Mr. *Hugo* met but with an indifferent Recreation, and the Master of the *Bow* was cashier'd for having not tarried longer near the place where Mr. *Nienhoff* went a-shoar. The first of *Jan.* 1673. the *Bow* and *Arrow* being provided with sufficient Provisions, set Sail again, the first for the Bay where they had left Mr. *Nienhoff*, the second for the Isle of *St. Maurice*, whither she was to carry Mr. *Hugo*. After their parting at Sea, no News was heard of the *Bow* for a long time after, till at last it was discovered that the Ships Crew had Mutinied, and sold the Vessel to the *French* at *Mosambique*; so that it remains uncertain, whether any of them had any Intelligence concerning Mr. *Nienhoff*. At the Request of his Brother, Mr. *Henry Nienhoff*, the Directors of the Chamber of *Amsterdam* dispatch'd the 2d of *May* 1676. the Yacht called the *Voerhout* from the Cape of *Good Hope*, to the Place where Mr. *Nienhoff* went ashore; which returning to the said Cape the 20th of *September* with 250 Slaves, brought no further account than that they had seen the King of the Place, and that he had declared to them, that he knew nothing of the matter; so that it is very probable, that Mr. *Nienhoff* and his Company, were at their first landing Massacred by the barbarous Inhabitants.

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F I N I S.

THE TRUE
TRAVELS,
ADVENTURES,
AND
OBSERVATIONS,
OF
Captain JOHN SMITH,
INTO
EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA,
From *Ann. Dom.* 1593. to 1629.

To the Right Honourable
WILLIAM Earl of *PEMBROKE*,
Lord Steward of His Majesty's most Honourable Household.
ROBERT Earl of *LINDSEY*,
Great Chamberlain of *England*,
HENRY Lord *HUNSDON*,
Viscount *ROCHFORD*, Earl of *DOVER*,
And all your Honourable Friends and Well-willers.

MY LORDS,

SIR *Robert Cotton*, that most Learned Treasurer of Antiquity, having by perusal of my General History, and others, found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other Parts of the World, requested me to fix the whole Course of my Passages in a Book by it self, whose noble Desire I could not but in part satisfie; the rather, because they have acted my fatal Tragedies upon the Stage, and racked my Relations at their Pleasure. To prevent therefore all future Misprisions, I have compiled this true Discourse. Envy hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that such should know, how little I esteem them, I have writ this, more for the satisfaction of my Friends, and all generous and well disposed Readers. To speak only of my self were intolerable Ingratitude; because, having had so many Co-Partners with me; I cannot make a Monument for my self, and leave them unburied in the Fields, whose Lives begot me the Title of a Soldier; for as they were Companions with me in my Dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this Tomb.

For my *Sea Grammar* (caused to be Printed by my worthy Friend, Sir *Samuel Saltonstall*) hath found such good Entertainment abroad, that I have been importuned by many noble Persons, to let this also pass the Press. Many of the most eminent Warriours, and others, what their Swords did, their Pens writ: Though I be never so much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great Errour, to follow good Examples; nor repine at them will do the like.

And now, *My most Honourable good Lords*, I know not to whom I may better Present it, than to your Lordships, whose Friendships, as I conceive, are as much to each others, as my Duty is to you all; and because you are acquainted both with my Endeavours, and Writings, I doubt not, but your Honours will as well accept of this, as of the rest, and Patronize it under the shadow of your most noble Virtues, which I am ever bound in all Duty to Reverence, and under which I hope to have shelter, against all Storms that dare threaten,

Yours Honours to be Commanded,

JOHN SMITH.

THE TRUE
TRAVELS,
ADVENTURES,
 AND
OBSERVATIONS
 OF
 Captain *JOHN SMITH,*

CHAP. I.

His Birth; Apprenticeship; Going into France; His beginning with Ten Shillings and three Pence; His Service in the Netherlands; His bad Passage into Scotland; His return to Willoughby, and how he lived in the Woods.

HE was born in *Willoughby in Lincolnshire*, and a Scholar in the two Free-Schools of *Alford and Louth*. His Father antiently descended from the ancient *Smiths of Cradley in Lancashire*; his Mother from the *Ricklands at Great Heck in Yorkshire*. His Parents dying when he was about Thirteen Years of Age, left him a competent Means, which he not being capable to manage, little regarded; his Mind being even then set upon brave Adventures, fold his Satchel, Books, and all he had, intending secretly to get to Sea, but that his Fathers Death stay'd him. But now the Guardians of his Estate more regarding it than him, he had liberty enough, though no Means, to get beyond the Sea. About the Age of Fifteen Years, he was bound an Apprentice to *Mr. Thomas Sendall of Linne*, the greatest Merchant of all those Parts; but because he would not presently send him to Sea, he never saw his Master in Eight Years after. At last he found Means to attend *Mr. Peregrine Bertie* into *France*, second Son to the Right Honourable *Peregrine*; that generous Lord *Willoughby*, and famous Soldier; where coming to his Brother *Robert*, then at *Orleans*, now

Earl of *Lindsey*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; being then but little Youths under Tutorage: His Service being needless, within a Month or six Weeks they sent him back again to his Friends; who when he came from *London*, they liberally gave him (but out of his own Estate) Ten Shillings to be rid of him; such oft is the share of Fatherless Children: But those two Honourable Brethren gave him sufficient to return for *England*. But it was the least thought of his Determination, for now being freely at liberty in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one *Mr. David Hume*, who making some use of his Purse, gave him Letters to his Friends in *Scotland* to prefer him to *King James*. Arriving at *Roan*, he better bethinks himself, seeing his Money near spent, down the River he went to *Haber de grace*, where he first began to learn the Life of a Soldier: Peace being concluded in *France*, he went with Captain *Joseph Duxbury* into the Low-Countries, under whose Colours, having served three or four Years, he took his Journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his Letters. At *Ancusan* he embark'd himself for *Lethe*, but as much danger, as Shipwrack and Sickness could endure, he had

had at the Holy Isle in *Northumberland* near *Berwick* (being recovered) into *Scotland* he went to deliver his Letters. After such kind usage among those honest *Scots* at *Ripswich* and *Brexbroth*, but neither Money nor Means to make him a Courtier, he returned to *Willingby* in *Lincolnshire*; where within a short time, being gladdened with so much Company, wherein he took small delight, he retired himself into a little Woody Pasture, a good way from any Town, inclosed with many hundred Acres of other Woods: Here, by a fair Brook he built a Pavillion of Boughs, where only in his Cloths he lay. His Study was *Machiavil's*

Art of War, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exercise a good Horse, with his Lance and Ring; his Food was thought to be more of Venison than any thing else; what he wanted his Man brought him. The Country wondering at such an Hermite, his Friends perswaded one *Seignior Theodora Poldaga*, Rider to *Henry Earl of Lincoln*, an excellent Horse Man, and a Noble Italian Gentleman, to insinuate into his Woodfif Acquaintance, whose Languages and good Discourse, and Exercise of Riding drew him to stay with him at *Tattersfall*. Long these Pleasures could not content him, but he returned again to the Low Countries.

CHAP. II.

The notable Villany of four French Gallants, and his revenge; Smith thrown over-board; Captain La Roche of Saint Malo relieves him.

THUS when France and Netherlands had taught him to Ride a Horse, and use his Arms, with such Rudiments of War, as his tender Years in those Martial Schools could attain unto; he was desirous to see more of the World, and try his Fortune against the *Turks*, both repenting and lamenting to have seen so many *Christians* slaughter one another. Opportunity casting him into the Company of four French Gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great Lord, the rest his Gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-perswaded him to go with them into France, to the Dutchess of *Merceur*, from whom they should not only have Means, but also Letters of Favour to her Noble Duke, then General for the Emperor *Rodolphus* in *Hungary*; which he did, with such ill Weather as Winter affordeth, in the dark Night they arrived in the broad shallow In-let of *St. Valleries sur Soame* in *Picardie*; His French Lord knowing he had good Apparel, and better furnished with Money than themselves, so Plotted with the Master of the Ship, to set his and their own Trunks ashore, leaving *Smith* aboard till the Boat could return, which was the next day after, towards Evening: The reason he alledged, was, the Sea went so high he could come no sooner, and that his Lord was gone to *Amiens*, where they would stay his coming; which treacherous Villany, when divers other Soldiers, and Passengers understood, they had like to have slain the Master, and had they known how, would have run away with the Ship.

Coming on shore, he had but one Car-

riage, was forced to sell his Cloak to pay for his Passage. One of the Soldiers, called *Curzianwere*, compassionating his Injury, assured him, this great Lord *Depreau* was only the Son of a Lawyer of *Mortaigne* in base *Britany*, and his Attendants *Cursell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, three young Citizens, as arrant Cheats as himself; but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their Friends, but in the interim supplied his wants: Thus Travelling by *Deepe*, *Cedebeck*, *Humphla*, *Point-demer* in *Normandy*, they came to *Caen* in base *Normandy*; where both this Noble *Curzianwere*, and the great Prior of the great Abbey of *St. Steven* (who is the ruinous Tomb of *William* the Conqueror) and many other of his Friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortaigne*, where he found *Depreau* and the rest, but to small purpose; for Mr. *Curzianwere* was a banished Man, and durst not be seen but to his Friends: yet the bruit of their Cozenage occasioned the Lady *Collumber*, the Baron *Larshan*, the Lord *Shafbe*, and divers other honourable Persons, to supply his wants, and with them to recreate himself so long as he would: But such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poor Estate, and his restless Spirit, that could never find content, to receive such Noble Favours, as he could neither deserve nor requite: But wandering from Port to Port to find some Man of War, spent that he had, and in a Forest, near dead with grief and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a fair Fountain under a Tree: This kind Peasant relieved him again to his content, to follow his intent, Not long after, as he passed thorow

A notable Villany of four French Gallants.

A Carriage is in value a penny.

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eves.

a great Grove of Trees, between *Pousterfon* and *Dina* in *Britany*, it was his chance to meet *Curfell*, more miserable than himself: His piercing Injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time *Curfell* fell to the Ground, where, from an old ruinated Tower, the Inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard *Curfell* confess what had formerly passed; and that how, in the dividing that they had stolen from him, they fell by the Ears amongst themselves, that were Accusers in it; but for his part, he excused himself to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other. In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earl of *Plover*, who during the War in *France*, with his two Brethren, *Viscount Poomory*, and *Baron d'Mercy*, who had been brought up in *England*; by him he was better returnish'd than ever. When they had shewed him *Saint Malo Mount*, *Saint Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their own fair Castle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britany* (and their *British Cornwaile*) taking his leave, he took his way to *Raynes*, the *Britains* chief City, and so to *Nantz*, *Poyters*, *Rechel*, and *Bourdeaux*. The rumour of the strength of *Bayon* in *Biskay*, caused him to see it; and from thence took his way from *Leskar* in *Bicarne*, and *Paw*, in the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Tolouza* in *Gascogne*, *Beziers*, and *Carcaffone*, *Narbone*, *Montpelier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the Country of *Avignon*, by *Arles* to *Marseilles* in *Provence*, there imbarcking himself for *Italy*; the Ship was inforced to *Tolonne*, and putting again to Sea, ill Weather so grew upon them, that they Anchored close aboard the Shoar, under the little Isle of *St. Mary*,

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against *Nice* in *Savoy*. Here the inhuman Provincials, with a Rabble of Pilgrims of divers Nations going to *Rome*, hourly cursing him, not only for a *Hugonor*, but his Nation they swore were all *Pirats*, and so vilely railed on his dread Sovereign Queen *Eliqabeth*, and that they never should have fair Weather so long as he was aboard them; their Disputations grew to that Passion, that they threw him over-board, yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no Inhabitants, but a few Kine and Goats. The next Morning, he espied two Ships more riding by them, put in by the Storm, that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that he was well contented to try the rest of his Fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former Discourse, what for pity, and the love of the Honourable Earl of *Plover*, this Noble *Britain* his Neighbour, Captain *la Roche* of *Saint Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well respected Friend. With the next fair Wind, they sailed along by the Coast of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and crossing the Gulf of *Tunn*, passed by *Cape Bona* to the Isle of *Lempadefa*, leaving the Coast of *Barbary* till they came at *Cape Rosara*, and so along the *African* Shoar, for *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. There delivering their Fraught, they went to *Scanderone*, rather to view what Ships were in the Road, than any thing else: keeping their Course by *Cypres*, and the Coast of *Asia*, Sailing by *Rhodes*, the *Archipelagus*, *Candia*, and the Coast of *Gracia*, and the Isle of *Zefalonia*. They lay to and again a few days, betwixt the Isle of *Corfus*, and the *Cape of Otranto*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Entrance of the *Adriatick* Sea.

Capt. La
Roche re-
lieves him.

C H A P. III.

A desperate Sea Fight in the Streights; His Passage to Rome, Naples, and the view of Italy.

A despe-
rate Sea
Fight.

BETWIXT the two *Capes*, they met with an *Argosie* of *Venice*; it seemed the Captain desired to speak with them, whose untoward answer was such, as slew them a Man; whereupon the *Britain* presently gave them the Broad-side, then his Stern, and his other Broad-side also, and continued the Chafe, with his chafe Pieces, till he gave them so many Broad-sides one after another, that the *Argosie* Sails and Tackling was so torn, she stood to her defence, and in one hour and

a half the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves, but clapping her aboard again, the *Argosie* fired him, which with much danger to them both was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britain's* rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himself again, shot her so oft between Wind and Water, she was ready to sink, then they yielded; the *Britain* lost fifteen Men, she twenty, besides divers were hurt, the rest went to Work on all hands; some to stop the Leaks, others

others to guard the Prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The Silks, Velvets, Cloth of Gold, and Tissue, Pillers, Chiqueques and Sultanas, which is Gold and Silver, they unloaded in four and twenty hours, was wonderful, whereof having sufficient, and tired with toil, they cast her off with her Company, with as much good Merchandise as would have freighted such another *Britaine*, that was but two Hundred Tuns, the four or five Hundred.

To repair his Defects, he stood for the Coast of *Cathabria*, but hearing there was six or seven Gallies at *Messina*, he departed thence for *Mulra*; but the Wind coming fair, he kept his course along the Coast of the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, by *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, till he came to the Road of *Anzio* in *Peamon*, where he set Smith on shoar with five Hundred Chiqueques, and a little Box God sent him worth near as much more. Here he left this Noble *Britaine*, and embarked himself for *Lagorn*, being glad to have such opportunity and means to better his Experience by the view of *Italy*; and having passed *Tuskany*, and the Country of *Siena*, where he found his dear Friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord *Willoughby*, and his Brother cruelly wounded, in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great Honour. Then to *Viterbo* and many other Cities he came to *Rome*, where it was his chance to see Pope *Clement*: the VIII. with many Cardinals, creep up the Holy Stairs, which they say, are those our Saviour Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where blood falling from his Head, being pricked with his Crown of Thorns, the drops are marked with Nails of Steel, upon them none dare go but in that manner, saying so many *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-Nosters*,

The Popes holy Stairs brought from Jerusalem, whereon (they say) Christ went up to Pontius Pilate.

as is their Devotion, and to kiss the Nails of Steel: But on each side, is a pair of such like Stairs, upon which you may go, stand, or kneel, but divided from the Holy Stairs by two Walls: Right against them is a Chappel, where hangs a great Silver Lamp, which burneth continually; yet they say, the Oil neither increaseth nor diminisheth. A little distant is the ancient Church of *Saint John de Lateran*, where he saw him say Mass, which commonly he doth upon some Friday once a Month. Having saluted Father *Parsons*, that famous English Jesuit, and satisfied himself with the Rarities of *Rome*, he went down the River of *Tiber* to *Civita Vecchia*, where he embarked himself, to satisfy his Eye with the fair City of *Naples*, and her Kingdoms Nobility; returning by *Capua*, *Rome* and *Siena*, he passed by that admired City of *Florence*, the Cities and Countreys of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Manhua*, *Radus* and *Venice*, whose Gulf he passed from *Malomaco* and the *Adriatick* Sea for *Regoura*, spending some time to see that barren, broken Coast of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Istria*. Travelling the main of poor *Sclavonia* by *Lubbiano*, till he came to *Grates* in *Syria*, the Seat of *Ferdinando*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, now Emperour of *Almania*: where he met an English Man, and an Irish Jesuit, who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good Quality, especially with the Lord *Eberhaught*, with whom, trying such Conclusions, as he projected to undertake, preferred him to *Baron Kyffell*, General of the Artillery, and he to a worthy Colonel, the Earl of *Mel-dricks*, with whom, going to *Vicenna* in *Austria*, under whose Regiment, in what — vice, and how he spent his time, this ensuing Discourse will declare.

C H A P. IV.

The Siege of Olumpagh; An excellent Stratagem by Smith; Another not much worse.

The Siege of Olumpagh.

AFTER the loss of *Canice*, the Turks with Twenty thousand besieged the strong Town of *Olumpagh* so strictly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour; till John Smith, this English Gentleman, acquainted Baron *Kyffell*, General of the Arch-dukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy Friend, such a Tale, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his answer, would they

bring him but to some place where he might make the Flame of a Torch seen to the Town; *Kyffell* informed with this strange Invention, Smith made it so plain, that forthwith he gave him Guides, who in the dark Night brought him to a Mountain, where he showed three Torches equidistant from the other, which plainly appearing to the Town, the Governour instantly apprehended, and answered again with three other fires in like manner, each knowing the

the others being and intent; *Smith*, though distant seven Miles, signified to him these Words: *On Thursday at Night I will charge on the East, at the Alarm, salley you*; *Ebersbaught* answered, *he would*, and thus it was done: First he writ his Message as brief, you see, as could be, then divided the Alphabet into two parts thus;

A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l.
I. I. I. I. I. I. I. I. I. I.

m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. v. w. x.
2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2.
y. z.
2. 2.

*In excel-
lent Stru-
cture.*

The first part from *A. to L.* is signified by shewing and hiding one link, so oft as there is Letters from *A.* to that Letter you mean; the other part from *M. to Z.* is mentioned by two Lights in like manner. The end of a Word is signified by shewing of three Lights, ever staying your Light at that Letter you mean, till the other may write it in a Paper, and answer by his signal, which is one Light, it is done, beginning to count the Letters by the Lights, every time from *A. to M.* by this means also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand other. The Guides all this time having well viewed the Camp, returned to *Kifel*; who, doubting of his power, being but Ten thousand, was animated by the Guides, how the *Turks* were

so divided by the River in two parts, they could not easily second each other. To which *Smith* added this conclusion; that two or three thousand pieces of Match fastened to divers small Lines of an hundred Fathom in length, being armed with Powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instant before the Alarm, upon the Plain of *Hysnaburg*, supported by two Staves, at each lines end, in that manner would seem like so many Musketeers; which was put in Practice; and being discovered by the *Turks*, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had been some great Army: whilst *Kifel* with his Ten thousand being entred the *Turks* quarters, who ran up and down as Men amazed, it was not long ere *Ebersbaught* was pell-mell with them in their Trenches; in which distracted confusion, a third part of the *Turks* that besieged that side towards *Knosbruck*, were slain; many of the rest drowned, but all fled. The other part of the Army was so busied to resist the false fires, that *Kifel* before the Morning put two thousand good Soldiers in the Town, and with small loss was retired; the Garrison was well relieved with what they found in the *Turks* Quarters, which caused the *Turks* to raise their Siege and return to *Caniza*: and *Kifel* with much honour was received at *Kerment*, and occasioned the Author a good Reward and Preferment, to be Captain of Two hundred and fifty Horse-men, under the conduct of Colonel *Voldo*, Earl of *Meldritch*.

C H A P. V.

The Siege of Stoll-weissenburg; The effects of Smith's Fire-works; A worthy Exploit of Earl Rosworme; Earl Meldritch takes the Bashaw Prisoner.

A General rumour of a general Peace, now spread it self over all the face of those tormented Countries: but the *Turk* intended no such matter, but levied Soldiers from all Parts he could. The Emperour also, by the assistance of the *Christian* Princes, provided three Armies, the one led by the Arch-duke *Matthias*, the Emperour's Brother, and his Lieutenant Duke *Mercour* to defend Low Hungary; the second, by *Ferdinando* the Arch-duke of *Styria*, and the Duke of *Mantua* his Lieutenant to regain *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, Governour of High Hungary, to join with *Georgio Busha* to make an absolute conquest of *Transilvania*.

Duke *Mercour* with an Army of Thirty thousand, whereof near Ten thousand were

French, besieged *Stoll-weissenburg*, otherwise called *Alba Regalis*, a place so strong by Art and Nature, that it was thought impregnable. At his first coming, The *Turks* sallied upon the *German* Quarter, slew near five hundred, and returned before they were thought on. The next Night in like manner, they did near as much to the *Berners*, and *Hungarians*; of which, Fortune still presuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as careless, Eight or Nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken Prisoners. In this Encounter Monsieur *Grandvoile*, a brave *French* Colonel, received seven or eight cruel Wounds, yet followed the Enemy to the Ports; he came off alive, but within three or four days died.

D d d d

Earl

Earl Meldritch, by the Information of three or four *Christians*, (escaped out of the Town) upon every Alarm, where there was greatest Assemblies and throng of People, caused Captain *Smith* to put in practice his fiery Dragons, he had demonstrated unto him, and the Earl *Von Sulch* at *Comera*, which he thus performed: Having prepared forty or fifty round-bellied Earthen Pots, and filled them with hand Gun-powder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the Center of the division, stuck them round in the mixture about the Pots, and covered them again with the same mixture, over that a strong Searchcloth, then over all, a good thickness of Towse-match, well tempered with Oyl of Lin-seed, Camphire, and Powder of Brimstone, these he hidly placed in Slings, graduated so near as they could to the places of these Assemblies. At mid-night upon the Alarm, it was a fearful sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the Air, but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered *Turks* was most wonderful to hear: Besides, they had fired that Suburb at the Port of *Buda* in two or three places, which so troubled the *Turks* to quench, that had there been any means to have assaulted them, they could hardly have resisted the fire, and their Enemies. The Earl *Resworne*, contrary to the opinion of all Men, would needs undertake to find means to surprize the Segeth and Suburb

of the City, strongly defended by a muddy Lake, which was thought unpassable.

The Duke having planted his Ordnance, battered the other side, whilst *Resworne* in the dark Night, with every Man a bundle of Sedge and Bavin's still thrown before them, so led up the Lake, as they surprized that unregarded Suburb before they were discovered: Upon which unexpected Alarm, the *Turks* fled into the City, and the other Suburb not knowing the matter, got into the City also, leaving their Suburb for the Duke, who, with no great resistance, took it, with many Pieces of Ordnance; the City, being of no such strength as the Suburbs, with their own Ordnance was so battered, that it was taken by force, with such a merciless Execution, as was most pitiful to behold.

The *Bashaw* notwithstanding, drew together a Party of Five hundred before his own dritch Palace, where he intended to die; but seeing most of his Men slain before him, by the valiant Captain, Earl Meldritch, who took him Prisoner with his own hands; and with the hazard of himself saved him from the fury of other Troops, that did pull down his Palace, and would have rent him in pieces, had he not been thus preserved. The Duke thought his Victory much honoured with such a Prisoner; took order, he should be used like a Prince, and with all expedition gave charge presently to repair the Breaches, and the Ruins of this famous City, that had been in the possession of the *Turks* near threecore years.

A most
Exploit:
Earl R.
worne

Earl M.
dritch
sakes the
Bashaw
Prisoner.

CHAP. VI.

A brave Encounter of the Turks Army with the Christians; Duke Merceur overthroweth Assan Bashaw; He divides the Christian Army; His Nobleness and Death.

MAbomet the Great Turk, during the Siege, had raised an Army of Sixty thousand Men to have relieved it; but hearing it was lost, he sent *Assan Bashaw*, General of his Army, the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, *Bashaw Amarez*, to see if it were possible to regain it; The Duke understanding there could be no great experience in such a new levied Army as *Assan* had, having put a strong Garrison into it, and with the brave Colonel *Resworne*, *Culmiss*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhine Grave*, *Vahan*, and many others, with Twenty thousand good Soldiers, set forward to meet the Turk in the Plains of *Girk*. Those two Armies encountered as they marched, where began a hot and bloody Skirmish be-

twixt them, Regiment against Regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them: Here Earl Meldritch was so invironed among those half circular Regiments of *Turks*, they supposd him their Prisoner, and his Regiment lost; but his two most courageous Friends, *Vahan* and *Culmiss*, made such a Passage amongst them, that it was a terror to see how Horse and Man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one way, some another on the Ground. The Earl there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his Armour, which seemed then covered with *Turkish* Blood. He slew the brave *Zemack*, *Burgin*, and made his Passage to his Friends, but near

A brave
Encounter
of the
Turks Ar-
my with
the Chris-
tians.

of Captain JOHN SMITH

the Nobility, took their Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity, and thus their Prince being gone Transylvania became again subject to the Emperor.

Now after the Death of Michael, Vayoid of Wallachia, the Turk sent one Jeremy to be their Vayoid or Prince; whose insatiable Tyranny caused the People to take Arms against him, so that he was forced to flee into the Confines of Moldavia; and Busca in the behalf of the Emperor, proclaimed the Lord Rodol in his stead. But Jeremy having assembled an Army of forty thousand Turks, Tartars, and Moldavians, returned into Wallachia. Rodol not yet able to raise such a power, fled into Transylvania to Busca, his ancient Friend; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his own security, to have Wallachia subject to the Emperor, or at least such an Employment for the remainders of the old Regiments of Sigismund, (of whose Greatness and true Affection he was very

suspicious) sent them with Rodol to recover Wallachia, conducted by the Valiant Captains, the Earl Meldritch, Earl Velus, Earl Nedespoll, Earl Zarvana, the Lord Becklesfield, the Lord Budendorfe, with their Regiments, and divers others of great rank and quality, the greatest Friends and Alliances the Prince had; who with Thirty thousand, marched along by the River Altus, to the Streights of Rebrink, where they entered Wallachia, encamping at Raza; Jeremy lying at Argish, drew his Army into his old Camp, in the Plains of Peteske, and with his best diligence fortified it, intending to defend himself, till more power came to him from the Crim-Tartar. Many small Parties that came to his Camp, Rodol cut off, and in the nights would cause their Heads to be thrown up and down before the Trenches. Seven of their Porters were taken, whom Jeremy commanded to be flayed quick, and after hung their Skins upon Poles, and their Carcases and Heads on Stakes by them.

C H A P. X.

The Battle of Rottenton; a pretty Stratagem of Fire-works by Smith.

Rodol not knowing how to draw the Enemy to Battel, raised his Army, burning and spoiling all where he came, and returned again towards Rebrink in the night, as if he had fled upon the general rumour of the Crim-Tartars coming, which so inflamed the Turks of a happy Victory, they urged Jeremy against his Will to follow them. Rodol seeing his Plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the Streights, he put his Army in order, that had been near two days pursued with continual Skirmishes in his Rear, which now taking Head against the Enemy, that followed with their whole Army in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand Heydukes, Wallachians, and Moldavians, led by three Colonels, Overfall, Dubras, and Calab, to entertain the time till the rest came up; Velus and Nedespoll with their Regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the Zanzacke Harnesbeg, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge, which Meldritch and Budendorfe rather like enraged than melt, so bravely encountered them, that they only had consisted the Victory, and the rest being slain under the hands of the Turks, what they could do, was to retreat, but being retarded by the Zanzacke, with his own hand

his Troops retiring, the two proud Bashaws, Aladin, and Zizimnus, brought up the front of the body of their Battel. Velus, and Nedespoll having breathed, and joyning their Troops with Becklesfield and Zarvana, with such an incredible courage, charged the left flank of Zizimnus, as put them all in disorder, where Zizimnus the Bashaw was taken Prisoner, but died presently upon his Wounds. Jeremy seeing now the main Battel of Rodol advance, being thus constrained, like a Valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so bravely encouraged his Soldiers, that Rodol found no great assurance of the Victory. Thus being joyned in this bloody Massacre, that there was scarce Ground to stand upon, but upon the dead Carcases, which in less than an hour, were so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out the other. The admired Aladin that day did leave behind him a glorious name for his Valour, whose Death, many of his Enemies did lament after the Victory, which at that instant fell to Rodol. It was reported, Jeremy was also slain; but it was not so, but fled with the remainder of his Army to Moldavia, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the Field, of both Armies. And thus Rodol was seated again in his Sovereignty, and Wallachia became subject to the Emperour.

Wallachia
subjected to the Em-
perour.

F f f f

But

A Battle
betwixt
Rodol and
Jeremy.

The true Travels, Adventures, and Observations

But long he refused not to settle his new Estate, but there came News, that certain Regiments of stragling *Tartars*, were foraging those Parts towards *Moldavia*. *Meldritch* with thirteen thousand Men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the *Crim-Tartar*, and his two Sons, with an Army of thirty thousand; and *Jeremy*, that had escaped with fourteen or fifteen thousand, lay in ambush for them about *Langanaw*, he retired towards *Rottenton*, a strong Garrison for *Rodol*; but they were so invironed with these hellish numbers, they could make no great hast for skirmishing with their Scouts, Foragers, and small Parties that still encountered them. But one night amongst the rest, having made a passage through a Wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting Trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thick Fog, early in the Morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with Pillage, and two or three hundred Horse and Cattel; the most of them were slain and taken Prisoners, who told them where *Jeremy* lay in the passage, expecting the *Crim-Tartar* that was not far from him. *Meldritch* intending to make his passage by force, was advised of a pretty Stratagem, by the English *Smith*, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three hundred Trunks with wild-fire, upon the

Heads of Lances, and charging the Enemy in the night, gave fire to the Trunks, which blazed forth such Flames and Sparkles, that it so amazed not only their Horses, but their Foot also; that by the means of this flaming Encounter, their own Horses turned Tails with such fury, as by their violence overthrew *Jeremy* and his Army, without any loss at all to speak of to *Meldritch*. But of this Victory, long they triumphed not; for being within three Leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar*, with near forty thousand, to beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in pieces flying. Here *Busca*, and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sun no sooner displayed his Beams, than the *Tartar* his Colours; where at mid-day he stayed a while, to see the Passage of a tyrannical and treacherous imposture, till the Earth did blush with the blood of Honesty, that the Sun for shame did hide himself, from so monstrous sight of a cowardly Calamity. It was a most brave fight to see the Banners and Ensigns streaming in the Air, the glittering of Armour, the variety of Colours, the motion of Plumes, the forests of Lances, and the thicknes of shorter Weapons, till the silent Expedition of the bloody blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring Voice is not so soon heard, as felt by the aimed at Object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

C H A P. XI.

The names of the English that were slain in the Battel of Rottenton; and how Captain Smith was taken Prisoner, and sold for a Slave.

IN the valley of *Veristhorne*, betwixt the River of *Altus*, and the Mountain of *Rottenton*, was this bloody Encounter, where the most of the dearest Friends of the noble Prince *Sigismundus* perished. *Meldritch* having ordered his Eleven thousand in the best manner he could, at the Foot of the Mountain upon his Flanks, and before his front, he had pitched sharp Stakes, their Heads hardened in the fire, and bent against the Enemy, as three Battalion of Pikes, amongst the which also, there was digged many small holes. Amongst those Stakes was ranged his Foot-men, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion. The *Tartar* having ordered his 40000 for his best advantage, appointed *Mustapha Bassaw* to begin the Battel, with a general Shout, all their Ensigns displaying, Drums beating, Trumpets and Haut-boys sounding. *Nederpols* and *Mavazo* with their Regiments of

Horse most valiantly encountered, and forced them to retire; the *Tartar Begolgi* with his Squadrons, darkning the Skies with their flights of numberless Arrows, who was as bravely encountered by *Veltus* and *Oberwin*, which bloody slaughter continued more than an hour, till the matchless multitude of the *Tartars* so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of Stakes, as was directed. The bloody *Tartar*, as scorning he should stay so long for the Victory, with his massive Troops prosecuted the Charge: But it was a wonder to see how Horse and Man came to the Ground among the Stakes, whose disordered Troops were there so mangled, that the *Christians* with a loud Shout cried *Victoria*; and with five or six field Pieces, planted upon the rising of the Mountain, did much hurt to the Enemy that still continued the Battel with that fury, that *Meldritch* seeing there was no possibility

The Battle of Rottenton.

of Captain JOHN SMITH.

sibility long to prevail, joyned his small Troops in one body, resolv'd directly to make his passage, or die in the conclusion; and thus in gross gave a general charge, and for more than half an hour, made his way plain before him, till the main Battle of the *Crim-Tartar*, with two Regiments of *Turks* and *Fanizaries* so overmatched them, that they were overthrown. The night approaching, the Earl with some thirteen or fourteen hundred Horse, swam the River, some were drowned, all the rest slain or taken Prisoners: And thus in this bloody Field, near 30000 Lay, some Headless, Armless and Legless, all cut and mangled; where breathing their last, they gave this knowledge to the World, that for the lives of so few, the *Crim-Tartar* never paid dearer. But now the Countries of *Transilvania* and *Wallachia* (subjected to the Emperor) and *Sigmundus*, that brave Prince, his Subject and Pensioner, the most of his Nobility, brave Captains and Soldiers, became a prey to the cruel devouring *Turk*: where, had the Emperor been as ready to have assisted him, and those three Armies led by three such worthy Captains, as *Michael*, *Busca*, and Himself, and had those three Armies joyned together against the *Turks*, let all Men judge, how happy it might have been for all Christendom: and have either regained *Bulgaria*, or at least have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where he hath taken much more from the Emperor, than hath the Emperor from *Transilvania*.

Extracted out of a Book, intituled, the Wars of Hungaria, Wallachia; and Moldavia, written by Francisco Ferneza, a learned Italian; the Princes Secretary, and translated by Mr. Purchas.

In this dismal Battel, where *Nederspolt*,

Veltus, *Zarvana*, *Manna*, *Bavel*, and many other Earls, Barons, Colonels, Captains brave Gentlemen, and Soldiers were slain; give me leave to remember the names of our own Country-men, with him in those Exploits, that as resolutely as the best in the defence of *Christ* and his Gospel, ended their days, as *Bakersfield*, *Hardwick*, *Thomas Milmer*, *Robert Mollinux*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Davison*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *John a Scot*, did what Men could do, and when they could do no more, left there their Bodies in Testimony of their minds; only *Ensign Charleston*, and *Sergeant Robinson* escaped: But *Smith*, among the slaughtered dead Bodies, and many a gasping Soul, with toil and Wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the Pillagers, he was able to live, and perceiving by his Armour and Habit, his ransom might be better to them than his Death, they led him Prisoner with many others; well they used him till his Wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all sold for Slaves, like Beasts in a Market-place, where every Merchant, viewing their Limbs and Wounds, caused other Slaves to struggle with them, to try their strength, he fell to the share of *Bashaw Bogal*, who sent him forthwith to *Adrianopolis*, so for *Constantinople* to his fair Mistress for a Slave. By twenty and twenty chained by the Necks, they marched in file to this great City, where they were delivered to their several Masters, and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

The English Men in this Battel.

C H A P. XII.

How Captain Smith was sent Prisoner thorow the Black and Dissabacca Sea in Tartaria; the Description of those Seas, and his usage.

THIS Noble Gentlewoman took some time occasion to shew him to some Friends, or rather to speak with him, because she could speak Italian, would feign her self sick when she should go to the *Banians*, or weep over the Graves, to know how *Bogal* took him Prisoner; and if he were as the *Bashaw* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his Hand, as he had many others, which ere long he would present her, whose Ransomes should adorn her with the glory of his Conquests.

When she heard him protest he knew not the manner, nor ever saw *Bogal*, till he brought him to *Adrianopolis*, and that he was an English Man, only by his Adventures and his Language. To try

the truth, she found means to find out many who could speak English, French, Dutch, and Italian; to whom relating most part of these former Passages she thought necessary, which they so honestly reported to her, she took (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, left her Mother should sell him, she sent him to her Brother, the *Timor Bashaw* of *Nalbriss*, in the Country of *Cambia*, a Province in *Tartaria*.

Here now let us remember his passing, in this speculative course from *Constantinople* by *Sander*, *Screm*, *Panassa*, *Musa*, *Lafilla*, to *Varna*, an ancient City upon the *Black Sea*. In all which Journey, having little more liberty, than his eyes judgment, since his

Capt.

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Captivity, he might see the Towns with their short Towers, and a most plain, fertile, and delicate Country, especially that most admired place of *Green*, now called *Ramenna*, but from *Varna*, nothing but the Black Sea Water, till he came to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergilla*, where he passed the Straights of *Niger*, which (as he conjectured) is some ten Leagues long, and three broad; betwixt two Low-lands, the Channel is deep, but at the entrance of the Sea *Disfabacca*, there are many great Off-shaunds, and many great black Rocks, which the *Turks* said were Trees, Weeds, and Mud, thrown from the In-land Countries, by the Inundations and violence of the Current, and cast there by the Eddy. They Sailed by many low Isles, and saw many more of those muddy Rocks, and nothing else, but salt Water, till they came betwixt *Sisax* and *Curuske*, only two white Towns at the entrance of the River *Brupso* appeared: In six or seven days Sail, he saw four or five seeming strong Castles of Stone, with flat tops and Battlements about them, but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their custom) well used. The River was there more than half a Mile broad. The Castle was of a large Circumference, fourteen or fifteen foot thick, in the Foundation: Some six foot from the Wall, is a Pallizado, and then a Ditch of about forty foot broad full of Water. On the West side of it, is a Town, all of low flat Houses, which as he conceived, could be of no great strength,

The Description of the Disfabacca Sea.

yet it keeps all these barbarous Countreys about it in admiration and subjection. After he had stayed there three days; it was two days more before his Guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* was then resident, in a great vast Stone Castle, with many great Courts about it, environed with high Stone Walls, where was quartered their Arms, when they first subjected these Countries, which only live to labour for those Tyrannical *Turks*.

To her unkind Brother, this kind Lady Smith's writ so much for his good usage, that he usage in half suspected, as much as she intended; for *Tartaria* she told him, he should there but sojourn to learn the Language; and what it was to be a *Turk*, till time made her Master of her self. But the *Tymor*, her Brother, diverted all this to the worst of Cruelty; for within an hour after his arrival, he caused his *Drabman* to strip him naked, and shave his Head and Beard so bare as his Hand, a great Ring of Iron, with a long stalk bowed like a Sickle, revinted about his Neck, and a Coat made of *Ulgries* Hair, guarded about with a piece of an undrest Skin. There were many more Christian Slaves, and near an hundred *Forsados* of *Turks* and *Moors*, and he being the last, was slave of Slaves to them all. Among these slavish Fortunes, there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a Dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their pains and labours, no more regarded than a Beast.

C H A P. XIII.

The *Turks* diet; the *Slaves* diet; the attire of the *Tartars*; and manner of Wars and Religions, &c.

The Tymor's Diet of Cambia, is as the *Turks*.

THE *Tymor* and his Friends fed upon Pillaw, which is boiled Rice and Garbances, with little bits of Mutton or Buck-ones, which is Roasted pieces of Horse, Bull, Ulgrie, or any Beasts. *Samboyes* and *Marfells* are great Dainties, and yet but round Pies, full of all sorts of Flesh, they can get chopped with variety of Herbs. Their best Drink is Coffee, of a grain they call *Covus*, boiled with Water; and *Sherebeck*, which is only Honey and Water; Mares Milk, of the Milk of any Beast, they hold restorative; but all the Common sort drink pure Water. Their Bread is made of this *Covus*, which is a kind of black Wheat, and *Cavago* a small white Seed, like *Manna* in *Europe*; but our *Christian* Victuals, the entrails of Horse and Ulgrie; of this eat in small pie-

The *Slaves* diet.

ces, they will fill a great Cauldron, and being boiled with *Cusku*, and put in great Bowls in the form of Chaffing-dishes, they sit round about it on the Ground, after they have raked it thorow, so oft as they please with their foul Fists, the remainder was for the Christian Slaves. Some of this Broth, they would temper with *Cusku* pounded, and putting the Fire off from the Hearth, pour there a Bowl full, then cover it with Coals till it be baked, which stewed with the remainder of the Broth, and some small pieces of Flesh, was an extraordinary Dainty.

The better sort are attired like *Turks*, but the plain *Tartar* hath a black Sheep-skin over his back, and two of the Legs tied about his Neck; the other two about his middle

The attire of those of those Tartars.

slain. Captain *Smith* had his Horse slain under him, and himself sore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of Horses, that wanted Masters. The *Turk* thinking the Victory sure against the Duke, whose Army, by the Siege and the Garrison, he had left behind him, was much weakened, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and left the Duke should return to *Alba Regalis*, he sent that Night Twenty thousand to besiege the City, assuring them, he would keep the Duke for any other from relieving them. Two or three days they lay each by other, entrenching themselves; the *Turks* daring the Duke daily to a set Battle, who at length drew out his Army, led by the *Rhino-Graue*, *Culmits*, and *Meldritch*; who upon their first Encounter, charged with that resolute and valiant courage, as disordered not only the foremost Squadrons of the *Turks*, but enforced all the whole Army to retire to the Camp, with the loss of five or six thousand, with the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, and four or five *Zanzacks*, with divers other great Commanders, Two hundred Prisoners, and nine pieces of Ordnance. At that instant appeared, as it were, another Army coming out of a Valley over a plain Hill, that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches; which gave time to *Assan*, to reorder his disordered Squadrons: Here they lay nine or ten days, and more Supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a set Battle; but the Soldiers on both Parties, by reason of their great Wants, and approach of Winter, grew so discontented, that they were ready of them-

Duke
Merceur
overbrow
eth *Assan*
Bassa.

selves to break up the Leager; the retiring himself to *Buda*; had some of the Rear Troops cut off. *Amarot Bashaw* hearing of this, found such bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the Town so strongly re with so brave a Garrison; raised his and retired to *Zigetum*.

The Duke understanding, that the Arch-duke *Ferdinando*, had so resolutely besieged *Caniza*, as what by the loss of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any relief, doubted not, but it would become again the *Christians*. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his Army into three parts. The Earl of *Ros-* ^{Duke} *Merceur* ^{divides} *worme* went with Seven thousand to *Caniza*; the Earl of *Meldritch* with Six thousand he sent to assist *Georgio Busca* against the *Transilvanians*, the rest went with himself to the Garrisons of *Strigonium* and *Komara*; having thus worthily behaved himself, he arrived at *Vienne*, where the Arch-dukes and the Nobility with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria*; his very Picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curiously as a precious relique. To requite this honour, preparing himself to return into *France*, to raise new Forces against the next year, with the two Arch-dukes, *Marthias* and *Maximilian*, and divers others of the Nobility, was with great Magnificence conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feasted, (how it chanced is not known;) but the next Morning he was found dead, and his Brother in Law died two days after; whose hearts, after this great Triumph, with much sorrow were carried into *France*. ^{Duke} *Merceur* ^{and his} ^{Brother} ^{in Law die} ^{suddenly.}

CHAP. VII.

The unhappy Siege of Caniza; Earl Meldritch serveth Prince Sigismundus; Prince Moyles besiegeth Regall; Smith's three single Combats; His Patent from Sigismundus, and Reward.

THE Worthy Lord *Rosworme* had not a worse Journey to the miserable Siege of *Caniza*, (whereby the extremity of an extraordinary continuing Tempest of Hail, Wind, Frost and Snow, insomuch that the *Christians* were forced to leave their Tents and Artillery, and what they had; it being so cold, that three or four hundred of them were frozen to Death in a Night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the Snowy Tempest, though they did know no Enemy at all to follow them,) than the Noble Earl of *Meldritch* *Transilvania*, where hearing of the

The un-
happy
Siege of
Caniza.

Death of *Michael*, and the brave Duke *Merceur*, and knowing the Policy of *Buscas* and the Prince his Royalty, being now beyond all belief of Men, in Possession of the best part of *Transilvania*, persuaded his Troops, in so honest a Cause, to assist the Prince against the *Turk*, rather than *Busca* against the Prince.

The Soldiers being worn out with those hard Pays and Travels, upon hope to have free liberty to make booty upon what they could get Possession of from the *Turks*, were easily persuaded to follow him whitherso- ^{Earl Mel-} ^{dritch serveth} ^{Prince} ^{Sigismundus} ^{ever.} Now this Noble Earl was a *Transil-* ^{dans} ^{banian}

born, and his Fathers Country yet inhabited by the *Turks*; for *Transilvania* was yet in three Divisions, though the Prince had the Hearts both of Country and People; yet the Frontiers had a Garrison amongst the unpassable Mountains, some for the Emperour, some for the Prince, and some for the *Turk*: To regain which small Estate, he desired leave of the Prince to try his Fortunes, and to make use of that experience, the time of twenty years had taught him in the Emperours Service, promising to spend the rest of his days, for his Countrys defence in his Excellencies Service. The Prince glad of so brave a Commander, and so many expert and ancient Soldiers, made him Camp Master of his Army, gave him all necessary relief for his Troops, and what freedom they desired to plunder the *Turks*.

Earl Meldritch makes incursions to discover Regall.

The Earl having made many incursions into the Land of *Zarkem*, among those Rocky Mountains, where were some *Turks*, some *Tartars*, but most *Bandittoes*, *Rennegadoes*, and such like, which sometimes he forced into the Plains of *Regall*, where is a City, not only of Men and Fortifications, strong of it self, but so environed with Mountains, that made the Passages so difficult, that in all these Wars, no attempt had been made upon it to any purpose: Having satisfied himself with the Situation, and the most convenient Passages to bring his Army unto it: The Earth no sooner put on her green Habit, than the Earl overspread her with his armed Troops. To possess himself first of the most convenient Passage, which was a narrow Valley betwixt two high Mountains; he sent Colonel *Veltus* with his Regiment, dispersed in Companies to lie in Ambuscado, as he had directed them, and in the Morning to drive all the Cattel they could find before a Fort in that Passage, whom he supposed would sally, seeing but some small Party to recover their prey; which took such good success, that the Garrison was cut off by the Ambuscado, and *Veltus* seized on the Skonces, which were abandoned. Meldritch glad of so fortunate a beginning, it was six days ere he could with six thousand Pioneers make passage for his Ordnance: The *Turks* having such warning, strengthened the Town so with Men and Provision, that they made a scorn of so small a number as Meldritch brought with him before the City, which was but eight thousand. Before they had pitched their Tents, the *Turks* sallied in such abundance, as for an hour, they had rather a bloody Battle than a Skirmish, but with the loss of near Fifteen hundred on both sides. The *Turks* were chased till the Cities Ordnance caused the Earl to retire. The next day

Zachel Moyses, General of the Army, pitched also his Tents with nine thousand Foot and Horse, and six and twenty Pieces of Ordnance; but in regard of the Situation of this strong Fortress, they did neither fear them nor hurt them, being upon the point of a fair Promontory, environed on the one side within half a Mile with an un-useful Mountain, and on the other side with a fair Plain, where the *Christians* encamped, but so commanded by their Ordnance, they spent near a Month in entrenching themselves, and raising their Mounts to plant their Batteries; which slow proceedings the *Turks* oft derided, that their Ordnance were at pawn, and how they grew fat for want of Exercise, and fearing lest they should depart ere they could assault their City, sent this Challenge to any Captain in the Army.

That to delight the Ladies, who did long to see some Court-like pastime, the Lord *Turbashaw* did defie any Captain, that had the command of a Company, who durst Combate with him for his Head: The matter being discussed, it was accepted, but so many Questions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by Lots, which fell upon Captain *Smith*, before spoken of.

Truce being made for that time, the Three hundred Rampires all beset with fair Dames, and Men in Arms, the *Christians* in Battalia; *Turbashaw* with a noise of Haut-boys entered the Field well mounted and armed; on his shoulders were fixed a pair of great Wings, compacted of Eagles Feathers, within a ridge of Silver, richly garnished with Gold and precious Stones, a *Fanizary* before him, bearing his Lance, on each side another leading his Horse; where long he stayed not, ere *Smith* with a noise of Trumpets, only a Page bearing his Lance, passing by him with a courteous Salute, took his Ground with such good success, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the *Turk* thorow the fight of his Beaver, Face, Head and all, that he fell dead to the Ground, where alighting and unbracing his Helmet, cut off his Head, and the *Turks* took his Body; and so returned without any hurt at all. The Head he presented to the Lord *Moyes*, the General, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole Army he was generally welcomed.

The Death of this Captain so swelled in the Heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed Friend, as rather enraged with madness than choler, he directed a particular challenge to the Conqueror, to receive his Friends Head, or lose his own, with his Armour for advantage, which according to his desire, was the next day undertaken:

of Captain JOHN SMITH.

as before upon the found of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in pieces upon a clear Passage, but the *Turk* was near unhorsed. Their Pistols was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the Placard; but the next shot the *Turk* was so Wounded in the left Arm, that being not able to rule his Horse, and defend himself, he was thrown to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his Head, as his Friend before him, with his Horse and Armour; but his Body, and his rich Apparel were sent back to the Town.

Every day the *Turks* made some Sallies, but few Skirmishes would they endure to any purpose. Our Works and Approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect, which was of necessity to be performed; to delude time, *Smith* with so many incontestible perswading Reasons, obtained leave, that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their Servants Heads; but if any *Turk* of their rank would come to the place of Combat to redeem them, should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could win it.

The challenge presently was accepted by *Benny Mulgro*. The next day, both the Champions entering the Field as before, each discharging their Pistol, having no Lances, but such martial Weapons as the Defendant appointed, no hurt was done; their Battle-Axes was the next, whose piercing Bills made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keep their Saddles, specially the *Christian* received such a blow, that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it, whereat the supposed conquering *Turk*, had a great shout from the Rampires. The *Turk* prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power; yet the other, what by the readiness of his Horse, and his judgement and dexterity in such a business, beyond all Mens expectation, by God's assistance, not only avoided the *Turks* violence, but having drawn his Faulchion, pierced the *Turk* so under the Culet, a thorow back and body, that altho' he alighted from his Horse, he stood not long ere he lost his Head, as the rest had done.

C H A P. VIII.

Georgio Busca an Albane, his ingratitude to Prince Sigismundus; Prince Moyfes his Lieutenant, is overthrown by Busca, General for the Emperour Rodulphus; Sigismundus yieldeth his Country to Rodulphus; Busca assisteth Prince Rodol in Wallachia.

THIS good success gave such great encouragement to the whole Army, that with a Guard of six thousand, three spare Horses, before each a *Turks* Head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generals Pavilion with his Presents. *Moyfes* received both him and them, with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his Arms, gave him a fair Horse, richly furnished, a Scimitar and Belt worth Three hundred Ducats; and *Meldritch* made him Sergeant Major of his Regiment. But now to the Siege, having mounted six and twenty pieces of Ordnance, fifty or sixty Foot above the Plain, made them so plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteen days two Breaches were made, which the *Turks* as valiantly defended as Men could; that day was made a darksome Night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering Muskets, and peace-making Canon, whilst their slothful Governour lay in a Castle on the top of a high Mountain, and like a valiant Prince asketh what the matter, when horror and death stood amazed each at others, to see who should prevail

to make him victorious: *Moyfes* commanding a general assault upon the sloping front of the high Promontory, where the Barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberwin*, lost near half their Regiments, by Logs, Bags of Powder, and such like, tumbling down the Hill, they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithstanding with an incredible courage, they advanced to the push of the Pike with the Defendants, that with the like courage repulsed, till the Earl *Meldritch*, *Becklesfield* and *Zarvana*, with their fresh Regiments seconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the Castle, from whence by a Flag of truce they desired composition. The Earl remembering his Fathers Death, battered it with all the Ordnance in the Town, and the next day took it; all he found could bear Arms, he put to the Sword, and set their Heads upon Stakes round about the Walls, in the same manner they had used the *Christians*, when they took it. *Moyfes* having repaired the Rampires, and thrown down the Work in his Camp, he put in it a strong Garrison, though the pillage he had gotten in the

The true Travels, Adventures, and Observations

Town was much, having been for a long time, an impregnable den of Thieves; yet the loss of the Army so intermingled the sown with the sweet, as forced *Moses* to seek a further revenge, that he sacked *Verasio*, *Solmos*, and *Kupronka*, and with two thousand Prisoners, most Women and Children, came to *Esenberg*, not far from the Princes Palace, where he there Encamped.

Sigismundus coming to view his Army, was presented with the Prisoners, and six

and thirty Ensigns; where celebrating thanks to Almighty God in triumph of those Victories, he was made acquainted with the service *Smish* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stoll-Weissenburg* and *Regal*; for which, with great honour, he gave him three *Turks* Heads in a Shield for his Arms, by Patent, under his Hand and Seal, with an Oath ever to wear them in his Colours, his Picture in Gold, and three hundred Ducats yearly for a Pension.



SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI, Dei Gratia, Dux Transilvaniae, Wallachiae, & Vandalorum; Comes Anchard, Salford, Growenda; Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem *Johanni Smith*, natione Anglo Generoso, 250. militum Capiteaneo sub Illustrissimi & Gravissimi *Henrici Volda*, Comitum de *Meldri*, *Salmariae*, & *Peldoix* primario, ex 1000 equitibus & 1500. pedibus bello Ungarico conductione in Provincia supra scriptas sub Autoritate nostra: cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaq; memoria dignum praeiit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnans pro armis & focis decet. Quare e favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, & in Sigillum illius tride Turcica Capita designare & deprimere concessimus,

que ipse gladio suo ad Urbem Regalem in singulari praelio vicit, machavit, atq; decollavit in Transilvaniae Provincia: Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsq; sit idem forte fortuito in Wallachiae Provincia, Anno Domini 1602. die Mensis Novembris 18. cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus & aliis quibusdam militibus captus est a Domino *Balcha* electo ex *Cambia* regionis Tartariae, cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quaesivit, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, & ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsam liberavimus, & hac nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, sum tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam: Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, Duces, Principes, Comites, Barones, Gubernatores Urbium & Navium in eadem Regione & ceterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capiteaneo libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hec facientes pergratum nobis feceritis. Signatum *Lesprizia* in *Misnia* die Mensis Decembris 9. Anno Domini 1603.

of Captain JOHN SMITH.

Cum Privilegio propria Majestatis.

SIGISMUNDUS
BATHORI.



UNIVERSIS, & singulis, cujuscunq; loci, status, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc praesens scriptum pervenerit, Gulielmus Segar, Eques auratus aliis dictus Garterus Principis Rex Armorum Anglicorum, Salutem. Sciatis, quod Ego praedictus Garterus, notum, testatumque facio, quod Patentem superscriptum, cum manu propria praedicti Ducis Transilvaniae subsignatum, & Sigillo suo affixum, Vidi: & Copiam veram ejusdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) transcripsi, & recordavi in Archivis, & Registris Officii Armorum. Datum Londini 19. die Augusti, Anno Domini 1625. Annosque Regni Domini nostri CAROLI Dei gratia Magne Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Primo.

GULIELMUS SEGAR, Garterus.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI, by the Grace of God, Duke of Transylvania, *The same Wallachia, and Moldavia, Earl of Anchar, Salford and Gromenda; to whom this Writing may come or appear.* Know that We have given Leave and Licence to John Smith an English Gentleman, Captain of 250 Soldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch, Salmaria, and Peldoia, Colonel of a thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, in the Wars of Hungary, and in the Provinces aforesaid under our Authority; whose Service doth deserve all praise, and perpetual Memory towards us, as a Man that did for God and his Country overcome his Enemies: Wherefore out of our Love and Favour, according to the Law of Arms, We have ordained, and given him in his Shield of Arms, the Figure and Description of three Turks Heads, which with his Sword before the Town of Regal, in single Combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of Transylvania. But Fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the Province of Wallachia, in the year of Our Lord 1602. the 18th day of November, with many others, as well Noble Men as also divers other Soldiers, were taken Prisoners by the Lord Belsaw of Cambia, a Country of Tartaria; whose cruelty brought him such good Fortune, by the Help and Power of Almighty God, that he delivered himself, and returned again to his Company and fellow Soldiers, of whom We do discharge him, and this he hath in Witness thereof, being much more worthy of a better Reward; and now intends to return to his own sweet Country. We desire therefore all Our loving and kind Kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earls, Barons, Governours of Towns, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdom, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let pass this the aforesaid Captain, without any hindrance or molestation; and this doing, with all kindness, we are always ready to do the like for you. Sealed at Lipswick in Misenland; the ninth of December; in the year of our Lord, 1603:

True Travels, Adventures, and Undertakings

Which she proper privilege
of his Majesty.

SIGISMUNDUS

BATHOR.

TO all and singular, in what Place, State, Degree, Order, or Condition whatsoever, to whom this present Writing shall come: I *William Segar*, Knight, otherwise Garter, and principal King of Arms of *England*, with health. Know, that I the aforesaid Garter, do witness and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seen, Signed, and Sealed, under the proper Hand and Seal Manuel of the said Duke of *Transilvania*, and a true Copy of the same, as a thing for perpetual memory, I have Subscribed and Recorded in the Register, and Office of the Heralds of Arms. Dated at *London*, the nineteenth day of *August*, in the year of Our Lord, 1625, and in the first year of our Sovereign Lord *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAP. IX.

Sigismundus sends Ambassadors unto the Emperour. The Conditions reassured. He yieldeth up all to Busca, and returneth to Prague.

Busca having all this time been raising new Forces, was commanded from the Emperour again to invade *Transilvania*, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those Parts, was now rather a Desert, or the very Spectacle of Desolation; their Fruits and Fields overgrown with Weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces, and best Buildings, as for fear, hid with Moss and Ivy; being the very Bulwark and Rampire of a great part of *Europe*, most fit by all Christians to have been supplied and maintained, was thus brought to ruin by them, it most concerned to support it. But alas, what is it, when the Power of Majesty pampered in all delights of pleasant Vanity, neither knowing, nor considering the labour of the Plough-man, the hazard of the Merchant, the oppression of Statesmen, nor feeling the piercing Torments of broken Limbs, and inveterate Wounds, the toilsome Marches, the bad Lodging, the hungry Diet, and the extreame misery that Soldiers endure to secure all those Estates, and yet by the spite of malicious detraction, starves for want of their Reward and Recompences, whilst the politique Courtier, that commonly aims more at his own Honours and Ends, than his Countries good, or his Princes Glory, Honour, or Security, as this worthy Prince too well could testify. But the Emperour being certified how weak and desperate his Estate was, sent Busca again with a great Army, to try his fortune once more in *Transilvania*. The Prince considering how his Country and Subjects were consumed, the small means he had any longer to defend his Estate, both against the cruelty of the Turk, and the power of the

Emperour, and the small care the *Polanders* had in supplying him, as they had promised, sent to Busca to have truce, till Messengers might be sent to the Emperour for some better agreement, wherewith Busca was contented. The Ambassadors so prevailed, that the Emperour re-assured unto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacy for the Lands in *Silesia*, with 60000 Ducats presently in hand, and 50000 Ducats yearly as a Pension. When this conclusion was known to *Moses*, his Lieutenant then in the Field with the Army, that would do any thing, rather than come in subjection to the *Germans*, he encouraged his Soldiers, and without any more ado, marched to encounter Busca, whom he found much better provided than he expected; so that betwixt them, in six or seven hours, more than five or six thousand, on both sides, lay dead in the field. *Moses* thus overthrown, fled to the *Turks* at *Temeswar*, and his scattered Troops, some one way, some another.

Busca in
Transilvania
overthroweth
Moses.

The Prince understanding of this so sudden and unexpected Accident, only accompanied with an hundred of his Gentry and Nobility, went into the Camp to Busca, to let him know how ignorant he was of his Lieutenants error, that he had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering to perform what was concluded by his Ambassadors with the Emperour, and so causing all his Gentry to come out of their strong-Holds, and to wait at *Prague* for the Emperour, who so went to *Prague*, where he was immediately received, and established in his Palace, as his Majesty had promised. Busca assured the

Sigismund
yieldeth his
Country
to Busca.

of Captain JOHN SMITH.

middle, with another over his Belly, and the Legs tied in like manner behind him: Then two more, made like a pair of Basés, serveth him for Breeches; with a little clole Cap to his Skull of black Felt, and they use exceeding much of this Felt for Carpets, for Bedding, for Coats, and Idols. Their Houses are much worse than your Irish, but the In-land Countries have none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Country to Country, as they see occasion, driving with them infinite Troops of black Sheep, Cartel and Ulgies, eating all up before them as they go.

The Tartars of Nagi and their manners.

For the Tartars of Nagi, they have neither Town, nor House, Corn, nor Drink, but Flesh and Milk. The Milk they keep in great Skins like Burracho's, which though it be never so fower, it agreeth well with their strong Stomachs. They live all in Hordias, as doth the Crim-Tartars, three or four hundred in a Company, in great Carts

fifteen or sixteen foot broad, which are covered with small Rods, wattled together in the form of a Bird's Nest, turned upwards, and with the Ashes of Bones, temper'd with Oil, Camels Hair, and a Clay they have, they loam them so well, that no Weather can pierce them, and yet very light. Each Hordia hath a Murfe, which they obey as their King. Their Gods are infinite. One or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawn with Camels, Deer, Bulls, and Ulgies, they bring round in a Ring, where they pitch their Camp; and the Murfe, with his chief Alliances, are placed in the midst. They do much hurt, when they can get any Stroogs, which are great Boats used upon the River Volga, (which they call Edle) to them that dwell in the Country of Perolog, and would do much more, were it not for the Muscovites Garrisons that there inhabit.

C H A P. XIII.

The Description of the Crim-Tartars; their Houses and Carts, their Idolatry in their Lodgings.

The description of the Crim-Tartars Court.

NOW you are to understand, Tartary and Scythia are all one, but so large and spacious, few, or none, could ever perfectly describe it, nor all the several kinds of those most barbarous People that inhabit it. Those we call the Crim-Tartars, border upon Moldavia, Podolia, Lithuania, and Russia, are much more regular than the interior parts of Scythia. This Great Tartarian Prince, that hath so troubled all his Neighbours, they alway call Chan, which signifieth Emperour; but we, the Crim Tartar. He liveth for the most part in the best Champion Plains of many Provinces; and his removing Court is like a great City of Houses and Tents, drawn on Carts, all so orderly placed East and West, on the right and left hand of the Prince's House, which is always in the midst towards the South, before which, none may pitch their Houses, every one knowing their Order and Quarter, as in an Army. The Princes Houses are very artificially wrought, both the Foundation, Sides, and Roof of Wickers, ascending round to the top like a Dove coat; this they cover with white Salt, or white Earth, temper'd with the Povvder of Bones, that it may shine the whiter; sometimes with black Felt, curiously painted with Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beasts; the breadth of the Carts are eighteen or

Five Houses and Carts.

twenty Foot, but the house stretcheth four or five Foot over each side, and is drawn with ten or twelve, or for more state, twenty Camels and Oxen. They have also great Baskets, made of smaller Wickers, like great Chests, with a covering of the same, all covered over with black Felt, rubbed over with Tallow and Sheeps Milk, to keep out the Rain; prettily bedecked with Painting or Feathers; in those they put their Household Stuff and Treasure, drawn upon other Carts for that purpose. When they take down their Houses, they set the door always towards the South, and their Carts thirty or forty Foot distant on each side, East and West, as if they were two Walls: The Women also have most curious Carts; every one of his Wives hath a great one for her self, and so many other for her Attendants, that they seem as many Courts as he hath Wives. One great Tartar or Nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of those Houses and Carts, for his several Offices and Uses, but set so far from each other, they will seem like a great Village. Having taken their Houses from the Carts, they place the Master always towards the North; over whose head is always an Image like a Puppet, made of Felt; which they call his Brother; the Women on his left hand, and

Baskets

Their Idolatry in their Lodgings.

over the chief Mistress her Head, such another Brother, and between them a little one, which is the keeper of the House; at the good Wife's Beas-foot is a Kids Skin, stuffed with Wooll, and near it a Puppet looking towards the Maids; next the door another, with a dried Cows Udder, for the Women that Milk the Kine, because only the Men Milk Mares; every Morning those Images in their orders, they besprinkle with that they drink, be it Cossinos, or whatsoever, but all the white Mares Milk is reserved for the Prince. Then without the door, thrice to the South, every one bowing his knee in honour of the Fire; then the like to the East, in honour of the Air; then

*Cossinos is
Mares
Milk.*

to the West, in honour of the Water; and lastly to the North, in behalf of the dead. After the Servant hath done this duty to the four quarters of the World, he returns into the House, where his Fellows stand waiting, ready with two Cups, and two Basons, to give their Master, and his Wife that lay with him that Night, to wash and drink, who must keep him company all the day following, and all his other Wives come thither to drink, where he keeps his House that day; and all the Gifts presented him till night, are laid up in her Chests; and at the door a Bench full of Cups, and drink for any of them to make merry.

CHAP. XV.

Their Feasts, common Diet, Princes Estate, Buildings, Tributes, Laws, Slaves, Entertainment of Ambassadors.

*Their
Feasts.*

FOR their Feasts, they have all sorts of Beasts, Birds, Fish, Fruits, and Herbs they can get, but the more variety of wild ones is the best; to which they have excellent Drink made of Rice, Millet, and Honey, like Wine; they have also Wine, but in Summer they drink most Cossinos, that standeth ready always at the entrance of the door, and by it a Fidler; when the Master of the House beginneth to drink, they all cry, ha, ha, and the Fidler plays, then they all clap their Hands and dance, the Men before their Masters, the Women before their Mistresses; and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the Fidler stayeth till they drink all round; sometimes they will drink for the Victory; and to provoke one to drink, they will pull him by the Ears, and lug and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their Hands, stamping with their Feet, and dancing before the Champions, offering them Cups, then draw them back again to increase their Appetite; and thus continue till they be drunk, or their drink done, which they hold an honour, and no infamy.

*Their com-
mon diet.*

Though the Ground be fertile, they sow little Corn, yet the Gentlemen have Bread and Honey-wine; Grapes they have plenty, and Wine privately, and good Flesh and Fish; but the common sort stamped Millet, mingled with Milk and Water. They call Cassia for Meat, and drink any thing; also any Beast unprofitable for service they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, Guts, Liver and all; but the most fleshy parts they cut in

thin slices, and hang it up in the Sun and Wind without salting, where it will dry so hard, it will not putrifie in a long time. A Ramm they esteem a great Feast among forty or fifty, which they cut in pieces boiled or roasted, puts it in a great Bowl, with Salt and Water, for other Sawce they have none; the Master of the Feast giveth every one a piece, which he eateth by himself, or carrieth away with him. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in Cattel, and their great number of Captived Women to breed upon, makes them so populous. But near the Christian Frontiers, the baser sort make little Cottages of Wood, called *Vlusi*, daubed over with dirt, and Beasts dung covered with sedge; yet in Summer they leave them, beginning their Progress in April, with their Wives, Children, and Slaves, in their Carted Houses, scarce convenient for four or five Persons; driving their Flocks towards *Precepia*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or *Oson*, a Town upon the River *Tanais*, which is great and swift, where the Turk hath a Garrison; and in October return again to their Cottages. Their Clothes are the Skins of Dogs, Goats, and Sheep, lined with Cotton Cloth, made of their finest Wooll, for of their worst they make their Felt, which they use in abundance, as well for Shoes and Caps, as Houses, Beds, and Idols; also of the coarse Wooll mingled with Horse hair, they make all their Cordage. Notwithstanding this wandering life, their Princes sit in great State upon Beds, or Carpets, and with great reverence are attended both by Men and Women,

*How they
become po-
pulous.*

*Their Prin-
ces state.*

of Captain JOHN SMITH.

meat, and richly served in Plate, and great Silver Cups, delivered upon the Knee, attired in rich Furrs, lined with Plush, or Taffety, or Robes of Tissue. These *Tartars* possess many large and goodly Plains, wherein feed Innumerable Herds of Horse and Cattel, as well wild as tame; which are Elkes, Bisons, Horses, Deer, Sheep, Goats, Swine, Bears, and divers others.

Ancient Buildings.

In those Countries are the Ruins of many fair Monasteries, Castles, and Cities, as *Bonsilray*, *Salurium*, *Almassary*, *Precopia*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Capna*, and divers others by the Sea, but all kept with strong Garrisons for the Great Turk, who yearly by Trade or Traffick, receiveth the chief Commodities those fertile Countries afford, as Bezoar, Rice, Furrs, Hides, Butter, Salt, Cattel, and Slaves, yet by the spoils they get from the secure and idle Christians, they maintain themselves in this Pomp. Also their Wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very costly, yet in a constant custom with decency.

Commodities for tribute to the Turk.

Good Laws, yet no Lawyers.

They are *Mahometans*, as are the *Turks*, from whom also they have their Laws, but no Lawyers, nor Attornies, only Judges, and Justices in every Village, or Hordia; but Capital Criminals, or matters of moment, before the Chan himself, or Privy Councils, of whom they are always heard, and speedily discharged; for any may have access at any time to them, before whom they appear with great Reverence, adoring their Princes as Gods, and their Spiritual Judges as Saints; for Justice is with such Integrity and Expedition Executed, without Covetousness, Bribery, Partiality, and Brawling, that in six Months they have sometimes scarce six Causes to hear. About the Princes

Court, none but his Guard wear any Weapon, but abroad they go very strong, because there are many Bandittos, and Thieves.

They use the *Hungarians*, *Russians*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavian* Slaves (whereof *Slaves* they have plenty) as Beasts to every work; and those *Tartars* that serve the Chan, or Noblemen, have only Victuals and Apparel, the rest are generally nasty, and idle, naturally miserable, and in their Wars better Thieves than Soldiers.

This Chan hath yearly a Donative from the King of *Poland*, the Dukes of *Lithuania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagayon Tartars*; their Messengers commonly he useth bountifully, and very nobly, but sometimes most cruelly; when any of them do bring their Presents, by his Household Officers, they are entertained in a plain Field, with a moderate proportion of Flesh, Bread and Wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Sultans*, *Tuians*, *Olans*, *Marhies*, his chief Officers and Councillors attend, one Man only bringeth the Ambassadors to the Court Gate, but to the Chan he is led between two Councillors; where saluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their message, are admitted to eat with him, and presented with a great Silver Cup full of Mead from his own hand, but they drink it upon their Knees: when they are dispatched, he invites them again, the Feast ended, they go back a little from the Palace door, and rewarded with Silk Vestures, wrought with Gold down to their Ankles, with an Horse or two, and sometimes a Slave of their own Nation; in them Robes presently they come to him again, to give him thanks, take their leave, and so depart.

His Entertainment of Ambassadors.

C H A P. XVI.

How he levieth an Army; their Arms and Provision; how he divideth the Spoil, and his Service to the Great Turk.

How he levieth an Army.

When he intends any Wars, he must first have leave of the Great Turk, whom he is bound to assist when he commandeth, receiving daily for himself and chief of his Nobility, Pensions from the Turk, that holds all Kings but Slaves, that pay Tribute, or are subject to any: signifying his intent to all his Subjects, within a Month commonly he raiseth his Army, and every Man is to furnish himself for three Months Victuals, which is parched Millet, or ground to Meal, which they ordinarily mingle with Water (as is said) hard Cheese

or Curds dried, and beaten to powder; a little will make much Water like Milk, and dried Flesh, this they put also up in Sacks: The Chan and his Nobles have some Bread and *Aquaviva*, and quick Cattel to kill when they please, wherewith very sparingly they are contented. Being provided with expert Guides, and got into the Country he intends to invade, he sends forth his Scouts to bring in what Prisoners they can, from whom he will wrest the utmost of their Knowledge fit for his purpose: having advised with his Council, what is most fit

to be done, the Nobility, according to their Antiquity, doth march; then moves he with his whole Army: if he find there is no Enemy to oppose him, he adviseth how far they shall invade, commanding every Man (upon pain of his Life) to kill all the obvious Rufficks; but not to hurt any Women, or Children.

The manner of his Wars.

Ten, or fifteen thousand, he commonly placeth, where he findeth most convenient for his standing Camp; the rest of his Army he divides in several Troops, bearing ten or twelve Miles square before them, and ever within three or four days return to their Camp, putting all to Fire and Sword, but that they carry with them back to their Camp; and in this scattering manner he will invade a Country, and be gone with his Prey, with an incredible Expedition. But if he understand of an Enemy, he will either fight in Ambuscado, or flie; for he will never fight any Battel if he can chuse, but upon treble advantage; yet by his innumerable flights of Arrows, I have seen flie from his flying Troops, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his Horse, and so expert his Bow-men; but if they be so intangled they must fight, there is none can be more hardy, or resolute in their defence.

How he divides the spoil.

Regaining his own Borders, he takes the tenth of the principal Captives, Man, Woman, Child, or Beast (but his Captains that take them, will accept of some particular Person they best like for themselves) the rest are divided amongst the whole Army, according to every Mans Desert and Quality; that they keep them, or sell them to who will give most; but they will not forget to use all the means they can, to know their Estates, Friends, and Quality, and the better they find you, the worse they will use you, till you do agree to pay such a Ransom, as they will impose upon you; therefore many great Persons have endured much misery to conceal themselves, because their Ransoms are so intolerable: their best hope is of some Christian Agent, that many times cometh to redeem Slaves, either with Money, or Man for Man; those Agents knowing so well the extream covetousness of the Tartars, do use to bribe some Jew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them again to some other Nation, are oft redeemed for a very small Ransom.

How the Chan doth Turk commands, he goeth with some small serve the Artillery; and the Nagayans, Precopens, Great Crims, Osevens, and Circassians, are his Tributaries; but the Petigoroves, Oczaconians, Bialogodens, and Dobruzen Tartars, the Turk

by Covenant commands to follow him, so that from all those Tartars he hath had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomachfull Tartarian Horses; for foot they have none. Now the Chan, his Sultans and Nobility, use Turkish, Caramanian, Arabian, Partbian, and other strange Tartarian Horses; the swiftest they esteem the best; seldom they feed any more at home, than they have present use for; but upon their Plains is a short Wood-like Heath, in some Countries like Gail, full of Berries, much better than any Grass.

Their Arms are such, as they have furnished or got from the Christians or Persians, Arms, both Breast-plates, Swords, Scimitars, and Helmets; Bows and Arrows they make most themselves, also their Bridles and Saddles are indifferent, but the Nobility are very handsome, and well armed like the Turks, in whom consisteth their greatest Glory; the ordinary sort have little Armour, some a plain young Pole unshaven, headed with a piece of Iron for a Lance; some an old Christian Pike, or a Turks Cavarinel; yet those Tatterdemallions will have two or three Horses, some four or five, as well for service, as for to eat; which makes their Armies seem thrice so many as there are Soldiers. The Chan himself hath about his Person, Ten thousand chosen Tartars and Janizaries, some small Ordnance, and a white Mares Tail, with a piece of green Taffety on a great Pike, is carried before him for a Standard; because they hold no Beast so precious as a white Mare, whose Milk is only for the King and Nobility, and to Sacrifice to their Idols; but the rest have Ensigns of divers Colours.

For all this miserable Knowledge, Furniture, and Equipage, the mischief they do in Christendom is wonderful, by reason of their hardness of Life and Constitution, Obedience, Agility, and their Enterprours Bounty, Honours, Grace, and Dignities he ever bestoweth upon those, that have done him any memorable Service in the face of his Enemies.

The Caspian Sea, most Men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200 Leagues, and in breadth an hundred and fifty, environed to the East, with the great Desarts of the Tartars of Turkomania; to the West, by the Circassies, and the Mountain Caucasus; to the North, by the River Volga, and the Land of Nagay; and to the South, by Media, and Persia: This Sea is fresh Water in many places, in others as salt as the great Ocean; it hath many great Rivers which fall into it, as the mighty River of Volga, which is like a Sea, running near Two thousand Miles, through many great

A Description of the Caspian Sea;

great and large Countries, that send into it many other great Rivers; also out of *Saberia*, *Thick*, and *Yem*, out of the great Mountain *Caucasus*, the River *Sirus*, *Arax*, and divers others, yet no Sea nearer it than the black Sea, which is at least an hundred Leagues distant: In which Country live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Nestorians*; it is neither found to increase or diminish, or empty it self any way, except it be under Ground, and in some places they

can find no Ground at Two hundred Fathom.

Many other most strange and wonderful things are in the Land of *Carbay*, towards the North-east, and *China* towards the South-east, where are many of the most famous Kingdoms in the World, where most Arts, Plenty, and Curiosities are in such abundance, as might seem incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from such Authors as have lived there.

C H A P. XVII.

How Captain Smith escaped his Captivity; flew the Bashaw of Nalbrits in Cambia; his Passage to Ruffia, Transilvania, and the middest of Europe to Africa.

How
Smith e-
scaped his
Captivity.

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this Thralldom, was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage; for although he had often debated the matter with some Christians, that had been there a long time Slaves, they could not find how to make an escape, by any reason or possibility; but God beyond Man's Expectation or Imagination helpeth his Servants, when they least think of help, as it hapned to him. So long he lived in this miserable Estate, as he became a Thresher at a grange in a great Field, more than a League from the *Timors*'s House; the *Bashaw*, as he oft used to visit his Granges, visited him, and took occasion so to beat, spurn, and revile him, that forgetting all reason, he beat out the *Timors*'s Brains with his Threshing Bat, for they have no Flails; and seeing his Estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himself in his Clothes, hid his Body under the Straw, filled his Knap sack with Corn, shut the doors, mounted his Horse, and ran into the Desert at all adventure; two or three days, thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was, he met not any to ask the way; being even as taking leave of this miserable World, God did direct him to the great way or *Castagan*, as they call it, which doth cross these large Territories, and generally known among them by these marks.

Their
guides in
chose Coun-
tries.

In every crossing of this great way is planted a Post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends, as there be ways, and every bob the Figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Crim*'s Country, is marked with a half Moon, if towards the *Georgians* and *Persia*, a black Man, full of white spots, if towards *China*, the Picture of the Sun, if towards *Musco-*

via, the Sign of a Cross, if towards the Habitation of any other Prince, the Figure whereby his Standard is known. To his dying Spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy Journey, wherein if he had met any of that vile Generation, they had made him their Slave, or knowing the Figure Engraven in the Iron about his Neck, (as all Slaves have) he had been sent back again to his Master; sixteen days he travelled in this fear and torment, after the Cross, till he arrived at *Aecopolis*, upon the River *Don*, a Garrison of the *Muscovites*. The Governour after due Examination of those his hard events, took off his Irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himself new risen from the Dead, and the good Lady *Calamata*, largely supplied all his wants.

The de-
scription of
Cambia,
and his
passage to
Ruffia.

This is as much as he could learn of those wild Countries, that the Country of *Cambia* is two days Journey from the Head of the great River *Bruapo*, which springeth from many places of the Mountains of *In-nagachi*, that joyn themselves together in the Pool *Kerkas*; which they account for the Head, and falleth into the Sea *Diffalacca*, called by some the Lake *Maorin*, which receiveth also the River *Tanas*, and all the Rivers that fall from the great Countries of the *Circassi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Cossunka*, and the *Crim*; through which Sea he Sailed, and up the River *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence through the Desarts of *Circassi* to *Aecopolis*, as is related; where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to *Caraganaw*; then with his Certificate how he found him, and had examined with his friendly Letters; sent him by *Zumalack* to *Caraganaw*, whose Governour in like manner so kindly used him, that by this means he went with a safe conduct to *Lereh*, and *Don-*

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ko

ko, in Cologoske, and thence to Bernuke, and Newgrad in Siberia, by Rezechica, upon the River Nieper, in the confines of Lithuania; from whence with as much kindness, he was convoyed in like manner by Coroski, Duboveske, Duzibell, Drohobus, and Ostroge in Volonia; Saslaw, and Lasco in Podolia; Halico and Collania in Polonia; and so to Hermonstat in Transilvania. In all this his life, he feldom met with more Respect, Mirth, Content and Entertainment; and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a Present, besides his Charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like Calamity. Through those poor continually Foraged Countries, there is no passage, but with the Caravans or Convoys; for they are Countries rather to be pitied than envied; and it is a wonder any should make Wars for them. The Villages are only here and there, a few Houles of streight Firr Trees, laid heads and points above one another, made fast by notches at the ends, more than a Man's height, and with broad split Boards, pinned together with wooden Pins, as thatched for coverture. In ten Villages you shall scarce find ten Iron Nails, except it be in some extraordinary Man's Houle. For their Towns, *Scopolin, Letch, and Donko*, have Rampires made of that wooden Walled fashion, double, and betwixt them Earth and Stones, but so latched with cross Timber, they are very strong against any thing but Fire; and about them a deep Ditch, and a Palizado of young Firr Trees; but most of the rest have only a great Ditch cast about them, and the Ditches Earth, is all their Rampire; but round, well environed with Palizadoes. Some have some few small pieces of small Ordnance, and Slings, Calievers, and Muskets, but their generallest Weapons are the *Russe* Bows and Arrows; you shall find Pavements over Bogs,

His Observations in his Journey to Transilvania, through the midst of Europe.

only of young Firr-Trees, laid cross one over another, for two or three hours Journey, or as the Passage requires, and yet in two days Travel, you shall scarce see six Habitations. Notwithstanding to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captains are civilized, well attired and accoutred with Jewels, Sables, and Horses, and after their manner with curious Furniture, it is wonderful; but they are all Lords or Slaves, which makes them so subject to every Invasi-

on. In Transilvania, he found so many good Friends, that but to see, and rejoice himself (after all those Encounters) in his Native Country, he would ever hardly have left them, though the mirror of vertue their Prince was absent. Being thus glutted with content, and near drowned with Joy, he passed high Hungaria by Fileck, Tocka, Cassovia, and Underoroway, by Ulmicht in Moravia, to Prague in Bohemia; at last he found the most gracious Prince *Sigismundus*, with his Colonel at Lipswick in Miseland, who gave him his Pass, intimating the service he had done, and the Honours he had received, with fifteen hundred Ducats of Gold to repair his Losses: With this he spent some time to visit the fair Cities and Countries of Dresden in Saxony, Magdeburgh and Brunswick; Cassel in Hessen; Wittenberg, Vilum, and Minekin in Bavaria; Augsburg, and her Universities; Hama, Frankford, Mentz, the Palatinate; Worms, Spires, and Strassburg; passing Nancie in Lorain, and France by Paris to Orleans, he went down the River of Loyer, to Angiers, and embarked himself at Nantes in Britain, for Bilbao in Bukay, to see *Burgos-Valladolid*, the admired Monastery of the *Escorial*, Madrid, Toledo, Corduba, Cuddyrial, Sivill, Cheries, Cales, and St. Lucas in Spain.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Observations of Captain Smith; Mr. Henry Archer, and others in Barbary.

Being thus satisfied with Europe and Asia, understanding of the Wars in Barbary, he went from Gibraltar to Ceuta and Tangier, thence to Saffee, where growing into Acquaintance with a French Man of War, the Captain and some twelve more went to Morocco, to see the ancient Monuments of that large renowned City: It was once the principal City in Barbary, situated in a goodly plain Country, 14 Miles from the great

Mount Atlas, and sixty Miles from the Atlantick Sea; but now little remaining, but the King's Palace, which is like a City of it self, and the Christian Church, on whose flat square Steeple is a great broach of Iron, whereon is placed the three Golden Balls of Africa: The first is near three Ells in Circumference, the next above it somewhat less, the uppermost the least over them, as it were an half Ball, and over all a pretty gilded

The three Golden Balls of Africa.

gilded Pyramid. Against those Golden Balls hath been shot many a shot, their weight is recorded 700 weight of pure Gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any Conspirator attain that Honour as to get them down. They report, the Prince of Morocco betrothed himself to the King's Daughter of Ethiopia, he dying before their Marriage, she caused those three Golden Balls to be set up for his Monument, and vowed Virginity all her Life. The *Africana* is also a place of note, because it is invironed with a great Wall, wherein lie the Goods of all the Merchants securely guarded. The *Inderca* is also (as it were) a City of it self, where dwell the Jews: The rest for the most part is defaced; but by the many Pinnacles and Towers, with Balls on their tops, hath much appearance of much sumptuousness and curiosity. There have been many famous Universities, which are now but Stables for Fowls, and Beasts, and the Houses in most parts lie tumbled one above another; the Walls of Earth are with the great fresh Floods washed to the ground; nor is there any Village in it, but Tents for Strangers, *Larbes* and *Moors*. Strange Tales they will tell of a great Garden, wherein were all sorts of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, Fruits, and Fountains, which for Beauty, Art and Pleasure, exceeded any place known in the World, though now nothing but Dung-hills, Pigeon-Houses, Shrubs and Bushes. There are yet many excellent Fountains, adorned with Marble, and many Arches, Pillars, Towers, Ports, and Temples; but most only reliques of lamentable Ruins and sad Desolation.

The description of Morocco.

A bloody Empress.

When *Muly Hamet* Religned in *Barbary*, he had three Sons, *Muly Sheck*, *Muly Sidan*, and *Muly Besserres*, he a most good and noble King, that governed well with Peace and Plenty, till his Empress, more cruel than any Beast in *Africa*, poisoned him, her own Daughter, *Muly Sheck*, his eldest Son, born of a *Portugal* Lady, and his Daughter, to bring *Muly Sidan*, to the Crown now reigning, which was the cause of all those brawls, and Wars that followed betwixt those Brothers, their Children, and a Saint that started up, but he played the Devil.

King Muly Hamet, or the Great Zoriff of Barbary.

King *Muly Hamet* was not black, as many suppose, but *Molata*, or tawny, as are the most of his Subjects; every way noble, kind and friendly, very rich and pompous in State and Majesty, though he sitteth not upon a Throne nor Chair of state, but cross Leg'd upon a rich Carpet, as doth the *Turk*, whose Religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miserable Curiosity they observe. His ordinary Guard is at least 5000, but

in Progress, he goeth not with less than 20000 Horse-men, himself as rich in all his Equipage, as any Prince in Christendom, and yet a Contributor to the *Turk*. In all his Kingdom were so few good Artificers, that he entertained from *England*, Goldsmiths, Plummers, Carvers, and Polishers of Stone, and Watch-makers, so much he delighted in the Reformation of Workmanship, he allowed each of them ten Shillings a day standing Fee, Linnen, Woollen, Silks, and what they would for Diet and Apparel, and Custom-free to transport, or import what they would; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his Kingdom, but those, of which there are divers of them, living at this present in *London*. Amongst the rest, one Mr. *Henry Archer*, a Watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Africana* to the *Inderca*, the way being very foul, met a great Priest, or a *Saute* (as they call all great Clergy-men) who would have thrust him into the dirt for the way; but *Archer* not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the Ear, presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his Tongue cut out, and his Hand cut off: But no sooner it was known at the King's Court, but 300 of his Guard came, and broke open the Prison, and delivered him although the Fact was next degree to Treason.

His great love to English Men.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting: Not far from Mount *Atlas*, a great Lions in the heat of the day, did use to bathe her self, and teach her young Puppies to swim in the River *Cauzef*, of a good breadth; yet she would carry which some *Moors* perceiving, watched their them, one after another over the River; opportunity, and when the River was between her and them, stole four of her Whelps, which she perceiving, with all the speed she could passed the River, and coming near them, they let fall a Whelp (and fled with the rest) which she took in her mouth, and so returned to the rest: A Male and a Female of those they gave Mr. *Archer*, who kept them in the King's Garden, till the Male killed the Female, then he brought it up as a Puppy-dog lying upon his Bed, till it grew so great as a Mastiff, and no dog more tame or gentle to them he knew: But being to return for *England*, at *Saffee* he gave him to a Merchant of *Marseilles*, that presented him to the French King, who sent him to King *James*, where it was kept in the Tower seven Years: After one Mr. *John Bull*, then Servant to Mr. *Archer*, with divers of his Friends, went to see the Lions, not knowing any thing at all of him; yet this rare Beast smelted him before he saw him, whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such

The strange love of a Lion.

an expression of acquaintance, that being informed by the Keepers how he came thither; Mr. Bull so prevailed, the Keeper opened the Grate, and Bull went in: But no Dog could fawn more on his Master, than the Lion on him, licking his Feet, Hands, and Face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being satisfied with his acquaintance, he made shift to get out of the Grate: But when the Lion saw his Friend gone, no Beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling, could express more rage and sorrow, nor in four days after would he either eat or drink.

Another Lion in Morocco.
In Morocco, the King's Lions are altogether in a Court, invironed with a great high Wall; to those they put a young Puppy-dog: The greatest Lion had a fore upon his neck, which this Dog so licked, that he was healed: The Lion defended him from the fury of all the rest, nor durst they eat till the Dog and he had fed; this Dog grew great, and lived amongst them many years after.

The description of Fez.
Fez also is a most large and plentiful Country, the chief City is called Fez, divided into two parts; old Fez, containing about 80 thousand Housholds, the other 4,000 pleasantly situated upon a River in the heart of Barbary, part upon Hills, part upon Plains, full of people, and all sorts of Merchandize. The great Temple is called *Carucen*, in breadth seventeen Arches, in length 120, born up with 2500 white Marble Pillars: under the chief Arch, where the Tribunal is kept, hangeth a most huge Lamp, compassed with 110 lesser, under the other also hang great Lamps, and about some, are burning fifteen hundred lights, They say, they were all made of the Bells the Arabians brought from Spain. It hath three Gates of notable height, Priests and Officers so many, that the Circuit of the

Church, the Yard, and other Houses, is little less than a Mile and half in compass, there are in this City 200 Schools, 200 Inns, 400 Water-Mills, 600 Water-Conduits, 700 Temples and Oratories; but 50 of them most stately and richly furnished. Their *Alcazer* or *Burfe* is Walled about, it hath twelve Gates, and fifteen Walks covered with Tents, to keep the Sun from the Merchants, and them that come there. The King's Palace, both for strength and beauty is excellent, and the Citizens have many great Privileges. Those two Countries of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the best part of all *Barbary*, abounding with People, Cattel, and all good Necessaries for Man's use. For the rest, as the *Larbs*, or Mountainers, the Kingdoms of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Egypt*; there are many large Histories of them in divers Languages, especially that writ by that most excellent Statesman, *John de Leo*, who afterwards turned Christian. The unknown Countries of *Guine* and *Binn*, *A brief description of the most unknown parts of Africa.* this six and twenty years have been frequented with a few English Ships only to Trade, especially the River of *Senega*, by Captain *Brimstead*, Captain *Brockir*, Mr. *Crumph*, and divers others. Also the great River of *Gambra*, by Captain *Jolson*, who is returned in thither again, in the Year 1626, with Mr. *William Grent*, and thirteen or fourteen others, to stay in the Country, to discover some way to those rich Mines of *Gago* or *Tumbatu*, from whence is supposed the *Moors* of *Barbary* have their Gold, and the certainty of those supposed Descriptions and Relations of those interior parts, which daily the more they are sought into, the more they are corrected: For surely, those interior Parts of *Africa*, are little known to either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, though they use much the Coast; therefore we will make a little bold with the Observations of the *Portugals*.

C H A P. XIX.

The strange Discoveries and Observations of the Portugals in Africa.

How the Portugals coasted to the East-Indies.
THE *Portugals* on those Parts have the glory, who first coasting along this World's Shoar of *Africa*, to find passage to the *East-Indies*, within this hundred and fifty years, even from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, about the Cape of *Bone Esperance* to the *Persian Gulf*, and thence all along the *Asian Coast* to the *Moluccas*, have subjected many great Kingdoms, erected many Common-wealths, built many great and strong Cities; and where is it

they have not been by Trade or Force? No not so much as *Cape de Verd*, and *Serra leone*; but most Bays or Rivers, where there is any Trade to be had, especially Gold, or conveniency for Refreshment, but they are scattered; living so amongst those Blacks, by time and cunning, they seem to be naturalized amongst them. As for the Isles of the *Canaries*, they have fair Towns, many Villages, and many thousands of People rich in Commodities.

Or Ed-
ward.

Ordoardo Lopez, a noble *Portuguese*, Anno Dom. 1578, imbarking himself for Congo to Trade, where he found such Entertainment, finding the King much oppressed with Enemies, he found means to bring in the *Portugals* to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian Religion, and spent most of his life to bring those Countries to the Crown of *Portugal*, which he describeth in this manner.

The King-
dom of
Congo.

The Kingdom of *Congo* is about 600 Miles Diameter any way, the chief City called *St. Savadore*, seated upon an exceeding high Mountain, 150 Miles from the Sea, very fertile, and Inhabited with more than 100000 Persons, where is an excellent Prospect over all the plain Countries about it, well watered, lying (as it were) in the Center of this Kingdom, over all which the *Portugals* now command, though but an handful in comparison of *Negroes*. They have Fleth and Fruits very plentiful of divers sorts.

Id Ele-
nts

This Kingdom is divided into five Provinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta* and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the Principal, and can afford 400000 Men of War. Elephants are bred over all those Provinces, and of wonderful greatness; though some report, they cannot kneel, nor lie down, they can do both, and have their Joynts as other Creatures for use: With their Fore-feet they will leap upon Trees to pull down the Boughs, and are of that strength, they will shake a great *Cocao* Tree for the Nuts, and pull down a good Tree with their Tusks, to get the Leaves to eat, as well as Sedge and long Grass, *Cocao* Nuts and Berries, &c. which with their Trunk they put in their Mouth, and chew it with their smaller Teeth; in most of those Provinces, are many rich Mines, but the *Negroes* opposed the *Portugueses* for working in them.

be King-
dom of
Angola.

The Kingdom of *Angola* is wonderful populous, and rich in Mines of Silver, Copper, and most other Metals; fruitfull in all manner of Food, and sundry sorts of Cattel, but Dogs Fleth they love better than any other Meat; they use few Clothes, and no Armour; Bows, Arrows, and Clubs are their Weapons. But the *Portugueses* are well armed against those Engines, and do buy yearly of those Blacks more than five thousand Slaves, and many are People exceeding well proportioned.

King-
dom of An-
chios.

The *Anchios* are a most valiant Nation, but most strange to all about them. Their Arms are Bows, short and small, wrapped about with Serpents Skins, of divers Colours, but so smooth, you would think them all one with the Wood, and it makes them very strong; their Springs little twigs, but

exceeding tough and flexible; their Arrows short, which they shoot with an incredible quickness. They have short Axes of Brass and Copper for Swords; wonderful, loyal and faithful, and exceeding simple, yet so active, they skip amongst the Rocks like Goats. They trade with them of *Nubea*, *A Strangé* and *Congo*, for *Lamach*, which is a small Money, kind of Shell-fish, of an excellent azure, colour, Male and Female, but the Female they hold most pure; they value them at divers prices, because they are of divers sorts, and those they use for Coin, to buy and sell, as we do Gold and Silver; nor will they have any other Money in all those Countries, for which they give Elephants Teeth; and Slaves for Salt, Silk, Linen Cloth, Glas-beads, and such like *Portugal* Commodities.

They circumcise themselves, and mark their Faces with sundry slashes from their Infancy. They keep a shambles of Man's Fleth, as if it were Beef, or other Victuals; for when they cannot have a good Market for their Slaves; or their Enemies they take, they kill, and sell them in this manner; some are so resolute, in shewing how much they scorn death, they will offer themselves and Slaves, to this Butchery to their Prince and Friends; and though there be many Nations will eat their Enemies, in *America* and *Asia*, yet none but those are known to be so mad, as to eat their Slaves and Friends also.

Religions and Idols they have as many, as Nations and Humours; but the Devil hath the greatest part of their Devotions, whom all those Blacks do say, is white; for there are no Saints but Blacks.

But besides those great Kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Achibi*, in those unfrequented Parts are the Kingdoms of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Bastua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambique*, *Quivola*, the Isle of *St. Lawrence*, *Mombaza*, *Melinda*, the Empires of *Monomotapa*, *Monemugi*, and *Africa*. *Presbyter John*, with whom they have a kind of Trade, and their Rites, Customs, Climates, Temperatures, and Commodities by Relation. Also of great Lakes, that deserve the Names of Seas, and huge Mountains of divers sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered with Snow; the Mountains of the Sun, also of the Moon, some of Iron, some of Silver, and Mountains of Gold, with the Original of *Nile*; likewise sundry sorts of Cattel, Fishes, Fowls, strange Beasts, and monstrous Serpents; for *Africa* was always noted to be a fruitful Mother of such terrible Creatures; who meeting at their watering places, which are but Ponds in desert places, in regard of the heat of the Country, and their extremi-

ties of Nature, make strange Copulations, and so ingender those extraordinary Monsters. Of all these you may read in the History, of this *Edward Lopez*, translated into English by *Abraham Hartwell*, and dedicated to *John* (Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 1597. But because the Particulars are most concerning the conversion of those Pagans, by a good poor Priest, that first converted a Noble Man, to convert the King, and the rest of the Nobility; sent for so many Priests and Ornaments into *Portugal*, to Solemnize their Baptisms with such Magnificence, which was performed with such strange Curiosities, that those poor Negro's adored them as gods, till the Priests grew to that Wealth, a Bishop was sent to rule

over them, which they would not endure, which endangered to spoil all before they could be reconciled. But not to trouble you too long with those Rarities of uncertainties; let us return again to *Barbary*; where the Wars being ended, and *Befferes* possessed of *Morocco*, and his Fathers Treasure, a new bruit arose amongst them, that *Muly Siden* was raising an Army against him, who after took his Brother *Befferes* Prisoner; but by reason of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloody murders rather than War, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moors, *Smith* returned with *Merham*, and the rest to *Saffa*, and so aboard his Ship, to try some other conclusions at Sea.

C H A P. XX.

A brave Sea Fight betwixt to Spanish Men of War, and Captain Merham, with Smith.

M*erham*, a Captain of a Man of War then in the Road, invited Captain *Smith*, and two or three more of them aboard with him; where he spared not any thing he had to express his kindness, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to go on Shoar, so that necessity constrained them to stay aboard; a fairer Evening could not be, yet ere Midnight, such a Storm did arise, they were forced to let slip Cable, and Anchor, and put to Sea; spooning before the Wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries*; in the Calms they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event; not long it was before they took a small Bark coming from *Tenerif*, loaded with Wine; three or four more they chased, two they took, but found little in them, save a few Passengers, that told them of five Dutch Men of War, about the Isles, so that they stood for *Boia-dora*, upon the African Shoar, betwixt which and *Cape Noa*, they descried two Sail. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them; very civilly they danced their Top-sails, and desired the Man of War to come aboard them, and take what he would, for they were but two poor distressed *Biskainers*. But *Merham* the old Fox, seeing himself in the Lions paws, sprung his luff, the other tacked after him, and came close up to his nether Quarter, gave his Broad-side, and so luffed up to Windward; the Vice-Admiral did the like, and at the next bout, the Admiral with a noise of Trumpets, and all his Ordnance, Murderers, and Muskets, boarded him on his Broad-side; the other in like manner on his leeward Quarter, that it

was so dark, there was little light, but fire and smoke; long he stayed not, before he fell off, leaving 4 or 5 of his Men sprawling over the Grating; after they had battered *Merham* about an hour, they boarded him again as before, and threw four Kedgears or Grapnels in Iron Chains, then shearing off, they thought so to have torn down the Grating; but the Admiral's Yard was so intangled in their Shrouds, *Merham* had time to discharge two cross barr shot amongst them, and divers Bolts of Iron made for that purpose, against his Bow, that made such a Breach, he feared they both should have sunk for Company; so that the Spaniard was as yare in slipping his chained Grapnels, as *Merham* was in cutting the Tackling, kept fast their Yards in his Shrouds; the Vice-Admiral presently cleared himself, but spared neither his Ordnance nor Muskets to keep *Merham* from getting away, till the Admiral had repaired his Leak; from twelve at noon, till six at night, they thus interchanged one volley for another; then the Vice-Admiral fell on Stern, staying for the Admiral that came up again to him, and all that night stood after *Merham*, that shaped his course for *Mamora*, but such small way they made, the next Morning they were not three Leagues off from *Cape Noa*. The two Spanish Men of War, for so they were, and well appointed, taking it in scorn as it seemed, with their Chace, Broad-side, and Stern, the one after the other, within Musket shot, plying their Ordnance; and after an hours Work, commanded *Merham* again for the King of Spain upon fair Quarter; *Merham* drank to them

them, and so discharged his Quarter Pieces: Which Pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, boarded him again, and many of them were got to the top to unfling the Main-Sail, which the Master and some others from the Round-House, caused to their cost to come tumbling down; about the Round-House the *Spaniards* so pelted, that they were forced to the great Cablen and blew it up; the smoak and fire was so vehement, as they thought the Ship on fire; they in the Fore-Castle were no less assaulted, that they blew up a piece of the Grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themselves with all speed, and *Merham* with as much Expedition to quench the Fire with wet Cloaths and Water, which began to grow too fast. The *Spaniard* still playing upon him with all the shot they could; the open Places presently they covered with old Sails, and prepared themselves to fight to

the last Man. The Angry *Spaniard* seeing the fire quenched, hung out a Flag of truce to have but a Parley; but that desperate *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none, but the report of his Ordnance, which he did know well how to use for his best Advantage. Thus they spent the next Afternoon, and half the Night, when the *Spaniards* either lost them or left them. Seven and twenty Men *Merham* had slain and sixteen wounded, and could find they had received 140 great shot. A wounded *Spaniard* they kept alive confessed, they had lost 100 Men in the *Admiral*, which they did fear would sink ere she could recover a Port. Thus Re-accommodating their Sails, they failed for *Santa Cruze*, *Cape Goa*, and *Magadore*, till they came again to *Saffee*, and then he returned into *England*.

C H A P. XXI.

The continuation of the General History of Virginia; the Summer Isles, and New England; with their present Estate from 1624. to this present 1629.

Concerning these Countries, I would be sorry to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their Mapps, Commodities, People, Government and Religion yet known; the beginning of these Plantations, their Numbers and Names, with the Names of the Adventures, the Yearly proceedings of every Governour both here and there. As for the Misprisions, Neglect, Grievances, and the causes of all those Rumours, losses and crosses that have happened; I refer you to the General History, where you shall find all this at large; especially to those Pages where you may read my Letter of Advice to the Council and Company, what necessity must be done, or lose all and leave the Country, Pag. 70. what Commodities I sent home, Pag. 163. my Opinion and offer to the Company, to feed and defend the Colonies, Pag. 150. my Account to them here of my Actions there, Pag. 163. my seven Answers to his Majesty's Commissioners: Seven Questions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedy, Pag. 165. How those Noble Gentlemen spent near two Years in perusing all Letters came from thence; and the differences betwixt many Factions, both here and there, with their Complaints; especially about the Sallery which should have been a new Office in *London*, for the well ordering the sale of Tobacco, that 2500 Pounds should Yearly

have been raised out of it, to pay four or five Hundred Pounds Yearly to the Governour of that Company, two or three Hundred to his Deputy; the rest into Stipends of forty or fifty Pounds Yearly for their Clerks and other Officers which were never there, Pag. 153. but not one Hundred Pounds for all them in *Virginia*, nor any thing for the most part of the Adventures in *England*, except the undertakers for the Lotteries, Setters out of Ships, Adventures of Commodities, also their Factors and many other Officers, there employed only by friendship to raise their Fortunes out of the Labours of the true Industrious Planters by the Title of their Office, who under the colour of sincerity, did pillage and deceive all the rest most cunningly: For more than 150000 Pounds have been spent out of the Common Stock, besides many thousands have been there Consumed, and near 7000 People that there died, only for want of good Order and Government, otherwise long ere this there would have been more than 20000 People, where after twenty Years spent only in Complement and trying new Conclusions, was remaining scarce 1500, with some few Cattel.

Then the Company dissolved, but no Account of any thing; so that his Majesty appointed Commissioners to oversee, and give Order for their Proceedings. Being thus

thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these four Years, you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation; but so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate unto you: For altho' I have tired my self in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence, more than would a Voyage to *Virginia*; few can tell me any thing, but of that Place or Places they have Inhabited, and he is a great Traveller that hath gone up and down the River of *James Town*, been at *Pamaunke*, *Smith's Isles*, or *Accomack*; wherein for the most part, they keep one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants having been there, some sixteen Years, some twelve, some six, some near twenty, &c. But of their general Estate, or any thing of worth, the most of them doth know very little to any purpose.

Their estate 1627. Now the most I could understand in general, was from the Relation of Mr. *Nathaniel Cawsey*, that lived there with me, and returned *Anno Dom. 1627.* and some others affirm; Sir *George Terely* was Governour, Captain *Francis West*, Doctor *John Pott*, Captain *Roger Smith*, Captain *Matthews*, Captain *Tucker*, Mr. *Clabourn*, and Mr. *Farrer*, of the Council: their Habitations many. The Governour, with two or three of the Council, are for most part at *James Town*, the rest repair thither as there is occasion; but every three Months they have a general Meeting, to consider of their Publick Affairs.

Their Numbers. Their Numbers then were about 1500, Some say rather 2000, divided into seventeen or eighteen several Plantations; the greatest part thereof towards the falls, are so inclosed with Pallisadoes they regard not the *Salvages*; and amongst those Plantations above *James Town*, they have now found means to take plenty of Fish, as well with Lines as Nets, and where the Waters are the largest, having Means they need not want.

Their conversation with Salvages. Upon this River they seldom see any *Salvages*, but in the Woods, many times their Fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunity, have slain some few straglers, which have been revenged with the Death of so many of themselves; but no other Attempt hath been made upon them this two or three Years.

Their increase of Cattle and Poultry. Their Cattel, Namely, Oxen, Kiue, Bulls, they imagine to be about 2000; Goats great store and great increase; the wild Hogs, which were infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the *Salvages*: but no Family is so poor that hath not tame Swine sufficient; and for Poultry, he is a very bad Husband,

breedeth not an Hundred in a Year, and the Richer sort doth daily feed on them.

For Bread they have plenty, and so good, *Plenty of Corn.* that those that make it well, better cannot be: Divers have much *Englisb Corn*, especially Mr. *Abraham Perce*, which prepared this Year to sow two Hundred Acres of *Englisb Wheat*, and as much with Barly, feeding daily about the number of sixty Persons at his own Charges.

For Drink, Some Malt the *Indian Corn*, *Their* others Barly, of which they make good Ale, *Drink.* both strong and small, and such plenty thereof, few of the Upper Planters drink any Water: but the better sort are well furnished with Sack, *Aguaviva*, and good *Englisb Beer*.

The Servants commonly feed upon Milk *Their Servants dien.* Homili, which is bruised *Indian Corn* pounded, and boiled thick, and Milk for the sawce; but boiled with Milk, the best of all will feed off on it, and leave their Flefh; with Milk, Butter and Cheese; with Fish, Bulls-flesh, for they seldom kill any other, &c. And every one is so applied to his labour about Tobacco and Corn, which doth yield them such Profit, they never regard any food from the *Salvages*, nor have they any Trade or Conference with them, but upon meer Accidents and Defiances: And now the Merchants have left it, there having gone so many voluntary Ships within these two Years, as have furnished them with Apparel, Sack, *Aguaviva*, and all necessaries, much better than any before.

For Arms, There is scarce any Man but he is furnished with a Piece, a Jack, a Coat of Male, a Sword or Rapier; and every *Their Arms and Exercise.* Holy-day, every Plantation doth Exercise their Men in Arms, by which means Hunting and Fowling, the most part of them are most Excellent Marks-men.

For Discoveries they have made none, *Their Health and Discoveries.* nor any other Commodity than Tobacco do they apply themselves unto, tho' never any was Planted at first. And whereas the Countrey was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many, now they have Houses, Lodgings, Victuals, and the Sun hath Power to Exhale up the moist Vapours of the Earth, where they have cut down the Wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high Trees; they find it much more healthful than before; nor for their Numbers, few Countries are less troubled with Death, Sickness, or any other Disease, nor where overgrown. Women become more fruitful.

Since this, Sir *George Terely* died 1628, *The present estate of Virginia.* Captain *West* succeeded him; but about a Year after, returned for *England*: Now Do-
1629.
Stor

Edw Poole is Governour, and the rest of the Council as before: *James Town* is yet their chief Seat, most of the Wood destroyed, little Corn there Planted, but all Converted into Pasture and Gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of Herbs and Roots we have in *England*, in abundance, and as good Grasse as can be. Here most of their Cattle do feed, their Owners being most some one way, some another, about their Plantations, and return again when they please, or any Shipping comes in to Trade. Here in the Winter they have Hay for their Cattel, but in other Places they Browze upon Wood, and the great husks of their Corn, with some Corn in them, doth keep them well.

Mr. Hutchins.

Five thousand People.

Five thousand Cattle.

Goats, Hogs, and Poultry infinite.

Mr. *Hutchins* saith, they have 2000 Cattle, and about 5000 People; but Master *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerson*, and divers others say, about 5000 People, and 5000 Kine, Calves, Oxen and Bulls; for Goats, Hogs and Poultry, Corn, Fish, Dear, and many sorts of other wild Beasts; and Fowl in their Season, they have so much more than they spend, they are able to feed three or four Hundred more than they have; and do oft much relieve many Ships, both there, and for their Return; and this last Year was there at least two or three and Twenty Sale. They have oft much Salt-fish from *New-England*, but fresh Fish enough, when they will take it; Peaches in abundance at *Keoughstan*; Apples, Pears, Apricocks, Vines, Figs, and other Fruits some have Planted that prospered exceedingly, but their Diligence about Tobacco, left them to be spoiled by the Cattel, yet now they begin to Revive; Mrs. *Pearce*, an Honest Industrious Woman, hath been there near twenty Years, and now returned, saith, she hath a Garden at *James Town*, containing three or four Acres, where in one Year she hath gathered near an Hundred Bushels of excellent Figs; and that of her own

Good Hospitality.

Provision she can keep a better House in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3 or 400 Pounds a Year, yet went thither with little or nothing. They have some tame Geese, Ducks and Turkeys. The Masters now do so train up their Servants and Youth in shooting Deer and Fowl, that the Youths will kill them as well as their Masters. They have two Brew-houses, but they find the *Indian Corn* so much better than ours, they begin to leave sowing it. Their Cities and Towns are only scattered Houses, they call Plantations, as are our Country Villages, but no Ordinance Mounted. The Forts Captain *Smith* left a Building, so ruined, there is scarce Mention where they were; no Discoveries of any thing more, than the curing of Tobacco, by which hitherto, being to present a Commodity of Gain, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are so disjointed, and every one Commander of himself to Plant what he will: they are now so well provided, that they are able to subsist; and if they would join together, now to work upon Soap-Ashes, Iron, Rape-Oil, Mader, Pitch and Tarr, Flax and Hemp; as for their Tobacco, there comes from many Places such abundance, and the charge so great, it is not worth the bringing home.

Commodities worst making, Black Walnut, Ash for Pikes, Oak for Planks, knees for Ships, Cypriss, for Chests, &c.

There is gone, and now a going, divers Ships, as Captain *Perse*, Captain *Prime*, with Sir *John Harvey* to be their Governour, with two or three Hundred People; there is also some from *Bristow*, and other Parts of the West Country a preparing, which I heartily pray to God to Bless, and send them a Happy and Prosperous Voyage.

Nathaniel Cause, Master *Hutchins*, Master *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerson*, Master *William Barnet*, Master *Cooper*, and others.

CHAP. XXII.

The proceedings and present estate of the Summer Isles, from Anno Domini 1624, to this present 1629.

FROM the Summer Isles, Mr. *Ireland*, and divers others report, their Forts, Ordinance and Proceedings, are much as follows, which is a most delicate Fruit, they have lately found away by Pickling or Drying them, to bring them over into *England*,

tain *Woodhouse's* Governour. There are few sorts of any Fruits in the West Indies, but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the Soil in many Places decayeth, being Planted every Year; for their Plantation.

Figs, Wine, and all sorts of most excellent Herbs, Fruits and Roots they have in abundance. In this Governour's time, a kind of *Whale*, or rather a *Subara*, was driven on Shoar in *Southampton* Tribe from
K k k k k

the West, over an Infinite Number of Rocks so bruised, that the Water in the Bay where the lay, was all Oily, and the Rocks about it all Bedasht with Parmacity, congealed like Ice, a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any Boil, Hurt or Bruise; some burnt it in their Lamps, which blowing out, the very smuff will burn so long as there is any of the Oil remaining, for two or three days together.

The present Estate of the Summer Isles, 1629.

The next Governour was Captain *Philip Bell*, whose time being expired, Captain *Roger Wood* possesse'd his Place, a worthy Gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the Country; their Numbers are about 2 or 3000 Men, Women and Children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest Complaint is want of Apparel, and too much Custom, and too many Officers; the Pity is, there are no more Men than Women, yet no great Mischief, because there is so much less Pride: the Cattle they have increase exceedingly; their Forts are well maintain'd by the Merchants here, and Planters there; to be brief, this Isle is an excellent Bit to Rule a great Horse.

All the Cohow Birds and Egbirds are gone; seldom any wild Catts seen; no Rats to speak off; but the Worms are yet very troublesome; the People very healthful, and

the Ravens gone; Fifth enough, but not so near the shoar as it used, by the much beating it; it is an Isle that hath such a Rampire and a Ditch, and for the quantity so manned, Victualled, and Fortified, as few in the World do exceed it, or is like it.

An Evil Mischance

The 22^d of March, two Ships came from thence; the *Peter-Bonaventure*, near 200 Tunns, and sixteen Pieces of Ordnance; the Captain, *Thomas Sherwin*; the Master, Mr. *Edward Some*, like him in Condition, a Goodly, Lusty, Proper, Valiant Man: The *Lydia*, wherein was Mr. *Anthony Thorne*, a smaller Ship, were chased by eleven Ships of *Dunkirk*; being thus over-match'd, Captain *Sherwin* was taken by them in *Torbay*, only his Valiant Master was slain; the Ship with about seventy *English* Men they carried betwixt *Dover* and *Callis* to *Dunkirk*; but the *Lydia* safely recovered *Dartmouth*.

These Noble Adventures for all those losses patiently do bear them; but they hope the King and State will understand it is worth keeping, tho' it afford nothing but Tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, Custom and Fraught pay'd, yet it is worth keeping, and not supplanting; tho' great Men feel not those losses, yet Gardiners, Carpenters and Smiths, do pay for it.

From the Relation of *Robert Chestrean* and others.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Proceedings and present Estate of New England, since 1624. to this present 1629.

When I went first to the North part of *Virginia*, where the Westerly Colony had been planted, it had dissolved it self within a Year, and there was not one *Christian* in all the Land. I was set forth at the sole Charge of four Merchants of *London*; the Country being then reputed by your *Westerlings*, a most Rocky, Barren, Desolate Desert; but the good Return I brought from thence, with the Maps and Relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did believe me, and they were well embraced both by the *Londoners* and the *Westerlings*, for whom I had promised to undertake it, I thinking to have joined them all together, but that might well have been a work of *Hercules*. Betwixt them long there was much contention; the *Londoners* indeed went bravely forward; but in three or four Years, I and my Friends consumed many hundred Pounds amongst the *Plimothians*, who only fed me

Considerations about the loss of time.

with delays, promises and excuses, but no Performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular Ships went thither, and settling my Relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the *French* Men, as had been reported; yet further, for my Pains to discredit me, and my calling it *New-England*, they obscured, and shadowed it, with the Title of *Canada*, till at my humble suit, it pleas'd our most Royal King *Charles*, whom God long keep, bless and preserve, then Prince of *Wales*, to confirm it with my Map and Book, by the Title of *New England*; the gain thence returning, did make the same thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty sail went Yearly only to Trade and Fish; but nothing would be done for a Plantation, till about some Hundred of your *Brownists* of *England*, *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*, went to *New Plimouth*, whose humorous Ignorances, caused them for more than a Year to endure

effect
negard-
ess.

duce a wonderful deal of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my Books and Maps were much better cheap to teach them than my self; many other have used the like good Husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their self-will'd conclusions; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfuls undertaken to go there, to be several Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding the Fishing Ships, made such good returns, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattentees, that divided my Map into twenty parts, and cast Lots for their shares; but Money not coming in as they expected, procured a Proclamation, none should go thither without their Licences to Fish; but for every thirty Tuns of Shipping, to pay them five Pounds; besides, upon great Penalties, neither to Trade with the Natives, cut down Wood for their Stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the Country is nothing but Wood, and none to make use of it, with many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it self, by its own Wealth: Hereupon most Men grew so discontented, that few or none would go; so that the Pattentees, who never a one of them had been there, seeing those Projects would not prevail, have since not hindred any to go that would, that within these few last years, more have gone thither than ever.

A new
Plantation
629.

Now this Year 1629, a great company of People of good Rank, Zeal, Means, and Quality, have made a great Stock, and with six good Ships in the Months of April and May, they set Sail from Thames, for the Bay of the Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles's River; viz. the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty pieces of Ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteen, the *Lions-whelp* eight, the *May-flower* fourteen, the *Four Sisters* fourteen, the *Pilgrim* four, with three hundred and fifty Men, Women, and Children; also an hundred and fifteen head of Cattel, as Horses, Mares, and neat Beasts; one and forty Goats, some Conies, with all Provision for Household and Apparel; six pieces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all Provision necessary for a Plantation, for the good of Man; other Particulars I understand of no more, than is writ in the general History of those Countries.

But you are to understand, that the noble Lord chief Justice *Popham*, Judge *Dodderidge*; the Right Honourable Earls of *Pembroke* & *Southampton*, *Salisbury*, and the rest, as I take it, they did all think, as I and them went with me, did; That had those

two Countries been planted, as it was intended, that no other Nation should complant betwixt us. If ever the King of Spain and we should fall foul, those Countries being so capable of all Materials for shipping, by this might have been Owners of a good Fleet of Ships, and to have relieved a whole Navy from England upon occasion; yea, and to have furnished England with the most Easterly Commodities; and now since, seeing how conveniently the *Summer Isles* fell to our shares, so near the *West-Indies*, we might with much more facility than the Dutch Men have invaded the *West-Indies*, that doth now put in practice, what so long hath been advised on, by many an honest English States-man.

Those Countries, Captain Smith oft times used to call his Children that never had Mother; and well he might, for few Fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that would truly understand, how many strange Accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft down, sometimes near despair, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite Mercies and Favours towards them. Had his Designs been to have persuaded Men to a Mine of Gold, though few doth conceive either the charge or pains in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new Invention to pass to the South Sea, or some strange Plot to invade some strange Monastery, or some portable Country, or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks in the *East-Indies*; or Letters of Mart to rob some poor Merchants; What multitudes of both People and Money would contend to be first employed? But in those noble endeavours (now) how few of quality, unless it be to beg some Monopoly; and those seldom seek the common good; but the Commons Goods, as you may read at large in his general History, pag. 217, 218, 219, his general Observations and Reasons for this Plantation; for yet those Countries are not so forward, but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than is; as this Smith will plainly demonstrate to his Majesty, or any other noble Person of Ability, liable generously to undertake it; how within a short time to make Virginia able to resist any Enemy, that as yet lieth open to all, and yield the King more Custom within these few years, in certain staple Commodities, than ever it did in Tobacco; which now not being worth bringing home, the Custom will be as uncertain to the King, as dangerous to the Plantations.

Notes of
inconveni-
ency.

C H A P. XXIV.

A brief Discourse of divers Voyages made unto the goodly Country of Guinea, and the great River of the Amazons; relating also the present Plantation there.

IT is not unknown how that most Industrious and honourable Knight, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the Year of Our Lord 1595, taking the Ile of *Trinidad*, fell with the Coast of *Guiana*, Northward of the Line 10 degrees, and coasted the Coast, and searched up the River *Oranoco*: where understanding that twenty several Voyages had been made by the *Spaniards*, in discovering this Coast and River, to find a passage to the great City of *Mana*, called by them the *Eldorado*, or the Golden City: he did his utmost to have found some better Satisfaction than Relations: But means failing him, he left his trusty Servant *Francis Sparrow* to seek it, who wandering up and down those Countries, some fourteen or fifteen years, unexpectedly returned; I have heard him say, he was led blinded into this City by *Indians*; but little Discourse of any purpose, touching the largeness of the report of it; his body seeming as a Man of an incurable Consumption, shortly died here after in *England*. There are above thirty fair Rivers that fall into the Sea, between the River of *Amazons* and *Oranoco*, which are some nine degrees asunder. In the year 1605, Captain *Ley*, Brother to that noble Knight, Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himself in the River *Wapaco*, wherein I should have been a Party; but he died, and there lies buried, and the shipply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sparrow
left to seek
the great
of

Captain
Charles
Ley.

Sir *Thomas Roe*, well known to be a most Noble Gentleman, before he went Lord Ambassadour to the Great *Mogul*, or the Great *Turk*, spent a year or two upon this Coast, and about the River of the *Amazons*, wherein he most employed Captain *Mathew Morton*, an expert Sea-man in the discovery of this famous River, a Gentleman that was the first shot, and mortally supposed wounded to Death, with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath been twice with command in the *East-Indies*; Also Captain *William White*, and divers others worthy and industrious Gentlemen, both before and since, hath spent much time and charge to discover it more perfectly, but nothing more effected for a Plantation, till it was undertaken by Captain *Robert Harcote* 1609.

Captain
Harcote.

This worthy Gentleman, after he had

by Commission made a discovery to his mind, left his Brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fifty or sixty Men in the River *Wapaco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained by the favour of Prince *Henry* a large Patent for all that Coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazons*, to him and his Heirs: but so many troubles here surprized him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able, only some few he sent over as Passengers, with certain *Dutch* Men, but to small purpose. Thus this business lay dead for divers years, till Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, accompanied with many valiant Soldiers and brave Gentlemen, went his last Voyage to *Guinea*, amongst the which, was Captain *Roger North*, Brother to the Right Honorable the Lord *Dudley North*, who upon this Voyage, having stayed, and seen divers Rivers upon this Coast, took such a liking to those Countries, having had before this Voyage, more perfect and particular Information of the excellency of the great River of the *Amazons*, above any of the rest, by certain *English* Men returned so rich, from thence in good Commodities, they would not go with Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in search of Gold; that after his return for *England*, he endeavoured by his best Abilities to interest his Country and State in those fair Regions, which by the way of Letters Presents unto divers Noble Men and Gentlemen of Quality, erected into a Company and Perpetuity for Trade and Plantation, not knowing of the Interest of Captain *Harcote*.

Whereupon accompanied with 120 Gentlemen and others, with a Ship, a Pinnace and two Shallops, to remain in the Country, he set Sail from *Plimouth* the last of April 1620, and within seven Weeks after he arrived well in the *Amazons*, only with the loss of one old Man: Some hundred Leagues they ran up the River to settle his Men, where the light of the Country and People so contented them, that never Men thought themselves more happy: Some *English* and *Iris* that had lived there some eight years, only supplied by the *Dutch*, he reduced to his Company and to leave the *Dutch*: having made a good Voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he returned to *England*.

Captain
Roger
North

land with divers good Commodities, besides Tobacco: So that it may well be conceived, that if this Action had not been thus crossed the Generality of England had by this time been won and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great business effected, by reason of the great Power the Lord Gundamore, Ambassadour for the King of Spain, had in England, to cross and ruin those Proceedings, and so unfortunate Captain North was in this business; he was twice committed Prisoner to the Tower, and the Goods detained, till they were spoiled, who beyond all others, was by much the greatest Adventurer and Loser.

bene Notwithstanding all this, those that he had left in the *Amazons*, would not abandon the Country. Captain Thomas Painton, a worthy Gentleman, his Lieutenant dead. Captain Charles Parker, Brother to the Right Honourable the Lord Morley, lived there six years after; Mr. John Christmas, five years; so well, they would not return, although they might, with divers other Gentlemen of Quality and others: All thus destitute of any supplies from England. But all Authority being dissolved, want of Government did more wrong their Proceedings, than all other crosses whatsoever. Some relief they had sometime from the Dutch, who knowing their Estates, gave what they pleased, and took what they list. Two Brothers, Gentlemen, Thomas and William Hixon, who stayed three years there, are now gone to stay in the *Amazons*, in the Ships lately sent thither.

The business thus remaining in this sort, three private Men left of that Company, named Mr. Thomas Warriner, John Rhodes, and Robert Bims, having lived there about two years, came for England, and to be free from the disorders that did grow in the *Amazons*, for want of Government amongst their Country-men, and to be quiet amongst themselves, made means to set themselves out for St. Christophers; their whole number being but fifteen Persons that payed for their Passage in a Ship going for Virginia, where they remained a year before they were supplied, and then that was but four or five Men. Thus this Isle, by this small beginning, having no interruption by their own Country, hath not got the start of the Continent and main Land of Guinea, which hath been laid apart, and let alone until that Captain North, ever watching his best opportunity and advantage of time in the State, hath now again pursued, and set on foot his former design. Captain Harcote being now willing to surrender his Grant, and to join with Captain North, in passing

a new Patent, and to erect a Company for Trade and Plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the Coast and Country of Guinea for ever. Whereupon, they have sent this present year in January, and since 1628, four Ships, with near two hundred Persons; the first Ship with 112 Men, not one miscarried; the rest went since, not yet heard of, and are preparing another with their best Expedition; and since January is gone from Holland, 100 English and Irish, conducted by the old Planters.

This great River lieth under the Line, the two chief Head Lands North and South, are about three degrees asunder, the mouth of it is so full of many great and small Isles, it is an easie matter for an unexperienced Pilot to lose his way. It is held one of the greatest Rivers in America, and as most Men think in the World; and cometh down with such a fresh, it maketh the Sea fresh, more than thirty Miles from the Shoar. Captain North having seated his Men about an hundred Leagues in the Main, sent Captain William White, with thirty Gentlemen and others, in a Pinnace of thirty Tun, to discover further, which they did some two hundred Leagues, where they found the River to divide it self in two parts, till then all full of Islands, and a Country most healthful, pleasant and fruitful; for they found food enough, and all returned safe and in good health: In this discovery, they saw many Towns well inhabited, some with three hundred People, some with five, six, or seven hundred; and of some they understood to be of so many thousands, most differing very much, especially in their Languages: Whereof they suppose by those Indians, they understand are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any Christian, most of them stark naked, both Men, Women and Children, but they saw not any such Giant-like Women as the Rivers name importeth. But for those where Captain North hath seated his Company, it is not known where Indians were ever so kind to any Nation, not sparing any pains, danger or labour, to feed and maintain them. The English following their Buildings, Fortifications and Sugar-works; for which they have sent most expert Men, and with them all things necessary for that purpose; to effect which, they want not the help of those kind Indians to produce; and many other good Commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plain and apparent to this Kingdom, and all the Adventurers and Well-willers to this Plantation, to be well worthy the cherishing and following with all alacrity.

C H A P. XXV.

The Beginning and Proceedings of the new Plantation of St. Christopher by Captain Warner.

1623. **M**After Ralph Merisfeld and others, having furnished this worthy Industrious Gentleman, he arrived at St. Christopher's, as is said, with fifteen Men, the 28th of January 1623, viz. *William Tested, John Rhodes, Robert Bims, Mr. Benisfield, Sergeant Jones, Mr. Ware, William Ryle, Rowland Grascock, Mr. Bond, Mr. Langley, Mr. Weaver, Edward Warner, their Captain's Son, and now Deputy Governour, till his Father's return, Sergeant Apton, one Sailor and a Cook*: At their arrival, they found three French Men, who sought to oppose Captain Warner, and to set the Indians upon us; but at last we all became Friends, and lived with the Indians a Month, then we built a Fort, and a House, and planting Fruits, by September we made a crop of Tobacco; but upon the nineteenth of September came a *Hericano* and blew it away, all this while we lived upon Cassada Bread, Potatoes, Plantanes, Pines, Turtles, Guanes, and Fish plenty; for drink we had Nicotby.

*A Hericano
70.*

1624. The 18th of March 1624, arrived Captain Jefferson, with three Men Passengers in the *Hopewell of London*, with some Trade for the Indians, and then we had another crop of Tobacco, in the mean time the French had planted themselves in the other end of the Isle; with this crop Captain Warner returned for England in September 1625.

In his absence came in a French Pinnace, under the command of *Monsieur de Nombe*, that told us, the Indians had slain some French Men in other of the *Charibbe Isles*, and that there were six *Peryagoes*, which are huge great Trees, formed as your Cannoes, but so laid out on the sides with Boards, they will seem like a little Gally: Six of those, with about four or five hundred strange Indians came unto us, we had them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the French joyned together, and upon the fifth of November set upon them, and put them to flight: upon New Years Even they came again, found three English going about the Isle, whom they slew.

*Their Fight
with the
Indians.*

1626. Until the fourth of August, we stood upon our Guard, living upon the Spoil and did nothing. But now Captain Warner arriving again with near an hundred People, then we fell to work and planting as

before; but upon the fourth of September, came such a *Hericano*, as blew down all our Houses, Tobacco, and two Drums into the air we know not whither, drove two Ships on Shoar that were both split; all our Provision thus lost, we were very miserable, living only on what we could get in the wild Woods, we made a small party of French and English to go aboard for Provision, but in their returning home, eight French Men were slain in the Harbour.

*Eight
French
slain.*

Thus we continued till near June that the Turtles came in 1627, but the French being like to starve, sought to surprize us, and all the Cassada, Potatoes, and Tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. The 26th of October, came in Captain *William Smith*, in the *Hopewell*, with some Ordnance, Shor and Powder, from the Earl of Carlisle, with Captain *Pelham* and thirty Men; about that time also came the *Plow*, also a small Ship of *Bristow*, with Captain Warner's Wife, and six or seven Women more.

1627

Upon the 25th of November, the Indians Three In set upon the French, for some injury about dians slain their Women, and slew six and twenty French Men, five English, and three Indians. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, their Bows are never bent, but the string lies flat to the Bow; their Arrows a small Reed, four or five foot long, headed some with the poisoned Sting of the Tail of a Singray, some with Iron, some with Wood, but all so poisoned, that if they draw but blood, the hurt is incurable.

The next day came in Captain *Charles Saltonstall*, a young Gentleman, Son of Sir *Samuel Saltonstall*, who brought with him good store of all Commodities to relieve the Plantation; but by reason some *Hollanders*, and others had been there lately before him, who carried away with them all the Tobacco, he was forced to put away all his Commodities upon trust till the next crop; in the mean time he resolved there to stay, and employ himself and his Company in planting Tobacco, hoping thereby to make a Voyage, but before he could be ready to return for England, a *Hericano* happening, his Ship was split, to his great loss, being sole Merchant and owner himself, notwithstanding forced to pay to the Governour the fifth part of his Tobacco, and for freight to England, three pence a pound, and

The arrival of many English Ships.

and nine pence a pound custom, which amounts together to more than threescore pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those Plantations. Nevertheless he is gone again this present year 1629, with a Ship of about three hundred Tuns, and very near two hundred People, with Sir William Tuffton Governour for the Barbadoes, and divers Gentlemen, and all manner of Commodities fit for a Plantation.

Captain Prium, Captain Stone, and divers others came in about Christmas; so that this last year, there hath been about thirty Sail of English, French, and Dutch Ships, and all the Indians forced out of the Isle, for they had done much mischief amongst the French, in cutting their Throats, burning their Houses, and spoiling their Tobacco; amongst the rest Tegrarumud, a little Child, the King's Son, his Parents being slain, or fled, was by great chance saved, and carefully brought to England, by Master Merisfield, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his own Children.

The description of the Isle.

It lieth seventeen degrees Northward of the Line, about an hundred and twenty Leagues from the Cape de tres Pontas, the nearest main Land in America, it is about eight Leagues in length, and four in breadth; an Island amongst 100 Isles in the West Indies, called the Caribbes, where ordinarily all them that frequent the West Indies, refresh themselves; those, most of them are Rocky, little, and Mountainous, yet frequented with the Canibals; many of them inhabited, as Saint Domingo, Saint Martin, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, Granada, and Margarita, to the Southward; Northward, none but Saint Christophers, and it but lately, yet they will be ranging Marigalantes, Guardalupo, Descado, Mountserat, Antegua, Maron, Bernards, Saint Martin, and Saint Bartholomew, but the worst of the four Isles possessed by the Spaniards, as Portorico or Jamaica, is better than them all; as for Hispaniola; and Cuba, they are worthy the Title of two rich Kingdoms, the rest not respected by the Spaniards, for want of Harbours, and their better choice of good Land, and profit in the main. But Captain Warner, having been very familiar with Captain Paimon, in the Amazon, hearing his information of this St. Christophers; and having made a years trial, as it is said, returned for England, joining with Master Merisfield and his Friends, got Letters Patents from King James to plant and possess it. Since then, the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle hath got Letters Patents also, not only of

that, but all the Caribe Isles about it, who is now chief Lord of them, and the English his Tenants that do possess them; over whom he appointeth such Governours and Officers as their affairs require; and although there be a great Custom imposed upon them, considering their other charges, both to feed and maintain themselves; yet there is there, and now a going, near upon the number of three thousand People; where by reason of the rockiness and thickness of the Woods in the Isle, it is difficult to pass, and such a snuff of the Sea goeth on the Shoar, ten may better defend, than fifty assault. In this Isle are many Springs, but yet Water is scarce again in many places; the Valleys and sides of the Hills very fertile, but the Mountains harsh, and of a sulphurous composition; all overgrown with Palmettes, Cotton Trees; Lignum vitae, and divers other sorts, but none like any in Christendom, except those carried thither; the air very pleasant and healthful, but exceeding hot, yet so tempered with cool breaths, it seems very temperate to them, that are little used to it; the Trees being always green, the days and nights always very near equal in length, always Summer; only they have in their Seasons great Gusts and Rains, and sometimes a Hericano, which is an over grown, and a most violent storm.

The Springs, Temper, and Seasons.

In some of those Isles, are Cattel, Goats, and Hogs, but here none but what they must carry; Guanes they have, which is a little harmless Beast, like a Crocodile, or Alligator, very fat and good Meat; she lays Eggs in the Sand, as doth the Land Crabs, which live here in abundance, like Canies in Bonoughs, unless about May, when they come down to the Sea side, to lay in the Sand, as the other; and all their Eggs are hatched by the heat of the Sun.

A strange hatching of Eggs for Beasts

From May to September, they have good Fish, store of Tortoises that come out of the Sea to lay their Eggs in the Sand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay half a peck at a time, and near a bushel ere they have done, and are round like Tennis-balls. This Fish is like Veal in taste, the Fat of a brownish colour, very good and wholesome. We catch them in the Nights, where we find them on shore, we turn them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home, for they can never return themselves, being so hard, a Cart may go over them; and so big, one will suffice forty or fifty Men to dinner. Divers sorts of other Fish they have in abundance, and Prawns most gross and excellent, but none will keep sweet scarce twelve hours.

The

Birds.

The best and greatest is a *Passer Flamingo*, which walking at her length, is as tall as a Man; *Pigeons* and *Turtle Doves* in abundance; some *Parrots*, wild *Hawks*, but divers other sorts of good Sea-fowl, whose Names we know not.

Roots.

Cassado is a Root planted in the Ground, of a wonderful Increase, and will make very good White-bread, but the Juice Rank Poyson, yet boyled, better than Wine; *Potatoes*, *Cabbages*, and *Radish* plenty.

Fruit.

Maize, like the *Virginia* Wheat; we have Pine-Apple, near so big as an Hartichock, but the most daintiest taste of any Fruit; *Plantain*, an excellent and most increasing Fruit; Apples, Prickle Pears, and Pease, but differing all from ours. There is Pepper that groweth in a little red Husk, as big as a Walnut, about four Inches in length, but the long Cods are small, and much stronger and better for use, than that from the *East Indies*. There is too sorts of Cotten, the silk Cotten as in the *East Indies*, groweth upon a small stalk, as good for Beds as Down; the other upon a shrub, and beareth a Cod bigger than a Walnut, full of Cotten Wool: Anotto also groweth upon a shrub, with a Cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of Anotto, very good for Dyers, tho' wild; Sugar Canes,

not tame, four or five foot high; also *Mastic*, and *Locus-trees*; great and hard Timber, Gourds, Musk-Melons, Water-Melons, Lettice, Parfly; all places naturally bear Purflain of it self; Sope-berries like a Mustquet Bullet, that washeth as white as Sope; in the middle of the Root is a thing like a Sedge, a very good Fruit, we call *Pengromes*; a Pappaw is as great as an Apple, coloured like an Orange, and good to eat; a small hard Nut, like a Hazell Nut, grows close to the Ground, and like this grows on the *Palmetas*, which we call a *Mucca* Nut; Mustard-seed will grow to a great Tree, but bears no seed, yet the Leaves will make good Mustard; the *Mancinel* Tree, the Fruit is Poison; good Figs in abundance; but the *Palmeta* serveth to build Forts and Houses, the Leaves to cover them, and many other Uses; the juice we draw from them, till we suck them to Death, (is held restorative) and the top for meat doth serve us as Cabbage; but oft we want Powder'd Beef and Bacon, and many other needful necessaries.

By Thomas Simons, Rowland
Grafcocke, Nicholas Burgh,
and others.

C H A P. XXVI.

The first Planting of the Barbadoes.

THE Barbados lies South-West and by South, an hundred Leagues from St. Christopher, threescore Leagues West and South from *Trinidad*, and some fourscore Leagues from *Cape de Salinas*, the next part of the main. The first Planters brought thither by Captain *Henry Pomei*, were forty English, with seven or eight *Negros*; then he went to *Disacuba* in the main, where he got thirty *Indians*, Men, Women and Children of the *Arawacos*, Enemies both to the *Caribbes* and the *Spaniards*. The Isle is most like a Triangle, each side forty or fifty Miles square, some exceeding great Rocks, but the most part exceeding good Ground; abounding with an infinite number of Swine, some Turtles, and many sorts of excellent Fish; many great Ponds wherein is Duck and Mallard; excellent Clay for Pots, Wood and Sope for Building, and a Spring near the midst of the Isle of *Bisome*, which is a liquid mixture like Tarr, that by the great Rains falls from the Tops of the Mountains, it

floats upon the Water in such abundance, that drying up, it remains like great Rocks of Pitch, and as good as Pitch for any use.

The *Mancinel* Apple, is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bigness of a Crab, but rank Poyson, yet the Swine and Birds have wit to shun it; great store of exceeding great *Locus-trees*, two or three Fathom about, of a great height, that beareth a Cod full of Meal, will make Bread in time of necessity. A Tree like a Pine beareth a Fruit so great as a Musk Melon, which hath always ripe Fruit Flowers, or Green Fruit, which will refresh two or three Men, and very comfortable; Plum-trees many, the Fruit great and Yellow, which but strained into Water in four and twenty hours, will be very good drink; wild Figg-trees there are many; all those Fruits do eat the Hogs, yet at sometimes of the Year they are so lean as Carrion; Guane-trees bear a Fruit so big as a Pear, good and wholesome; *Palmetas* of three several sorts; Pappaws, Prickle

Fruits
Trees.

Prickle Pears, good to eat or make drink ; Cedar Trees very tall and great ; Fustick Trees are very great, and the wood yellow, good for dying ; Soap Berries, the kernel so big as a flos, and good to eat ; Pumpions in abundance ; Goads so great as will make good great Bottles, and cut in two pieces, good Dishes and Platters ; many small Brooks of very good Water ; *Guinea* Wheat, Cassado, Pines and Plantains ; all things we there Plant, do grow exceedingly, so well as Tobacco ; the Corn, Pease, and Beans, cut but away the Stalk, young sprigs will grow, and so bear Fruit for many Years together, without any more Planting ; the Isle is overgrown with Wood or great Reeds, those Woods which are soft are exceeding light and full of Pitch, and those that are hard and great, they are as hard to cut as Stone.

Mr. John Powel came thither the 4th of August 1627. with forty five Men, where we stayed three Weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an Hundred People, and his Son John Powel for his Deputy, as Governour ; but there have been so many Factions amongst them, I cannot from so many variable Relations, give you any

certainly for their orderly Government : for all those Plenties, much misery they have endured, in regard of their weakness at their Landing, and long stay without supplies ; therefore those that go thither, it were good they carry good Provision with them ; but the Isle is most healthful, and all things Planted do increase abundantly ; and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteen or sixteen Hundred People.

Sir William Curtine, and Captain John Powel, were the first and chief Adventurers to the Planting this fortunate Isle ; which had been oft frequented by Men of War to refresh themselves, and set up their Shalopes ; being so far remote from the rest of the Isles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies*. Harbours they have none, but exceeding good Rodes, which with a small Charge, might be very well Fortified ; it doth Ebb and Flow four or five foot, and they cannot perceive that there hath ever been any Hericario in that Isle.

From the Relations of Captain John White, and Captain Wolverstone.

C H A P. XXVII.

The first Plantations of the Isle of Mevis.

BECAUSE I have ranged and lived amongst those Islands, what my Authors cannot tell me, I thing it no great error in helping them to tell it my self. In this little Isle of *Mevis*, more than twenty Years ago, I have remained a great time together, to Wood and Water and refresh my Men ; it is all Woody, but by the Sea-side Southward, there are Sands like Downs, where a Thousand Men may quarter themselves Conveniently ; but in most places the Wood groweth close to the Water side, at a high Water mark, and in some places so thick of a soft spongy Wood like a wild Fig-tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with Hatchets, or Fauchions : whether it was the dew of those Trees, or of some others, I am not certain, but many of our Men became so tormented with a burning swelling all over their Bodies, they seemed like scalded Men, and near Mad with Pain ; here we found a great Pool, wherein bathing themselves they found much ease ; and finding it fed

with a Pleasant small stream that came out of the Woods, we found the head half a Mile within the Land distilling from many Rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three days. Such factions here we had ; as commonly attend such Voyages, that a pair of Gallows were made, but Captain Smith for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them ; but not any one of the inventers, but their lives by Justice fell into his Power to determine of at his Pleasure, whom with much Mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly have betrayed him.

The last Year 1628. Mr. Littleton with some others, got a Patent of the Earl of Carlisle to Plant the Isle called the *Barbadoes*, thirty Leagues Northward of St. Christophers ; which by report of their Informers, and Undertakers, for the excellency of the Pleasantness thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it such a Barren Rock they left it ; altho they were told as much before, they would not believe it, M m m m m perswading

The Bath.

he Description of the Isle.

persuading themselves those contradictions would get it for themselves, was thus by their cunning Opinion, the deceivers of themselves; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a Map, they had not Patience to know the goodness or badness, the inconvenience nor probability of the Quantity nor Quality; which error doth predominate in most of our homebred Adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are; but you may see by many Examples in the general History, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the Truth from amongst so many Foreign and several Relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the Countries People, and their Conditions; and those ignorant undertakings, have been the greatest hindrance of all those Plantations.

Their Numbers.

At last because they would be absolute, they came to *Mexico*, a little Isle by *St. Christophers*; where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries, being about the Number of an Hundred, and since increased to an Hundred and fifty Persons, whereof many were old Planters of *St. Christophers*, especially *Mr. Anthony Hinton*, and *Mr. Edward Tompson*. But because all those Isles for the most part are so capable to produce, and in Nature like each other, let this discourse serve for the description of them all. Thus much concerning those Plantations, which now after all this time, loss and charge, should they be abandon'd, suppressed, and dissolved, were most lamentable; and surely seeing they all strive so much about this Tobacco, and that the Freight thereof, and other charges are so great, and so open to any Enemy by that Commodity, they cannot long subsist.

And it is a wonder to me to see such Miracles and Mischiefs in Men; how greedily they pursue to dispossess the Planters of the Name of Christ Jesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the World is unpossessed, yea, and better Land than they so much strive for, murdering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many Cities, Villages and Countries, and subverting so many Kingdoms, when so much Wealth, or only possessed by a few poor Savages, that more serve the Devil for Fear,

than God for love; whose Ignorance we pretend to reform, but Covetousness, Humours, Ambition, Faction, and Pride hath so many Instruments, we perform very little to any purpose; nor is there either Honour or Profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion, or hinderance of any honest intended Christian Plantation.

Now to conclude the Travels and Adventures of *Captain Smith*; how first he Planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an Hundred Men in the wild Woods; how he was taken Prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamuncks* tied to a Tree to be shot to death, led up and down their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a Sacrifice for their Idol, before whom they conjured him three days, with strange Dances and Invocations, then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slain; how his Daughter *Pocahontas* saves his life, returned him to *James Town*, relieved him and his famished Company, which was but eight and thirty to possess those large Dominions; how he discovered all the several Nations, upon the Rivers falling into the Bay of *Chesapeake*; stung near to death with a most Poisoned taile of a Fish called Stingray: how *Powhatan* out of his Country took the Kings of *Pamuncks* and *Paspahegh* Prisoners, forced thirty nine of those Kings to pay him contribution, subjected all the Savages; how *Smith* was blown up with Gun-powder, and returned for *England* to be cured.

Also how he brought our *New England* to the subjection of the Kingdom of Great Britain; his fights with the Pirates, left alone amongst a many French men of War, and his Ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France in a little Boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy Night at Sea by himself, when thirteen French Ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ill of *Ros*, the General and most of his Men drowned, when God, as whom he all Honour and Praise, brought him safe on shore to all their Admirations that escaped; you may read at large in his General History of *Virginia*, the Summer Year, and *New England*.

Certain exploits of Captain Smith.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The bad Life, Qualities and Conditions of Pirates; and how they taught the Turks and Moors to become men of War.

AS in all Lands where there are many People, there are some Thieves, so in all Seas much frequented, there are some Pirates; the most Ancient within the Memory of threecore Years, was one *Cadix*, who most refreshed himself upon the Coast of *Wales*; *Clinton* and *Puifer* his Companions, who grew famous till Queen *Elizabeth* of Blessed Memory, hanged them at *Wapping*; *Flemming* was as expert and as much sought for as they, yet such a Friend to his Country, that discovering the *Spanish Armado*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yielded himself freely to my Lord Admiral, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* coming; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly, that he had his Pardon, and a good Reward; some few Pirates there then remained; notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich Prizes the little Barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small Charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great Navy, by Wind and Weather, Victual, Sicknes, of losing and finding one another, they seldom defray half the charge: But for the Grace, State and Defence of the Coast and narrow Seas, a great Navy is most necessary, but not to Attempt any far Voyage, except there be such a Competent stock, they want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition; but to the purpose.

The difficulties of a great Navy.

What occasions a great Navy.

After the death of our most Gracious Queen *Elizabeth* of Blessed Memory, our Royal King *James*, who from his Infancy had Reigned in Peace with all Nations; had no employment for those Men of War, so that those that were Rich rested with that they had; those that were poor and had nothing but from hand to Mouth, turned Pirates; some, because they became slighted of those for whom they had got much Wealth; some for that they could not get their Due; some that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to Poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for Revenge, Covetousness, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their Passions increasing with discontent, made them turn Pirates.

Their chief Rendez-vous.

Now because the grew hatefull to all Christian Princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where altho' there be not many good Harbours, but *Tunis*, *Argier*, *Sally*, *Mamora*,

and *Tishane*, there are many convenient Rodes, or the open Sea, which is their chief Lordship: For their best Harbours *Messaqueber*, the Towns of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tangier*, and *Ceuta*, within the Streights, are possessed by the *Spaniards*; without the Streights they have also *Arzella*, and *Maxagan*; *Mamora* they have likewise lately taken, and Fortified. Ward a poor English Sailer, and Danisher a Dutchman, made first here their Mart, when the Moors knew scarce how to sail a Ship; *Bishop* was Ancient and did little hurt; but *Easton* got so much as made himself a Marquess in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a Baskin in *Barbary*; those were the first that taught the Moors to be Men of War. *Gunning*, *Harris*, *Tompson*, and divers others were taken in *Ireland*, a Coast they much frequented, and died at *Wapping*. *Haws*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walsingham*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkel*, *Wollington*, *Barrow*, *Wilson*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all these were Captains amongst the Pirates, whom King *James* Mercifully Pardon'd; and was it not strange, a few of those should command the Seas. Notwithstanding the *Malteses*, the *Pope*, *Florentines*, *Genoeses*, *French*, *Dutch* and *English*, Gallies and Men of War, they would rob before their Faces, and even at their own Ports, yet seldom more than three, four, five, or six in a Fleet: many times they had very good Ships, and well Man'd, but commonly in such Factions amongst themselves, and so Riotous, Quarrellous, Treacherous, Blaphemous and Villanous, it is more than a wonder they could so long continue, to do so much Mischief; and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst *Jews*, *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Whores*.

Their conditions.

The best was, they would seldom go to Sea, so long as they could possibly live on shoar, being compiled of *English*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Moors*, (but very few *Spaniards* or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, till they became so disappointed, disordered, debauched, and miserable, that the *Turks* and *Moors* began to command them as Slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill, which many an accursed *Runnagado*, or *Christian* turned *Turk* did, till they have made those *Sally-men* or *Moors of Barbary* so Powerful as they be, to the Terror of all the Streights, and many times they take Purchase in the Main Ocean,

Runagado's.

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an, yea sometimes in the narrow Seas in England, and those are the most cruel Villains in Turkey or Barbary; whose Natives are

men and Soldiers, have been most worthily honoured and esteemed, but now regarded for the most part, but as the scum of the

Advertisements for wild heads (altho' many are sufficient Seamen as any) yet in regard of his superfluity, you shall find it such, that any wise Man would rather live amongst wild Beasts, than them; therefore let all unadvised Persons take heed they entertain that quality; and I could how with Merchants, Gentlemen, and all Setters forth of Ships, not to be sparing of a Competent Pay, nor true Payment; for neither Soldiers nor Seamen can live without Means, but necessity will force them to steal; and when they are once entred into that Trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Those Titles of Sea-

which however in the beginning were scorned contemned, yet now you see how many Rich and Gallant People come from thence, who went thither as Poor as any Soldier or Sailor, and gets more in one Year, than you by Piracy in seven. I intreat you therefore to consider how many Thousands yearly go thither; also how many Ships and Sailors are employed to Transport them, and what Custom they Yearly pay to our most Royal King Charles, whose Prosperity and his Kingdom's good, I humbly beseech the Immortal God to preserve and increase.

F I N I S.

T W O
J O U R N A L S:
T H E F I R S T
Kept by seven SAILERS
I N T H E
ISLE of St. MAURICE
I N
GREENLAND,

In the Years 1633, 1634.

Who pass'd the Winter, and all died in the said
I S L A A N D.

T H E S E C O N D
Kept by seven other Sailers, who in the Years
1633 and 1634. Winter'd
A T

S P I T Z B E R G E N;
With an Account of their Adventures and Sufferings, from the *Bears* and *Whales*, insupportable Cold and Storms, &c.

Done out of *LOW-DUTCH*.

TO THE READER.

I*t having pleased God, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, by whose uncontrollable Will, the Counsels of Men are Governed, to Influence the Committee of the Greenland Company, to take a Resolution of making the most exact enquiry that could be, concerning the true Condition of the Country of Greenland, during the Winter: Concerning the Nights there, and other Curious Observations (disputed among the Astronomers) it was resolved to select Seven of the boldest and ablest Seamen, out of the Fleet, who for that purpose should tarry there all the Winter, which resolution being Published, the following seven offered themselves for that Service, and were accepted of accordingly: Outgert Jacobson of Grootenbrook, their Commander; Adrian Martin Carman of Schiedam, Clerk; Thauniss Thauuissen of Shermanhem, as Cook; Dick Peterson of Veenhuysse; Peter Peterson of Harlem; Sebastian Gyse of Delfts-Haven, and Gerard Beautin of Bruges. These seven being left 1633, by their own choice, in the Isle of St. Maurice in Greenland, the Dutch Fleet set Sail from thence the 26th of August, and the Seamen left us the following Account.*

T W O

J O U R N A L S:

THE FIRST

Kept by seven SAILERS

I N

GREENLAND:

THE SECOND

Kept by seven other SAILERS

A T

SPITZBERGEN,

In the Years 1633 and 1634.

THE 26th of *August* our Fleet set sail for *Holland* with a strong N. E. Wind and a hollow Sea, which continued all that Night. The 27th, the Wind still at N. E. we went four or five times up to an Adjacent Hill, but did not observe the least Darkeness all that Night. The 28th the Wind the same, it began to Snow very hard; we then Shar'd half a Pound of Tobacco betwixt us, which was to be our Assistance for a week, towards ~~the~~ we went about together, to see if we could discover ~~any~~ our Observation, but ~~not~~ without success. The 29th proving a ~~fine~~ and clear Day, we ascended ~~the~~ in the Afternoon the before-mentioned Hill, when, (and at several other times when it was clear Weather,) we could

distinctly see the *Bears Mountain*. The 30th the Wind turn'd to the N. W. with some Snow in the Afternoon, the Night Cloudy, the Wind at N. E. The 31st, being a clear and Sun-shiny day, we had a perfect sight of the *Bears Mountain*, with a fresh Gale from the N. E. a fair Star-light Night. The 1st of *Sept.* prov'd a fair day, the Wind at N. W. with some Snow in the Evening, and a Windy Night from the N. E. We went three or four times by the Hill, but saw nothing. The 2d, the Wind ~~was~~ continued, with some Snow, and Cloudy Night. The 3d, was a fair Day, with some Snow; the Wind as the Day before, which continued the 4th and the 5th, with some Snow; the Night fair and Star light. The 6th, was a fair Fore-noon, but the Night rainy, the Wind the same. The 7th, the

Two Journals kept by seven Sailors

the Wind continued as before all the day, with fair Weather, but turning to the S. E. by S. at Night produced a great deal of Rain. On the 8th 'twas a Rainy Morning, the Wind at S. E. but in the Afternoon fair, and the Night Star light; at the beginning, when of we were frightened by a Noise, as if something had fallen very heavy upon the Ground, but saw nothing, the Wind at S. E. still. The 9th, the Wind the same; it prov'd a Sun-shiny day, and so warm that we pull'd off our shirts and sported in the Sun on the side of the Hill; we had also a sight of the *Bears Mountain*; the Night was Rainy, the Wind at S. E. The 10th was very Stormy, the Night Rainy and the Wind the same. The 11th was a Foggy and Rainy day, the Wind at S. E. by S. but turn'd to the S. W. in the Afternoon, and to the N. E. in the Night, the Weather Cloudy; we made a shift to get some Salleting, being fond of a change of Diet. The 12th it blew hard from the N. E. the Weather clear, but the Night Snowy, the Wind as before. The 13th was a fair Sun-shiny day, the Wind at S. E. but the Wind turning to the N. E. by N. it began to Snow, the Night was still and close, the Wind at N. W. The 14th, it was fair Weather, the Wind in the West with some Snow; we went up the Hill, but saw nothing worth our Observation; except that at Night we observed the Setting of the Sun; the Wind at N. W. by W. a clear Night, and the Wind at S. W. The 15th it blew very hard, so that the Sea foam'd; we observ'd the Sun from the S. to the S. W. when it clouded in, but the Night prov'd Star light, the Wind at W. The 16th it was a fair Sun-shiny day, the Wind at S. W. which made us go about to gather some Herbs for Salleting; it being a very Star light Moon-shiny Night, we saw abundance of Sea-Gulls. The 17th it blew very hard out of the S. W. which made the Sea foam, yet the day was clear and the Night calm, the Wind as before. The 18th it was a rainy Day, the Wind at S. W. by S. This was the first time we took each of us our Allowment of Brandy, being a certain Measure which was to serve us for Eleven days. The 19th it was a clear day, the Wind at W. the Night Star light, the Wind at S. E. The 20th it was Sun-shiny, the Wind at S. E. by S. we then discharged our great Guns, having no

more to fear from the *Biscay* Privateers for this Season; the Night was Star light, the Wind at S. W. The 21st, Day and Night misty and rainy; the Wind at S. W. The 22d, it blew and rain'd very hard, the Wind at S. W. The 23d, being a cloudy day, the Wind at E. we discover'd a Whale near the Shoar, which made us set out our Sloop in order to catch him; but he got clear of us, it turning a dark Sky, with Rain and Mist on a sudden, and in the Night it rain'd very hard; the Wind at S. E. The 24th, the Wind was at S. E. by S. with rainy Weather in the Forenoon, but the Afternoon being fair, we went to the *Red Hill* for some Salleting, but found none; at Night the Wind was at S. E. The 25th proved very Rainy in the Morning, the Wind at S. E. by E. but the Afternoon and Night it was very Stormy Weather. The 26th it was cold Frosty Weather, with an Easterly wind. The 27th being a fair Day, the Wind at N. E. we went towards the South side of the Isle for some Salleting, but found none, being spoiled by the cold Rains; in the Night the Wind turn'd to the West, with very foul Weather. The 28th a violent Storm arose from the North, with some Snow and running Clouds, but the Night prov'd fair, the Wind at S. E. The 29th it blew very hard from the S. E. with some Snow, we observed the height of the Sun in the Sun something above the Mountains; the Night was fair, and the Wind South. The 30th it was a Cloudy Rainy day, the Wind at S. W. by W. the Night proved very wet, mixt with Snow and very stormy.

The 1st of *Octob.* it was fair in the Morning, the Wind at N. E. but in the Afternoon stormy, and a cloudy Night, the Wind as before; it being Frosty Weather, we resolv'd to go to the South side of the Isle. The 2d it Froze so hard, that the Ice would bear even on the South part of the Island, the Wind the same as the day before: we found there a fine Spring of fresh Water, and the Night was very clear, the Wind at East. The 3d the Wind was the same in the Forenoon, but turn'd to the West afterwards, with Frost and Snow, but the Night was very fair. The 4th prov'd a Frosty day, the Wind South; in the Morning we saw the *Bears Mountain*; the Afternoon was very warm, and the Night Foggy and Rainy, the Wind very sharp from the S. W. The 5th, the Wind continued the

the same, with Rain from Morning till Night, which made us keep our Tents all that Day; at Night the Wind turn'd to the South. The 6th, the Wind was the same, with Frosty Weather, we observed the Sun in the South, from our Huts, about half a Pace above the Hill; we also could see the *Bears Mountain*: In the Night it blew very hard from the S.W. by S. with a hollow Sea and very dark Sky. The 7th it was very stormy, the Wind at S. W. by W. we went upon the Hill, but met with nothing there, the Night proved very wet. The 8th the Wind continued the same, in the Morning with Snow, but turn'd to the S. W. by S. in the Afternoon; towards Night it grew very Tempestuous, which shook our Huts to that degree, that we were not able to rest, the Storm increasing with Snow and Frost till late in the Night; the Wind at N. E. and afterwards to the N. with a very hollow Sea. The 9th, the Tempest continued with such violence, that no Ship could have rid safely at Anchor, with Frost and Snow, the Waves rising by the Northerly wind above the Fort. It being excessive cold, we began the first time to make a fire; we had still very strong winds from the N. E. by N. all that Night, which continuing the same the 10th; the excessiveness of the cold forced us to keep at home near the fire side; we found a considerable alteration in our Bodies, being troubled with a sudden giddiness in our Heads, the wind the same as before. The 11 it was very cold and Snowy Weather, the wind at N. E. we had hung some of our Linen in the Air to whiten, but were glad to bring them near the fire, they being in a moment Frozen as hard as a Board; we went along the Sea shoar to the Southern Rocks, but found nor saw any thing there. The 12th it Froze, Snow'd, and Blew so very hard, that our Barrel of Bear, (tho' laid within a Fathom from the Fire) was Frozen, the wind at N. E. we went upon the Hill that day but saw nothing. the 13th the cold Weather continued, we took a view about us on the Hill as usual, but discovered nothing, except that we see the Sun set between S. and W. very clear, the wind at the North; the beginning of the Night was Star light, but towards Morning it was Stormy with Snow. The 14th the Wind and Weather the same, and we observed the Sun to set at S. W. by W. part of the Night was Star-light. The 15th in the Morning finding

two Whales cast a shoar near the old Furnace of *Amsterdam*, we went to work with our Harp-irons, Launces and Hangers, but notwithstanding all our endeavours, they got clear of us by the advantage of the Tide; the Weather proved indifferently well that day, the wind as the day before; we went upon the Hill but without seeing any thing. The 16th the Weather continued very cold with Snow, the Wind the same, which occasioned no small alteration in our Bodies; we took a view round about us on the Hill, but observed nothing. The 17th it was still Frosty weather, and Cloudy and blew very hard from the North; the Evening was Star-light; we went in the day upon the Hill, but saw nothing. The 18th the Frost continued, the wind N. we observed the Sun to set at S. W. by N. or almost S. W. it was a very Moon light Night. The 19th the wind kept in the N. we saw from the Hill the *Bears Mountain*, and some Ice we saw, about a Mile to the North of the Shoar; It was a Sun shiny Day; but the Sun did not rise high enough to reach over the Hill, into our Huts in the Bay; it was a Bright Moon-light Night. The 20th being a fair Day, the wind at N. E. we had sight of a Bear the first we saw here, but could not catch him; we saw great Shoals of Ice, a good way at Sea, from the Shoar, and the Night proved very Cold, with an East wind. The 21st it Blow'd and Snow'd very hard with a N. E. wind which continued all Night, with very thick Snow. The 22th it Snow'd all Day, and the Night continued Cloudy, the wind the same. The 23d was Cloudy, the wind at N. E. we took a view again round about us from the Hill, but saw nothing; the Night was very Fair. The 24th the wind and weather the same, with some Frost, we went upon the red Hill, where we saw nothing except the Tracks of some Beasts, whence we concluded that they began to come down towards the Sea-side. The Night was Clear and Frosty. The 25th we had an excessive Cold, yet Sun shiny Day, the wind at S. W. but the Sun could not send its beams over the Hills to our Huts; It being a Star-light Night, a Bear came in sight of our Huts; but we could not take him; the wind was the same as the day before. The 26th the wind continuing the same Corner, we went upon the Hill, where we saw nothing but Ice, the night was very clear, the

Two Journals kept by seven Sailors

Wind at the West. The 27th it was fair weather, the wind the same, the Night very clear and star-light. The 28th, the Wind blew from the same corner all Day and Night, with clear Frosty weather, we went up the Hill but saw nothing. The 29th being an excessive cold day, the Wind in the N. not only the Bay, but also the Sea, as far as we could see, was full of Ice; in the Night it Snowed very hard, the Wind as before. The 30th it continued Freezing very hard, with the same Wind, and the Sea was so full of Ice, that we could see no Water; the Night proved very Tempestuous. The 31st the North Wind produced such an excessive Frost and Snow, that not the least drop of Water was to be seen, where-ever you turn'd your self, and some of our Vessels were Frozen to pieces, tho' we sav'd our Beer and other strong Liquors, by putting them in the Buttry Cellar.

The 1st. of November, a N. E. Wind vehemently encreased the cold, so that when we came upon the Hill, we could see nothing but Ice on the North side; yet we had still 10 hours day, tho' we seldom got sight of the Sun-beams, the same not appearing except on the South side, whither we could not come by reason of the Snow and Ice. Towards Evening we got sight of a Bear, but he no sooner saw us making up towards him, but he saved himself upon the Ice at Sea, these Creatures being excessive shy here; the cold grew so fierce by this time, that to preserve our Beer, and other Liquors, we were forced to kindle a Fire in the Buttry Cellar. Towards Night, the Bears appeared in such Numbers about our Huts, that we scarce durst venture abroad; the Wind continued as before. The 2d, it being a very hard Frost, we discovered 5 or 6 Bears upon the Ice in the Bay, whereof we kill'd one, but the rest saved themselves upon the Ice. The 3d, it was tolerable good Weather, the Wind at N. E. we saw four Bears, one whereof being kill'd, by a Gun, he got upon the Ice in the Bay, but was pull'd a shore by the help of some Ropes we had by us. The Night was Star-light, and the Wind as before. The 4th, the Wind being at N. E. it froze very hard, tho' it was Cloudy, we saw 3 Bears, but we did not shoot none of them, they saved themselves immediately to the South Sea; the Wind was West. The 5th a South Wind produced so violent

a Snow, that we durst not venture out of our Huts; we had of late not seen any Sea Gulls; all that Night the Wind continued in the South, as well as the 6th, with some Tempestuous Weather, the Wind turned East in the Night. The 7th it was still, the Wind at N. E. we went up the Hill, but discovered nothing; the Wind turning to the North in the Night, fill'd the Bay with great Shoals of Ice. The 8th the Wind continued at the North, with excessive cold weather; for want of Water we were forced to make use of melted Snow. The 9th the North Wind holding still, we made shift to get to the Southern shore, where we saw no Ice, but plainly discovered the Sun, this being the first time we had sight of it in 21 or 22 Days last past, being then above half an hour above the Horizon; the Wind continued in the North, all that Night as well as the next Day, being the 10th when we got sight of a great number of Bears. The 11th the North Wind encreased, with thick Clouds: at Night the Wind turned N. E. which continued the 12th, with very thick fogs, we went upon the Hill, but could see nothing but Ice; and some Sea Gulls; the Night proved very light by reason of the Moon, the Wind at East. The same Wind continuing the 13th it froze most severely; and the 14th the Wind turned to the West; the cold weather held on and brought vast quantities of Ice into the Bay; it was a bright Moon-shiny Night, but we saw no Bears that Day, tho' the next being the 15th, we saw 3 or 4, but had only the Pleasure of seeing them, they not coming within the reach of our Guns. The 16th the Wind continued in the same Corner, all that Day and Night; we let fire at a Bear, that came in sight of us, but missing him, he betook himself to the Ice in the Bay. The 17th the Wind turn'd to the North, with dark Snowy weather, yet the Cold was not so excessive as before. The 18th the Frost increased again with a N. E. wind, which however prov'd not so tolerable to us hitherto; we spent most of our time in rehearsing to one another, the Adventures that had befallen us both at Sea and Land; it prov'd a very fair and Star-light Night. The 19th the Wind turning to the North again, we pass'd the Hill to the South Sea, yet not without a great deal of difficulty, being often knee deep in the Snow

Snow; we then had a full sight of the *Bears Mountain*, and saw the Sun just above the Surface of the Sea, having yet so much day-light left, that we could write and read in the open Air, but not within our Huts, which made us very Melancholy; the Wind continued the same as it did the 20th, with dark Snowy weather; in the Night the Wind turning to the West, continued there the 21st, when going up the Hill we look'd to the North side, but could see nothing but Ice. The 22d, the Wind held West-erly, with very cold Weather. The 23d the Wind shifted to the N. W. by W. and being a fair day, we pass'd the Hill to the Red Hill, but could see nothing but Ice where-ever we turn'd our Faces; 2 or 3 Bears came within sight of us, but not within the reach of our Guns: the beginning of the Night proving very clear and calm, we discover'd a Bear, at whom we discharged our Guns immediately (they being always ready charg'd) and wounded him sorely, as we found by the Tracks of Blood near the Sea shoar; yet escap'd to the Ice, nothing being more frequent than to be shot quite thro' the Body, without receiving much harm. The 24th proving a cloudy dark day, a S. E. Wind forced most of the Ice out of the Bay into the Sea, but yet not quite out of sight, at Night the Wind turning to the West, the Bay was fill'd again with Ice; the Weather being very Frosty; we saw a vast quantity of Sea-Gulls, but they kept close among the Mountains; the Wind as before. The 25th the Wind being in the West, with Frosty Weather, we saw a vast number of Sea-Gulls, but they return'd to the Mountains before Night, the Wind was as before. The 26th the Wind turning to the South, it prov'd a tolerable mild day, and most of the Ice was carried out of the Bay into the Sea; the Wind as before. The 27th it was fair Weather, the Wind at S. W. but turned to the East in the Night. The 28th the Wind was at S. E. with fair Weather; we got sight of a Bear again, whom we pursued over the Hill, but he proving too nimble for us, escap'd our hands. The Weather was (to our great surprise) so mild for these 5 or 6 days last past, that we believed the cold to be no more so great here than it was in *Holland*, as the same time the Wind as before. The 29th, the Wind continuing the same, we went over the Hill again to the South side of the Hill, where

we found all cover'd with Ice; tho' at the same time there was scarce any Ice; to be seen, within half a Mile of the Northern shoar; it was a Star-light Night. The 30th the Wind blew from the same Corner, and seeing some Bears, we made what haste we could after them, but in vain, not being able to overtake them; the Wind continued as before with violent Rains.

The 1st of *December*, a Southern Wind produced some Rain, but turn'd to the S. E. at Night. The 2d, the Wind continued the same, with Rainy Weather, which carried the Ice from the shoar to the North at Sea: It continued Thawing all that Night; the Weather mild. The 3d the Wind at S. with rainy Weather and strong Winds at Night. The 4th the Wind continuing Day and Night the same, with cloudy Weather, we heard some Bears near our Huts, and pursued 2 or 3 of them, but could take none. The 5th the Wind still South, with mild calm Weather, so that to the best of our judgment, it could scarce be better in *Holland* at that time of the Year: we shot one Bear, as we perceived by the Track of Blood, but he had strength enough to get upon the Ice, out of our reach. The 6th the Wind blew from the S. E. cloudy Sky, but mild Weather, with a Star-light Night, the wind as before. The 7th the Wind continued the same with Foggy Weather, but the Wind turning to the South; at Night it began to Snow, and the Frost return'd. The 8th a N. E. Wind produced a dark and Frosty day, but at Night it turn'd to the West. Which continued thus the 9th, with very clear and cold Weather, there being nothing but Ice to be seen as far as our Eyes could reach. It was a frosty Star-light Night. The 10th was a bright day, the Wind still at West; we found our selves surrounded on all sides with nothing but Ice, it being a Moon-shiny Night, we discovered 3 or 4 Bears, one of which we wounded in two places, yet he escap'd our hands upon the Ice: we went upon the Hill, from whence we could discern nothing but Ice; the Wind continued at West all Night, and the 11th with fair Weather, but could discover no Bears that day; those that had once heard or felt the effects of our Guns, beginning to be very shy; it was a very Frosty Night. The 12th in the Morning, we had the good fortune to shoot a Bear in the Head, who dropt immediately; we

roasted

roasted a Legg of him immediately, which happen'd to be a young one, it relish'd exceedingly well with us, having fed upon nothing but salt Meat for a considerable time. The Wind held still id the West, with very cold Weather; and a calm Moon-light Night. The 13th was a cloudy dark day, the Wind at S. W. we went cross the Hill to the red Hill, but saw nothing but vast heaps of Ice in the Sea, to the North side; at Night the Wind turn'd to the S. E. with Snow. The 14th proved a clear Frosty day, the Wind at the South, and a bright Moon-light Night; we found the Ice removed from the Shoar, a great way into the Sea. The 15th the Wind being the same, it proved a dark day, and the Ice was forced back into the Bay: in the Night (which was exceeding dark) the Wind changed to the S. W. The 16th, the Wind continuing as before, we went up the Hill but observed nothing; it was a Moon-light Night. The 17th prov'd a very cloudy dark day, the Wind still at South. We went again up the Hill but saw nothing, it Snowed and Thawed very hard at Night with the same South Wind, which brought us abundance of Sea-Gulls (as it frequently does) to the Sea side; these make the same noise here, as they do at *Holland* in *May*, but retire every Night among the Mountains, their ordinary receptacle. The 18th. was a rainy dark day, the wind still at South, which changed to the E. the 19th with a hard Frost, and a calm and cloudy Night; the Wind as before, which continued the 20th with calm Weather, and a dark Night. The 21st, the Wind kept still in the same Corner, with dark Snowy Weather, the Snow lying so high upon the Ground, that we could not stir out without Boots; it Froze and Snow'd severely, the Wind at North. The 22d in the Morning, we found the Bay fill'd with Ice again, but the cold was so severe, that this was the coldest day we had met with as yet; we had still four hours day light; the Night was Star-light and calm. The 23d an Easterly Wind produced a bright Frosty day, and Stormy Night, with so much Snow, that we durst scarce venture out of our Huts, but could see the Ice turn'd back into the Bay; the Wind still at East, which continued the 24th, with a Foggy Air; yet the latter part of the Night was Star-light, with a hard Frost and Storm from the N. E. The 25th, a South Wind produced a fair day,

but at Night the Wind turned to the North. The 26th it was a clear Frosty day, the Wind at East, but turned to the N. W. at Night. The 27th, the Wind and Weather as before, but the Night proved dark and calm, with an Easterly Wind, which continued thus the 28th, with very dark Snowy Weather: in the Night it blew hard out of the West, with so violent a Snow, that we could not stir out of our Huts; Weather and Wind as before. The 29th the Wind veering about to the West, produced a clear and excessive cold day, the fore-part of the Night prov'd Star-light and calm, but the Wind turning afterwards to the S. E. it Snowed very hard; we found the Bay clear of Ice in the Morning. The 30th it blew hard from the S. W. it was a cloudy but calm day; we saw neither Bears nor Fish. The 31st proved an indifferent good calm day, a S. W. wind produced a great deal of Snow in the Night, but the cold was very tolerable.

In the Year 1634. the 1st of *January*, having wished one another a happy New Year, and good success in our Enterprize, we went to Prayers to disburthen our Hearts before God; the Weather was dark, cold and frosty, and the Wind as before; two Bears came near our Huts, but being a dark day, and a very deep Snow, it was impossible to take them. The 2d of *Jan.* a N. E. Wind produced a clear day; and the Ice was forced out of the Bay to Sea, yet remained within sight; the fore part of the Night was Star-light, but afterwards an East Wind brought a cloudy Sky along with it. The 3d it rained a little, the Wind at S. E. which increased at Night, the Wind blowing hard from the S. W. The 4th we had a fierce Westerly Wind, and cold Weather; the Bay was so fill'd with Ice again, that we could see no Water. The Night was pretty mild, with an Easterly Wind; which continued the 5th with a thick Fogg and Frost; the Night was Star-light, the Wind at W. The 6th was a clear frosty Day, the Wind at N. which increased all Night with some Snow. The 7th the Wind and Weather continued as before, but with abundance of Snow, more than we observed before, since our coming hither, besides which, it Froze hard all the day and Night, that we durst not venture to stir abroad, for fear of being stuck up in some Ice or other sort of Snow. The 8th the Wind blew hard from the N. E. with very Frosty Weather, but calmed

cloudy afterwards; the Night was excessive cold and Stormy; whereof we now began to feel the Effects in our Bodies. The 9th the Wind and Weather continued as before, and the Bay was fill'd with such vast Ice-shoals, that at a distance they appear'd from the tops of our Huts, (where we used often to make our Speculations) like white Hills or Land-skies; it was a clear Moon-light Night, tho' we never got sight of the Moon, before she was 7 or 8 days old, by reason of the high Hills betwixt her and us; the Wind and Weather continued as before. The 10th, a N. E. Wind produced a bright, calm and pleasant day, but excessive cold, whereof we found the effects. The Bay continued full of Ice; the greatest part of the Night was Star-light, but very cold which seem'd likely to hold. The 11th the Forenoon proved clear and calm, but the Wind turning to the South in the Afternoon, it was cloudy, but nevertheless cold, which not a little annoyed us, especially after the Wind brought with it a vast quantity of Snow from the S. E. The 12th, the same Wind and Snow continued, so that we could not stir out, tho the cold was not altogether so excessive as for some days before; in the Night the Wind and the Weather continued as before; and in the Morning the Ice was forced out to Sea, quite out of Sight. The 13th a S. E. Wind brought abundance of Snow, and seeing a Bear near our Huts, we kill'd him with a Fuscé upon the spot, and so drawing him with Roaps into our Tent, flea'd him, the Weather being so cold, and the Snow so high, that we could not do it without doors; the Night was very clear. The 14th it being a tolerable clear day, the Wind at East, we went cross the Hill to the *Red Hill*, but saw nothing; it was a Moon-light Night, and the Stars appeared some times; the Wind as before. The 15th it was a strong Easterly Wind, with Snow, we saw the Ice about a Mile from the Shoar; the Night was Moon-light, the Wind at N. E. The 16th a South Wind produced good tolerable Weather; for we made this observation during our stay, here, that with a South Wind the weather was not so cold as otherwise; in the Night the wind turned to the East; it was a dark but Frosty Night. The 17th the wind continued as before, with cold Foggy weather; at Night the wind turning to the North, it froze so fiercely, that the whole Bay was cover'd with

Ice, there being not the least Water to be seen in the Morning. The 18th was a cold Foggy day; in the Afternoon the wind turned to the West, and in the Night it began to Snow, the wind as before; which continued thus the 19th, with abundance of Snow; so that we were not able to stir abroad. The 20th the Snow continued with a Westerly wind, which lay so high, that we scarce peep'd out of our Tent or Hut; tho' for the rest, it was not quite so cold, as some days before; and in the Night an Easterly wind brought us more Snow. The 21st, the same wind continued very strong, with a violent Snow; in the Night the wind turn'd to the West. The 22d the Snow and Westerly wind continued with great vehemency, which was follow'd by a very hard Frost at Night. The 23d it was a clear Frosty Morning, which made us get a little way out of our Huts, (tho' not without a great deal of difficulty) to the South side of the Isle, to observe the height of the Sun; but growing cloudy soon after, could not make an exact Observation: however, we saw in the Bay thereabouts, the Ice and Snow at least 6 Foot high; the wind was East all Night, sometimes we could see the Stars; the weather as before. The 24th a West wind had blown the Ice a great way into the Sea; it was first clear weather, then Snowy, and Star-light in the beginning of the Night; but in the Morning a South wind produced a cloudy Sky. The 25th, the strong South wind and Clouds continued, with a very cold Night. The 26th it Snow'd hard, the wind at West: at Night we saw the Ice again all over the Bay; at Night (which was cloudy) the wind turn'd to the South. The 27th the wind being West, it proved a mild cloudy day, and more Ice was forced into the Bay; the Night was dark and Snowy, with an East wind. The 28th the wind was at West at first, but veering about to the S. E. it began to Snow; the same Night the Ice was carried a good way into the Sea again. The 29th the wind turn'd to the S. W. and to the West at Night, with dark rainy weather: In the Morning the Bay was full of Ice again; the wind and weather as before. The 30 proving a calm, clear and frosty day, we went (tho' not without a great deal of difficulty) upon the Hill; and looking to the South, (observed according to guess) the Sun about an Hour and half high. In the Night the wind turn'd to the East, with fair weather; the Stars

appeared some times; the wind and weather as before. The 31st, a Westerly wind brought us abundance of Snow, in the Night the wind turn'd to the North, with Star-light Frosty weather.

The 1st of February, the wind continuing as before; it was clear and calm weather, which made us go upon the Hill, where we saw the Body of the Sun very clear; and on the North side of the Isle nothing but Ice as far as we could see; the Night was very calm and Star-light. The 2d, a N. E. wind produced clear but very cold weather; with a bright Moon-light Night, to our no small satisfaction; we found the Bears to grow very shy of us, for we seldom saw any; the wind and weather as before. The 3d the wind was Easterly, the weather the same, but the Night was somewhat cloudy, with a S. E. wind; it was not so cold as before. The 4th, the wind continued as the day before, in the Forenoon, when the Ice was carried out of the Bay into the Sea; in the Afternoon the wind turn'd to the South, with Snowy weather, but was not so cold as before; it was a Star-light Night. The 5th it was a fullen day, the wind at S. E. and at the East in the Night, with some Snow; but the cold was somewhat abated. The 6th, the wind continued as before; the weather calm and cloudy; the wind turning to the S. W. it proved a very clear and Moon-shiny Night. The 7th it blew strong from the East, the weather cloudy. The 8th was a very calm day, the wind at South; the Ice was carried away quite from the Shoar beyond the reach of our Eye-sight; it was a clear Moon-light Night. The 9th the wind being Northerly, it Snowed so violently, that we could not stir abroad, it continued thus all Night; the wind at South. The 10th proved a pretty mild day, tho' the wind was at the N. but turn'd to the S. W. at Night, which was very dark and stormy. The 11th was a cloudy day, the wind at the South, but turn'd to the East at Night; but tolerable good weather. The 12th the wind continued the same, with some Snow; it was a dark Night, but not excessive cold, considering the Climate and Season. The 13th the wind stood still in the same Corner, with Snowy but calm weather; and it was a Moon-light Night. The 14th we had the same wind, and a clear day; but in the Night it Thawed and grew very stormy. The 15th, the wind blew as yet from the East, and the Snow was so high, that we

sunk to the waste in it, so soon as we stir'd out of our Hutts. The same wind continued the 16th, the weather pretty mild, but cloudy: This day we got sight of two Wild Fowls, which in respect of their bigness, did appear to us not unlike Geese, but were so shy, that they would not come within reach of our Guns; we also espied a Faulcon, but could likewise not come near enough to hit him. The 17th the wind blew still from the East, and had a great deal of Snow: in the Night the Stars appeared some times. The 18th the wind continued the same, with cloudy but mild weather. The 19th it was Easterly wind still; and being a fair day, we made shift to get over the Hill to the Red Hill, but saw nothing worth taking notice of, not so much as any Ice; the weather as before. The 20th the weather and wind continued with very little Alteration, and was tolerably mild. The 21st the wind turn'd to the N. E. with very bright weather, which made us again get up the Hill (tho' not without a great deal of trouble) but could see nothing worth mentioning. The Night proved fair and calm, but afterwards Frosty with some Snow. The 22d the wind continued N. E. with much Snow; the Night was dark and Frosty. The 23d the wind blew out of the same Corner; the weather was very cold, which brought abundance of Ice into the Bay, but the main Sea was clear of it as far as we could see; the Night was dark and Frosty. The 24th an Easterly wind produced a most violent Frost; the Day cloudy, but the Night clear, with a North wind, which held the 25th, with a cloudy Sky; in the Afternoon it clearing up in the West, we saw the Sun again the first time from our Hutts, and found it to Set at S. W. by W. the Night was very dark. The 27th it was very calm and mild Weather, but at Night a South wind brought us a Thaw. The 28th the South wind and open weather continued, the Ice being forced out of the Bay into the main Sea; yet not quite out of sight; the Nights was very dark, the wind at S. W.

The 1st of March, the wind and weather continued as before, with some Sunshine in the Forenoon, but afterwards it changed, and proved rainy: we saw the Sun-beams on the S. W. of our Hutt; the Night was very dark, with a S. W. wind. The 2d it blew strong from the West, the weather clear and cold; the Night was dark, and the wind

wind very high from the N. E. The 3d the wind and weather continued with little alteration; a violent North wind forced the Ice into the Bay, but in small pieces. The 4th the wind turn'd to the N. E. with cloudy, but calm weather; the cold very tolerable. The 5th was cloudy, the wind at N. E. the Night the same. The 6th the wind and weather continued as the day before; the Night proved very calm and pleasant, yet by reason of the Snow could not as yet stir from our Huts. The 7th it was cloudy but calm, and the Night stormy from the N. E. The 8th the wind continued as before, with dark and cloudy weather, but a Star-light Night. The 9th the wind blew still from the same Corner; both the Day and Night were cloudy, with a sharp Frost. The 10th it Froze very hard, the wind at N. E. with excessive cold weather; the Night was very clear and Frosty: The 11th the weather changed on a sudden; being a calm, pleasant Sun-shiny day; the South wind in the Night brought us such Pleasant weather, that we extremely rejoiced at it. The 12th the same wind continued, and the Ice was carried out of the Bay into the main Sea, beyond the reach of our Eye-sight; the Night proved dark but not very cold; the wind at S. E. The 13th was a cloudy day; in the Night the wind and weather as before, very dark, but only moderately cold, the wind at N. E. The 14th it blew all day and all Night, being very cold from the N. E. The 15th the wind turning to the South, produced milder weather; and perceiving a Bear near our Huts, (a thing we had not seen many days before) we let fly at him so successfully, that he dropt down dead upon the spot; being glad to find our selves some Employment, and to feed upon fresh Meat (having lived upon Powdered Beef for a considerable time) we soon flea'd him, and having hung his skin up in the Air to dry, we feasted upon part of the flesh, and sprinkled the rest with a little salt only, by reason we were exceedingly afflicted with the Scurvy; the Night proved dark, the wind at S. W. The 16th the wind continued the same, but the weather was very cold; we fix'd some Traps to catch Foxes; and in the Night the wind turn'd to the N. which held thus the 17th, with cloudy weather, and fill'd the Bay with Ice from the Sea; the Night the wind was as before, which continued thus the 18th, being a Cloudy, but Frosty Day, but

a Starlight Night. The 20th, proving a Calm Sun-shiny Day, we went upon the Hill, but could discover nothing, (as far as we could see) but Ice; the Night was Cloudy, the wind in the South, which held thus the 21st, with dark Rainy weather, the Ice was all carried out to Sea again; the Night was Cloudy, the wind still in the South. The 22d the wind turn'd to the S. E. with thick Clouds; For want of Refreshments we began to be very heartless, being afflicted with the Scurvy to that degree, that our Legs were scarce able to bear us; the Night was Cloudy, and the wind as before. The 24th proved a pretty pleasant Sun-shiny Day; In the afternoon the wind shifted to the S. E. with some Snow Clouds, the Night was exceeding Dark. The 25th was a Sun-shiny and calm Day, from Morning till Night; towards Evening a Southerly wind produces some Clouds, but the Night proved clear again and Calm. The 26th The Sea had forced the Ice into the Bay again; the Day was very Bright, the wind at S. E. and South, the Night was very Clear. The 27th the same wind continued with fair and Clear weather both Day and Night. The 28th proved a Cloudy Day, the wind at S. E. The Ice was carried so far into the Sea, out of the Bay, that we could scarce see it. The same Day we saw a Whale a huge Beast, in the Bay, but could not come at him; This Day going also over the Hill, to the red Hill, we spied from thence five Whales near the Shoar, and towards Evening 4 more in the Bay, being 10 in all we had seen that Day, had we had hands enough, and been provided with Instruments for such a purpose, we might have taken as many of these Fish, as would have freighted a good Fleet immediately, without being obliged to stay for the taking of them after their arrival, as they generally do: The Wind and Weather was in the Night as before. The 29th, a Southerly Wind produced a cloudy, but very mild day: Innumerable Whales appear'd near the Shore that day, so that had we not wanted Men and Tools, we might have made a considerable Advantage, which we now durst not as much as Attempt, being but Seven in all, and disabled by the Scurvy: In the Night, the Wind and Weather as before; which continued the 30th, when we saw abundance of

Fishes,

Fishes, as we did almost every day after; the Night was very dark, the Wind as before. The 31th it blew a brisk Gale from the N. E. with some Snow; We got sight of four or five Whales again, which came so near the Shore, that they were likely to have been cast upon the Sands; but if they had, we had not strength enough to have catch'd them: We saw likewise a She-Bear, with three young ones, about the bigness of a small Sheep: We did what we could to kill them, but our first Shot failing, they all got off, to our Grief, tho' it was no unpleasant sight to see the young ones follow the old; In the Night the Wind and Weather as before.

The first of April was a cloudy Day, the Wind at E. We saw four or five Whales again at the Entrance of the Bay, but had only the pleasure of looking at them; The Night was Star-light, the Wind in the South: The 2^d, proved a Snowy Day, the Wind at S. E. but not very cold; the Night was dark, the Wind as before. The 3^d, the Wind turning to the W. produced a Cloudy Day; there being at this time no more than two of us in Health, (the rest being very ill and crippled by the Scurvy) we kill'd the only two Pullets we had left, at their Request, and they fed pretty heartily upon them, in hopes it might prove a means to recover part of their Strength, which was much decayed, and which we heartily wished, being sorry we had not a Dozen more for their sake: In the Night, the Weather and Wind was much the same as before, which continued thus all Day and all Night: The 4th, a Westerly Wind produced a Sun-shiny day: The 5th, we saw two very large Whales in the Bay; the Night was dark, the Wind at S. E. The 6th it was clear Weather, but the Night dark, the Wind N. E. we saw 4 or 5 Whales more in the Bay; at Night, the Wind and the Weather as before, which continued the 8th, with cold Sun-shiny Weather; we saw innumerable Whales both at Sea and in the Bay: In the Night the Wind and the Weather continued as before, and so it did the 9th, when we saw abundance of Whales again; the Night was cold and Frosty, the Wind at North. The 10th, the Wind continued the same, with very clear Weather; the Bay was full of Ice, and we saw some Whales, in the Night the Wind and Weather as before. The 11th we saw neither Fishes nor Bears, having not seen any of the last

these several days; it continued to be very cold Weather: in the Night the Wind as before. The 12th the Wind turning to the N. E. it proved a very clear Frosty day; at Night the Wind and Weather as before, which continued thus the 13: the Bay was full of Ice the Night very cold and dark. The 14th the Wind held still in the same Corner, with Sun-shine; at Night the Wind turning to the South, the Ice was carried out of the Bay, a great way from the Shoar. The 15th proved a calm mild day, we saw 4 Whales in the Bay, tho' we don't now stir out so often as formerly, our Clerk being very ill; the greatest part of the Night the Wind was at West, The 16th, being *Easter day*, our Clerk died, the Lord have Mercy upon his Soul, and upon us all, we being all very sick; the Wind was at West, with a clear Day and dark Night. The 17th, the Wind continued as the day before, but was very cloudy, the Bay was full of Ice again; the greatest part of the Night Weather and Wind as before. The 19th both Wind and Weather proved as the day before; and now having not the least Refreshment left, we grew worse and worse every day, and that without any hopes of Recovery, partly for want of Necessaries; partly by reason of the excessiveness of the cold, for being scarce able, whilst in Health, to keep our selves tolerably warm, by exercising our Bodies we were but in little hopes of doing it now we were sick, and not able to stir out of our Cabins; all our dependance being on God's Mercy; the Wind and Weather as before. The 20th proved a cloudy day, the Wind at South, we saw the Ice forced a great way to the North at Sea, the Night was Snowy, with an Easterly Wind. The 21st was a bright calm and Sun-shiny day, but could make but slender Observations, being not able to stir from our Huts, by reason of the Scurvy, which encreases upon us every day; the Night was cloudy, the Wind at N. E. which continued thus the 22^d; the Ice was forced so near the Shoar, that we could scarce see any Water; at Night a South Wind carried the Ice quite out of sight again. The 23^d, the Wind blew from the same Corner, with small Rain; we were by this time reduced to a very deplorable State, there being none of them all, except my self, that were able to help themselves, much less one another; for the whole Burthen lay upon my shoulders, and I perform my duty as well as I can. 22

long as God pleases to give me strength ; I am just now a going to help our Commander out of his Cabin, at his Request, because he imagined by this change to ease his Pain, he then Struggling with Death ; the Night was dark, and the Wind as before. The 24th was a cloudy Day and Night, the Wind at S. which continued the 25th with some Sun-shine : The Ice kept about half a Mile from the Shore to the Northside, but on the South side of the same Bay, no Ice was to be seen : We had sight of many Whales again ; the Night was dark, with a strong N.W. Wind ; The Ice was forced nearer to the Shore ; tho' there remained a good Interval of Water betwixt both ; the Wind and Weather as before. The 26th, it was a Calm, but cloudy Day ; the Night fair, the Wind at W. The 27th, it was Thawing Weather : That Day we kill'd our Dog for want of other Refreshment ; The Night was Cloudy ; yet without Rain, the Wind at E. which continued thus the 28th, with cloudy Weather : The Ice was this Day carried to Sea, quite out of sight : The Night was Cloudy with a strong N. Wind. The 29th, the Wind and Weather as before, but turn'd to blow hard from the N. E. at Night. The 31st was a clear Sun-shiny Day, with the same Wind : [Die] Memorandum. This Word DIE, was the last, questionless, he writ, intending probably to set down afterwards his Observation concerning the Night, according to his usual way. This Person being one, who, (according to the Report of others) had learn'd to write of the other six, he writ as long as he was able, viz. to the last day of April ; when perhaps, being seized by a Fainting Fit, he was forced to retire to his Cabin, where he delivered up his Soul to his Creator, as will appear more fully by the following Additions.

Among all the Ships that were sent the next year from Holland to Greenland, those of Zealand being the first that came in sight of the Isle of St. Maurice, some of the Seamen being eager to know what was become of their Comrades, went ashore in a Boat, striving who should be the first to come to their Huts, tho' by their not appearing upon the Sea-side, they did not preface any good to themselves. They were no sooner entred the Hut, but they found they were not deceived in their guess, every one of the poor Wretches, left

there last year, lying Dead in their Cabins, the News whereof they brought to their Commander.

The first of these Seven unfortunate Fellows, died the 16th of April 1634. whom they had put in a Coffin, and Deposited in one of the Huts. The other Six died in the beginning of May, as we believe by the Conclusion of the Journal at the end of April.

The before-mentioned Ships of Zealand came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. Maurice's Isle the 4th of June 1634. where they found the Dead Carcasses of these unfortunate VVretches, each in his own Hut ; Near one of them stood some Bread and Cheese, upon which probably he had fed not long before his Death ; another had a Box with Ointment by his Cabin-side, wherewith he had rubb'd his Teeth and Joints, his Arm being still extended to his Mouth ; there also lay a Prayer-Book near him, wherein he had been Reading ; the rest being found each in his Cabin.

If we seriously reflect upon the Condition of these VVretches, it must needs have been very miserable, especially after all were fallen Sick, so, as not to be able to assist one another ; especially in respect of him that out-lived the rest, being the same, who, according to his own testimony, attended them to the last ; and had learn'd to write from the others, as did appear by his Hand-VVriting, till the Conclusion of the Journal, who, as we guess, lived some days after he left of VVriting ; it being very probable, that some might grow sooner stiff, by the excessive Cold, than others, in proportion of the quantity of Natural Heat they had left ; tho' it is beyond all question, that the Source of their Distemper was the Scurvy, occasioned by their Salt Food, without any manner of Refreshment, which having put the Cramp into their Limbs, and rendred them incapable of Exercise, they soon grew quite stiff, and were quite overcome by the Cold ; it being certain, that without the Scurvy they needed not have dreaded the Cold, which was not so excessive, but that once within three or four days they could stir abroad, after the Snow was a little settled.

Our Commodore had no sooner received the dismal News from the Seamen that had been ashore, but he ordered the Six Dead Carcasses to be put in Coffins, and to be Buried with the
Qq q q q Seventh

Seventh under the Snow, till the Ground should become more pliable; which being done, they were afterwards, viz. on St. John's Day, honourably interr'd (according to the Circumstances of Time and Place) under a general Discharge of the Cannon of the whole Fleet.

It is furthermore left to the Consideration of the Courteous Reader, That he was appointed Clerk for this Design, having never been in that Station before, his want of Ability ought to

plead strongly for the Simplicity of these Observations; which having (at the request of some Friends) been put to the Press, were Published, and made as intelligible as the Nature of the Matter would allow of, without imposing upon the Publick, which has been done with the utmost Sincerity, after the True Original, which still remains in my Custody, in Opposition to divers fabulous Relations, which have been published upon the same Subject.

A SHORT

A SHORT
JOURNAL
OF
Seven other Seamen, who being left in 1634
AT
SPITZBERGEN,
To pass the Winter, died there in 1635.

IN the Year 1633, seven Persons being left much at the same time as well at *Spitzbergen*, as in the Isle of Saint *Maurice*; the Ships that were sent thither in 1634, had Orders from the *Greenland Company*, to release those that had stay'd there, and to leave in their room seven others, who should offer their Service for that purpose. Accordingly the following seven were (with their consent) appointed to remain the next following Winter at *Spitzbergen*: *Andrew Johnson* of *Middleburgh*; *Cornelius Thyffe* of *Rotterdam*; *Jerome Carceon* of *Delfts Haven*; *Tiebke Jellus* of *Friseland*; *Nicholas Florison* of *Hoom*; *Adrian Johnson* of *Delft*; *Fettje Otters* of *Friseland*.

These being provided with all manner of necessaries, as Meat, Drink, Physical Preparations, Herbs, &c. were left ashore to continue all the Winter there; during which time, they kept a Journal of all Remarkable Occurrences; the chief Heads whereof I thought only fit to insert here; leaving out the more unnecessary Observations, such as of the Wind and Weather, &c. to avoid Prolixity. The 11th of *September*, 1634, the Ships being sail'd thence for *Holland*, they got sight of abundance of Whales, at whom they discharged their Guns, but could not take any; they went also in search for green Herbs, Foxes and Bears, but met with none. The 20th, or 21st of *October*, they had no more sight of the Sun: The 24th of *November* the Scurvy beginning to appear among them, they search'd very earnestly after green Herbs, Bears and Foxes, but to their great grief could find neither of them; so they comforted one another with hopes that God

would provide for them something or other for their Refreshment. The 2d *Decem.* *Nicholas Florison* took a dose of a Scorbatic Potion, and they set some Traps to catch Foxes. The 11th, *Jerome Carceon*, took such another Potion; and they resolved for the future, every one to eat separately from the other, some being not so much afflicted with the Scurvy as the rest. They went often in quest after some Refreshments, but meeting with none, they recommended themselves to God's Providence. The 12th, *Cornelius Thyffe* did likewise take a Medicinal Potion against the Scurvy. The 23d, as the Cook was throwing out some Water, he saw a Bear just by the Hut, but he run away at the noise, before they could come at their Guns. The 24th, they discovered another Bear, three of them advancing towards him, he rise upon his hindermost legs, and being shot through the Body by one of our Guns, he began to bleed and to roar, and to bite one of our Halberds with a great deal of fierceness; but finding us too hard for him, he betook to his legs: being excessive eager after some fresh Meat, (of which we stood in great need for the Recovery of our Health) we pursued him with Lanthorns and Candles a great way, but to our sorrow could not overtake him; which made us say to one another, that in case we were not supply'd by God's peculiar Providence with some Refreshments speedily, the Pain we endur'd must needs kill us before the return of our Ships; but God's Will be done. The 25th, *Cornelius Thyffe* took another Potion against the Scurvy, being in a deplorable Condition. The 14th of *January*,
Adrian

Adrian Johnson of Delft died, being the first of the seven, tho the other six were full of Pain, and very ill. The 15th, *Fettje Ooms* died likewise; and on the 17th, *Camelins Thys*, being the Man of all the rest, in whom they had put their most hopes next to God. The remaining 4 were very weak, and had scarce strength left to stand upon their legs, yet they made shift to make Coffins for these three, and put their Bodies into them. The 28th, they saw the first Fox, but could not take him. The 7th of February, they had the good fortune to take a Fox, to their no small satisfaction, tho' in effect they were too far gone to receive any Benefit thereby.

They saw many Bears, 3 or 4, nay some times 6 or 10 together, but had not strength enough to manage their Guns; or if they had had, they could not have pursued them, being not in a condition to set one foot before another, nay not even to bite their Biscuits, for they were seized with most cruel Pains, especially in their Loins and Belly, which encreased generally with the Cold; One did spit Blood, and another was afflicted with the Bloody-Flux, *Jerome Carcoen* was still something better than the rest, being still able to fetch them some Fewel for firing. The 23d they began to be so weak, that they kept close in their Cabins, recommending themselves to God's Mercy. The 24th they saw the Sun again, which they had not seen since Oct. 20 or 21 in the preceeding Year. The 26th, being the last day (as we guess) they were able to write, and lived not long after; they left this following Memorial behind them: Four of us that are still alive, lie flat upon the Ground in our Hurts; we believe we could still feed, were there but one among us that could

stir out of his Hurt to get us some Fewel, but no Body is able to stir for Pain; we spend our time in constant Prayers, to implore God's Mercy to deliver us out of this misery, being ready whenever he pleases to call us. We are certainly not in a condition to live thus long without Food or Fire, and cannot assist one another in our Mutual Afflictions, but must every one bear our own Burthen.

When the Ships from *Holland* arrived there in 1635, they found them all dead, shut up close in their Tent, to secure their dead Bodies against the Bears and other Ravenous Creatures. This being the Tent of *Middleburgh*; a Baker who got ahoar first, happened to come to the back door, which he broke open, and running up stairs, found there upon the floor, part of a dead Dog that was laid there to dry; but making the best of his way down again, he trod upon the Carcass of another dead Dog (for they had two) at the Stair foot in the Buttry. From hence passing thro' another door, towards the fore-door, in order to open it, he stumbled in the dark over the dead Bodies of the Men, whom they saw, (after the door was opened) altogether in the same place, viz. three in Coffins, *Nicholas Florison* and another, each in a Cabin, the other two upon some Sails spread upon the Floor, with their knees drawn up to their chins. Coffins being ordered to be made for the four that had none; they were buried with the other three under the Snow, till the Ground becoming more penetrable, they were buried one by another, and certain stones laid upon their Graves, to hinder the Ravenous beasts from digging up their Carcasses: These were the last that pretended to pass the Winter at *Spitzbergen*.

A T R U E

A TRUE and SHORT
A C C O U N T
 O F
FORTY TWO PERSONS,
 Who Perished by Shipwrack near
SPITZBERGEN,
 In the Year 1646.

JOHN CORNELIUS of *Muniken*, being ordered to *Spitzbergen*, to catch Whales, he set Sail from the *Texel* in a Galliot, the 6th of May 1646. and arrived the 3d of June following near *Spitzbergen*, with an Intention to Anchor in the Bay, but was by the vast Floats of Ice-Shoals forced to keep out at Sea. After having in vain Cruized up and down among the Ice-Shoals, they got into the Bay, but perceiving two Whales further at Sea, they sent out their Sloop in pursuit of the Whales.

Whilst they were Rowing up and down to watch the motion of these Creatures, they discovered at a distance, a great Ice-Shoal, with something white upon it, which at first sight they imagined to be Bears, (they being generally White here;) But one *Ellert Johnson*, (who was in the Sloop to manage the Harpcock, or Iron, wherewith they strike the Whale) judging by the motion that it was something else, persuaded them to Row that way, which being done accordingly, they not long after perceived the same to be a piece of a Rope belonging to the Sails of a Ship, which was held up by a Man as a Signal of their utmost Distress; so they Rowed up to it with all the Oars they had, and coming near them, found, (to their great Surprise) four living Men and one dead one, (all *Englishmen*) upon the Ice-Shoal, who upon their bended Knees express'd their Joy and Thankfulness for an unexpected a Deli-

verance from the Jaws of Death. They were taken into the Sloop, and carried into the Bay aboard the Ship.

They had cut a great Hole, in the Nature of a subterraneous Cave, into the Ice, and round the entrance thereof had placed the pieces of Ice that were cut out of the Concavity, to defend themselves against the violence of the Winds and Waves. In this Hole they had spent Fourteen Days, (it being so long since they had lost their Ship.)

At first there were in all Forty Two of them, and they had saved some Victuals and Tools with their Sloop. The Commander, perceiving after a little while, that it was impossible for them to hold out long upon the Ice-Shoal, resolved to go ashore in the Sloop with Seventeen of his Men, if he could, and to send them word afterwards, how Matters stood there. This was done accordingly, but it blowing very hard, and they having not heard the least Tidings of them since, they were afraid that they were Drowned, before they reach'd the Shore.

There were then Twenty Four left upon the Ice-Shoal, but the want of Provisions encreasing daily among them; so that being reduced to a Starving Condition, and expecting nothing but present Death, they resolved to divide themselves, and to get upon several other Ice-Shoals, in hopes by some chance or other to come near to the Shore; but whether some of them got ashore, or

10 *Another Journal kept by Seven other Sailors, &c.*

whether they were taken up by some Ship or other, or whether they were swallow'd up by the merciless Waves, they were not able to tell.

Certain it is, that we found Four of them, (the miserable Remnants of Forty Two) lying together upon this Ice-Shoal, overwhelmed with Affliction, without any hopes of being Saved, from the last Extremity they were reduced to by Frost and Hunger, before we came in full sight of them with our Sloop; having had nothing to Feed upon for some time, but a Leather-Belt, (belong-

ing to one of them) which they had divided and Eat, share and share alike, till all was consumed.

After they were brought to our Ship, our Surgeon took all imaginable Care for their Recovery; notwithstanding which, three of them died in a few days after; so that of the Forty Two where-with their Ship was Manned, no more than one escaped with Life, who arriving in September 1646. in the Galliot the *Delft* upon the *Meuse*, from thence return'd to his Native Country in *England*.

F I N I S.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
I S E L A N D,
S E N T T O

Monfieur *de la* *MOTHE* *de* *VATER.*

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
I S E L A N D,
S E N T T O
Monsieur de la *MOTHE* de *VAYER*.

S I R,

Pursuant to your Request, I am going to give you the best Account I am able of what I could Learn concerning the Condition of *Island* and *Greenland*, during our stay in the North. As nothing is more agreeable to my Sentiments than to Serve you to the utmost of my Power, so I will treat of both, one after another.

Island is a large Isle, and *Greenland* of a vast extent: I will begin with the first, and give you an Account of all the most material Passages I have met with concerning it, in their best Authors, especially in *Angrim Jonas*, (erroneously call'd *Arngrim* by some) and by Converting with several Persons of Note and Learning in *Denmark*; upon which Score I am particularly obliged to *Olaus Wormius*, a Doctor of Physick of *Copenhagen*, a Person very curious in all the Affairs of the North. I will also not pass by in silence, what I have read in *Bleskenius*, a Dane by Birth, and who has been in *Island* himself, at least as far as relates to those Things he has been an Eye-witness of; for which I have the same regard, as for what *Herodotus* assures us to have seen with his own Eyes; it appearing very improbable to me, That Men of Honour and Learning should be so careless of their Reputation, as to impose Things upon the World, never seen by them, under a false Notion of their own Experience. To be short, I will follow the Footsteps of *Salust*, and re-

hearfe to you what I have; either Read in *Bleskenius* or *Angrim Jonas*, or heard from *Dr. Wormius* and others, upon whose Authority we are obliged to relie in this Point.

The Isle of *Island* lies in the *Deucalidonian* Ocean, at 13 Deg. 30 Min. Longitude, and 65 Deg. 44 Min. Latitude, according to the Elevation taken in the Bishoprick of *Hole*, the most Northern Part of the Isle, as *Angrim Jonas* tells us in his *Crimogea*; adding, that he had the same of *Gundebrand de Thorlac*, Bishop of *Hole*, his familiar Friend, and once a Disciple of the famous Astronomer *Tycho Brahe*.

Island is to the East washed by the *Hyperborean* Sea, and on the South-side by the *Deucalidonian* Sea; to the West it lies opposite to *Greenland*, towards the Cape *Forewell*, and on the North-side is enclosed by the *Frozen* Sea of *Greenland*. Its length from East to West, is computed to be 20 days Journey; and its breadth, where it is broadest, at four days Journey, from the South to the North. But *Angrim Jonas*, who has given us this Account, does not mention whether these days Journeys are to be perform'd on Foot or on Horseback.

It is generally believed to be twice as big as the Isle of *Sicily*; and by its Elevation and the Globe, you will soon be convinced of the Truth of what I am going to tell you, viz. That about the Summer Solstice, whilst the Sun is in the *Twins* and *Cancer*, the Sun does never go

go entirely below the Horizon for two Months, in the North of *Ifeland*; but some part of it remains above it, and one half of it whilst the longest days last, from ten at Night till two in the Morning, when it rises quite above the Horizon; whence it appears, that about the Winter Solstice, whilst the Sun is in the Signs of *Sagittary* and *Capricorn*, the whole Body of the Sun does for two Months successively not rise above the Horizon; and in the Shortest Days not above half of it, from 10 a clock in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, the ordinary time of Sun-set here at that Season.

This *Ile* has got its Name from the Whiteness of its Ice, *Quasi Iceland*; It was formerly reputed fertile in Wheat, and well-stor'd with Wood, fit for the Building of large Ships; the Roots whereof being of a vast Bulk, are to this day found underground, where these Forests stood, and are as black as Ebony-Wood. But now-a-days, *Ifeland* produces no Wheat, nay not so much as a Tree, except some few Shurbs. And were it not that they are furnished with Grain from the Neighbouring Countries, and supplied with sufficient quantities of Wood, both for Fuel, and their Buildings, (which are like those of other Parts in the North) by the Ice, which in the Month of *May*, is, together with the Wood, forced from the more Northern Parts on this Shore, they must perish with Hunger and Cold. In their Building they also make use of the Bones of Whales and other great Fishes; and for Firing, of two sorts of Turfs, (or *Cespes Bituminosus*, called *Gleba Fossilis* by *Angrim Jonas*) which they dig and dry in the Sun. These Shoals of Ice, which come from the North thither, bring along with them such vast Trunks of Trees, that according to the *Ifeland* Chronicles, a Tree was carried thither of 63 Cubits long, and 7 in compass.

For no sooner come the Ice-Shoals from the North to the *Ifeland* Coast, but the Inhabitants go in quest of these Trees, and of several Beasts, which are carried along with it thither; such as white and red Foxes, Stags, Wolves, white and black Bears and Unicorns. For that fine and large Horn preserved in the King of Denmark's Palace at *Fredrichsburch*, (the *Fontainebleau* of that Kingdom) belonged to a Fish taken upon the Ice near *Ifeland*; It is much larger than that of *St. Dmy's* in *France*. Count *Ulfeld*, Great Marshal of Denmark;

shew'd me another of these Unicorns, which was entire, but not above two foot long, likewise taken upon the Ice near *Ifeland*; He told me, that when he first had it, there was to be seen still part of the Flesh and Skin.

Ifeland is a strong and mountainous Country: Their Pastures are of such Goodness, that they are fain to remove the Cattle for fear they should Burst themselves; the Grass having so agreeable a Scent here, that Foreigners transport and dry it, to lay it among their Linen. However, their Beef is not reckoned of the best sort, and their Mutton is rank; which the *Ifelanders* don't much regard, because they dry their Meat in the Sun and Wind, which preserves it better than Salt, and takes away much of its rankness. Butter they make in abundance, and keep it in Tubs, or for want of such, only Pile it up in the House. Their ordinary Drink is Milk or Whey, sometimes with Water, sometimes without. They don't want good Horses: These Feed during the Winter, upon dry'd Fish, as well as their Oxen and Sheep, when Hay begins to fall short: Of these dry'd Fish they also make Flour and Bread, when by the rigour of the Winter-Season, they can't sometimes be supplied with Grain from abroad.

Ifeland is full of clear and fine Springs, the Water whereof is not only very wholesome to drink, but some of them have also a nourishing quality like Beer: they are also not destitute of Hot Springs for Bathing; of Ponds and Lakes, they have great abundance, which furnish them with great quantities of Fish; as also great numbers of Brooks and Navigable Rivers, the Names whereof, as well as of their Bays and Capes, I will not insert here, they being to be found in other Authors.

Bleskenius tells us of a certain Lake in the Western part of the *Ile*, which always smoaks, and yet is so cold, that it petrifies every thing that is put into it; For says he, if you put a stick into the Ground near it, the stick changes into Iron as far as it is under Ground; as far as it lies under Water, it turns into Stone, and that part above the Water remains Wood as before. *Bleskenius* says, he saw this try'd twice, and that part which seem'd to be Iron, being put into the Fire, it burnt like Charcoal. He also tells us of another Lake in the middle of the same *Ile*, the Exhalations whereof are so malignant, that they kill the Birds

in an instant that fly over it. This Lake seems to be of the same Stamp with the *Avernus* of the *Groeks* mentioned by *Virgil*, lib. 6. *Aeneid*.

*Quam super hand illum poterant impune
volantes*

*Tandem iter permisit: talis sese habuit
aeris*

*Faucibus effundam, supera ad convexa
ferebat:*

*Unde locum Graji dixerunt nomine
Aornum.*

Bleskenius adds, (besides what *Angrim Jonas* relates of the Hot Springs of *Iseland*, that certain Springs are so Hot here, that the Water thereof burns the Skin; and after it is set to cool, it leaves a Sulphur upon its Surface, as the Sea-Water leaves a Saline Substance in the Salt-Pits. Upon the Surface of the Water of these Springs, swims also a certain red Substance, which plunges under Water as soon as you come near it, but no sooner do you turn your Back, but it appears again above Water. The same Author assures us, That in a certain Place of this Isle, named *Turlashaven*, there are two Fountains or Springs, one very Cold, the other excessive Hot; the Waters whereof being conveyed by two different Pipes or Channels, and mix'd together in one Trunk or Basin, make a convenient and most excellent Bath. Near it, (says he) is another Spring, the Water whereof having the taste of Wheat, is a good Remedy against the Venereal Distemper, which, according to *Bleskenius*, is very common here.

Iseland affords not any Mines of Metal or Minerals, except Brimstone, whereof there is abundance in most Parts of the Isle, but especially in the Mount *Hocla* in the East of the Isle, extending towards the South, and which sometimes appears all in Flames like Mount *Vesuvius*. *Bleskenius* says, That Mount *Hocla*, not only sends forth Flames, but also whole Torrents of Sulphureous Liquor, which burns like Spirit of Wine: Sometimes these Eruptions are followed by vast quantities of black Ashes and Stones. These Eruptions cease commonly with a West Wind; which makes the Inhabitants living thereabouts, who know the Avenues of the Mountains, to choose that time to go to the top of it, and throw great Stones into the Hole, through which the Flames break forth: It being otherwise very dangerous to approach so near it, there being divers Instances,

that Men have been swallow'd up by the Earth that has given way as they were going up the Mountain.

It is a received Opinion among the *Islanders*, That this Mountain is the Place where the Souls of wicked Persons are tormented with Fire; for they will tell you, that they see sometimes whole Troops of Infernal Spirits carrying the Damn'd Souls into the Abyss of this Mount, and returning back again to fetch more. *Bleskenius* says, This is generally observed, after some bloody Battle has been fought in some Place or other. Thus the *Islanders* believe, That the Noise which arises from the many Sea-shoals forced against the Shore, are the Groans and Lamentations of the Damn'd Souls, by reason of the excessive Cold they endure; it being their Opinion, that some Souls are Condemn'd to suffer Eternal Cold, as well as Everlasting Fire.

The same *Bleskenius* tells us, that whilst he was in *Iseland*, There arose so prodigious a Fire about midnight in *November*, on the Sea near the Mount *Hocla*, that it was seen all over the Isle, to the no small Astonishment of the Inhabitants; the most sensible among whom, were however of Opinion, that the same proceeded from Mount *Hocla* itself. Within an hour after, they perceived an Earthquake all over the Isle, which was followed soon after by so dreadful a Noise, (like a Thunderclap) that every one expected the Day of Judgment to be at hand. Some few days after, the Sea was found dry near the Place where the Fire had appear'd, and was retreated at least two Leagues within its old Bounds from the Shore.

As the use of Corn is unknown among the *Islanders*, so they neither Buy nor Sell; but what Commodities are brought to them, such as Flour, Beer, Wine, Strong-Waters, Iron, Woollen and Linen Cloths, &c. they Exchange for the Products of their Country; such as, Dry'd Fishes, Butter, Tallow, coarse Woollen Cloths, Brimstone, Foxes, Bears, Stag and Wolves Skins. *Bleskenius* says, That the *Germans*, who Traffick thither, set up their Tents upon the Shore, where they expose their Commodities, as Cloaks, Shoes, Looking-glasses, Knives, and such like Toys, which they exchange for what the *Islanders* bring to them. He further adds, That the young Women of *Iseland* (who are handsome enough, but miserably clad) come to these Strangers to prostitute them-

themselves for some Bread, Biscuit, or some other Trifle; nay, their Fathers often carry them to these Foreigners, and look upon it as a lucky Chance, if they happen to be with Child by them; they being afterwards in greater Esteem among, and sooner Married by the *Islanders* than others.

So soon as the *Islander* has Bought, (or rather Exchanged) some Wine or Beer, from these Strangers, he Invites his Kindred, Relations, and Friends, to make merry with him; when they seldom part as long as any strong Liquor is left. During the Merriment, they Sing the Achievements of their Antient Warriours, but without any Art, Order, or Rule. It is accounted a singular piece of Ill-breeding among them, to go away from the Table to Piss, whilst they are Drinking. The young Wenches, (who as I told you are not ugly) commonly creep under the Benches, to reach them the Chamber-Pots.

Angrim Jonas is very angry with *Bleskenius* upon this Account, and Accuses him of Falseness, in reflecting upon the Reputation of his Country-Women, and Accusing them of Barbarity; as also, in regard of what he says concerning their Washing their Months and Teeth every Morning with their own Urine, tho' the same has been observed in the *Celtiberians* by *Catullus*:

*Nunc Celtiber in Celtiberia Terra,
Quod quisque minxit, hoc sibi solum mane
Dentem, & russam defricare Gingivam.*

To tell you my Opinion upon this matter; It's possible the *Islanders* are not now so barbarous as formerly, tho' it may rationally be supposed, that a Nation living so near the North-Pole, may not be so Refined and Polished as some others, especially among the Vulgar sort, for People of Fashion, ought to be Exempted of this Rule, (less or more) in most Places.

Bleskenius assures us, That the *Islanders* have Familiar Spirits, who attend them like Servants, and give them notice from time to time, when they shall be successful in Hunting or Fishing. *Ortelius* adds, That they call these Demons or Spirits, *Drolla's*; which seems to have some Reference to the Danish word *Troll*, which signifies a Devil. *Bleskenius* further tells us, That the *Islanders* Sell what Wind they please to Strangers. *Angrim Jonas*, ridicules this Story, called *Ging*, That the *Island* Seamen being very expert in

discerning in the Evening, by the Disposition of the Air, what Wind is likely to blow the next day; which, if they find suitable to the Wish of such Strangers, as lie ready to Sail near the Shore, they pretend to Sell them such a Wind, which (to cover the deceit) they do thus: They ask the Stranger to give them his Handkerchief; which done, they pretend to mutter certain Words into it, and immediately after Tie it into Knots, for fear the Words should Evaporate into the Air. Afterwards he returns him his Handkerchief thus knotted, with a strict Charge to keep it thus with extraordinary Care, till he arrives in the desired Port: Sometimes it happens, that the Wind proves according to Wish; but much oftner it proves quite otherwise: So soon as the poor Stranger is got out to Sea, if he be overtaken by a Tempest, he is put to no small *Nonplus* what to do, imagining that he carries the Devil in his Pocket, and consequently thinking it a point of Conscience to keep it, yet is unwilling to part with it. It, says *Angrim*, once in a great many times, the Wind proves according to what the *Islander* has foretold the Stranger, this is a sufficient Precedent in Opposition to many other Experiments made to the contrary; the Person who fancies to have bought his favourable Wind, not failing to tell it where-ever he comes, that with the assistance of the Wind he purchased in *Island*, he was happily carried to the desired Port.

Tho' such-like Stories are not likely to make any Impression upon Men of Judgment, they may serve for Variety's sake, there being some Pleasure in Understanding what is said and believed by other People. *Bleskenius* tells us also, That there are Sorcerers in *Island*, who can stop a Ship under full Sail; against which, (says he) they make use of certain ill-scented Suffumigations, (described by him) as counter Charms, by Virtue of which they force the Dæmon that retains them, to let the Ship pursue its former Course. But it's time to return to more serious Matters relating to the History of *Island*.

Island was in Antient Times, divided into Four Provinces, according to the Four Corners of the World; each whereof was Subdivided into Three Bailliages, called *Ropes* by the *Islanders*, except the Northern Province, which being the largest and most considerable of all, had Four Bailliages; each of which was again Subdivided into six, seven, eight, or ten

ten Districts or Judicatures, in proportion to their Extent. Every year there was an Assembly held of the Baillages in each Province, who were Convened by certain small Crosses of Wood, sent by the Governor of the Province to his respective Bailiffs, who were to distribute them among the Judges, and these among such of the Heads of Families, as had a right to appear at this Assembly. Besides which, the Lord Chief Justice, or President of the whole Isle, who being the Interpreter or Conservator of the Laws of the Land, who was also considered as the Sovereign of the Four Provinces, used at certain times, to call together the General Estates of the whole Isle; which was done by Four Wooden Hatches, sent to the Four Governors of the Provinces.

Each Baillage had Three Principal Pagodes, or Pagan-Temples, for the Administration of Justice, and their Devotion; whence the Office of *Bailiff* was honoured with the Sirname of *Godorp*, i. e. *Divine*. The principal Care of these Bailiffs was to provide for the Poor, whereof there were great numbers in so desolate a Country; to take care, that the Poor of one *Repe* did not go thence to another; and to refrain the Licentiousness of sturdy Beggars, against whom the Laws were very severe; for they had liberty to Kill, or to Emasculate them, to prevent their Multiplication. They had also a Law, forbidding, (under pain of Banishment) not only a poor Fellow to Marry a poor Woman, but also any Man, who had but just enough for his own Sustenance, to Marry a Woman without something to maintain her self.

This Aristocratical Form of Government, and manner of Administring Justice, continued in this Isle till the year of Christ 1263. when the Kings of *Norway* Conquered the said Isle, and forced them to Pay them an Annual Tribute; being invited thereunto by the intestine Broils arisen among the great Ones, about the Administration of the Government. The King's of *Denmark*, after having made themselves Masters of *Norwegen*, did send into *Island*, their Governors or Viceroy's; from which time on, they had nothing but the Shadow left of their Ancient Liberty. These Governors have their Residence in a certain Castle, called *Besfestar*, seated in the Western part of the Isle: They are however not obliged to Reside there constantly, unless in case of necessity, and when they gather the Yearly Tri-

bute, which is paid in the same Commodities, I had occasion to mention before, and which they Exchange with Strangers; which serve in some measure the King of *Denmark* to provide his Navy with Provisions, and Clothing for the Seamen.

The last Viceroy, or Governor of *Island*, (since our coming into the North) was Mr. *Prosmoel*, Admiral of the *Danish* Fleet, lately defeated by the *Swedes* in the *Baltick Sea*: The Admiral fought with incredible Courage, and died upon the Deck of his Ship with Sword in hand, having refused to accept his Life from the Hands of his Enemies.

Angrim Jonas, dates Christianity in *Island*, from the 1000 Year after the Birth of Christ; not, but that there were Christians there a considerable time before; but that Paganism was not absolutely abolished till that time. The *Islanders*, whilst Pagans, did, besides other Gods, Adore *Thor* and *Odin*: The first was to them instead of *Jupiter*, and *Odin*, in lieu of the *Mercury* of the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Hence they call to this day, their Thursday *Thor's day*, and their Wednesday *Oden's Day*. The Altars consecrated to their Gods, were covered with Iron Plates, upon which they kept an Everlasting Fire. Upon the Altar stood a certain Vessel of Tin, containing the Blood of the Sacrifice, wherewith they besprinkled the Spectators. On one side of this Vessel lay a Silver-Ring, of about 20 Ounces weight, which they used to besmear with the Blood of the Sacrifice, and lay their Fingers upon it, when they were to take a Solemn Oath. The Chronicles of *Island* tell us, That they used to offer Sacrifices of Men to their Idols: These they threw down from the Rocks, or into deep Pits made for that purpose near the Gates of their Temples. The Pagan *Islanders* had their two principal Temples, one in the North the other in the South part of the Isle. In lieu whereof, the *Island* Christians have erected two, and the only two Bishopricks in these Parts of the Isle, viz. that of *Hole* in the North, and that of *Schalhold* in the South. They at present profess the *Lutheran* Religion, as well as in *Denmark*.

The Ancient *Islanders*, were tall, and well made, robust, nimble, and active, famous Gladiators, and much addicted to Pyracies. *Monomachy's*, or Single Duels, were publicly allowed among them; nay, even their Law-Differences were

were decided by Duels, the vanquished losing their Pretensions, as did likewise he who refused to accept the Challenge, and was used in the same manner as if he had been vanquished. This was the chief Method of acquiring Possessions among them; for, if two Gladiators entered upon a single Combat, the Conqueror became by his Victory, Master of the whole Estate of his Conquered Enemy, against which, his Heirs had but one Remedy, which was to bring a large Bull or Ox to the Conqueror, which he was to kill with one stroke, which if he fail'd to do, he lost his whole Pretension upon the Estate of his conquer'd Adversary.

Besides that the *Islanders* were very strong and courageous, they had also a sufficient share of Wit, and were so curious in their Annals, that they not only carefully preserved their own History from Oblivion; but also, embellished the same with the most memorable Transactions, that happened in the Neighbouring Kingdoms. Hence it is, That *Angrim Jonas*, in his *Specimen Islandicum*, speaking of his Countrymen, calls them *Ad totius Europa res Historicas Lyncei*, i.e. *Quick-sighted in the whole History of Europe*. Certain it is, That *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his Preface to his *Danish History*, confesses, to have made Use with good Success of the *Memoirs* taken out of the *Annals of Island*, called *Tylenfes*. Dr. *Wormius*, I remember, told me concerning these Annals, that they were curiously written, and contained many exquisite Matters, (not to be found elsewhere) relating to the Isles of *Orcades*, the *Hebrides*, *Scotland*, and *England*, nay, even in the Dukedom of *Normandy*; the reason whereof, might probable be, that these *Islanders* were very powerful in the *Dencalidonian* or *Scotch Sea*, and perhaps carried from thence their Commerce as far as *Normandy*.

The most Antient Histories of *Island*, and such as are most in Esteem among them, were written in Verse. It being observable upon this Head, That the Ancient Kings and Heroes of the North, used constantly to carry some Poets along with them to the Wars; who used to celebrate their Histories in Verse. These were Sung by the Soldiers in their Armies, and consequently divulged in the adjacent Countries. The *Islanders* were so famous for their Poetry among the Neighbouring Nations, that it was generally believed, that there was a certain kind of Magick hidden in their Verses,

whereby they could Summon the Demons from the Infernal Regions, and change the Influence of the Planets. Their Poets are Born, and not made such; for the most Ingenious Person among them, cannot Write a Verse without his Natural Genius prompts him to it; the Rules of their Poetry being most strict and severe; whereas such as are Endowed with this Qualification by Nature, write them with such Facility, that they can Speak scarce any thing but in Metre. They are commonly seized with this Poetical Frenzy in the New-Moon; when their Faces appear dreadful, with a pale Countenance, and hollow Eyes; not unlike as the Sybil of *Cuma* is described by *Virgil*: At that time it is very dangerous to converse with these furious Fellows, the Wound given by a Mad-Dog being scarce more dangerous than their venomous Satyrs.

I can't forbear to tell you what Dr. *Wormius* related to me upon this Head: Some Years before, when he was *Rector Magnificus*, (or Vice-Chancellor of the University of *Copenhagen*,) a certain young Student, a Native of *Island*, made his Complaint to him, against one of his Countrymen; who, as he said, had most highly affronted him in one of his Satyrs. *Wormius*, having sent for the Poet, he did not disown the Poem, but denied that it was intended against his Countryman; and in effect, the Vice-Chancellor according to the Knowledge he had of the *Island-Tongue*, (being a Dialect of the Antient *Runic* Language) could not find out any great Reason of Complaint in the said Poem: The Plaintiff finding the Vice-Chancellor inclinable to his Adversaries side, burst out into Tears, telling him with a mournful Countenance, that if he did not assist him, he was lost for ever. Then rehearsing to him, the Fables, Figures, and other malicious Designs, under which the malignity of this Satyr was couched; he further told him, That he must be look'd upon as an infamous Person in his Country, if this Poem should ever come thither, that all his welfare lay at Stake; nay, that the malicious Design of it reach'd even his life, and that the Charms contained therein would pursue him, and have their Effects upon him where-ever he went. Dr. *Wormius*, not a little moved in Compassion, when he saw him in this Agony, took the Poet aside, representing to him, the Duty and Charity of a Christian, and likewise the Severity of the *Danish Laws* against Sorcerers; with

severe Threats to deliver him into the Hands of Justice, if the other should happen to fall sick, tho' only out of fear; which made such Impression upon the Poet, that at last he confessed the malicious Design of his Satyr, tore it to pieces, and promising never to Write it or Speak of it again, Embraced the young Student, who was Ravished with Joy, because he had made his Peace with the Poet.

The *Iseland* Poets have a certain Mythology or Explanation of their Fables, call'd *Edda*: Among other Matters, they suppose a certain Giant, named *Immer*, the first Principle of Things. They say, that the Chaos produced Dwarfs, who getting upon the Giant, took him in pieces. Out of his Skull they made the Heavens, out of his Right Eye the Sun, out of his Left the Moon, out of his Shoulders the Mountains, the Rocks of his Bones, the Sea of his Bladder, and the Rivers of his Urine; and so with the other Parts of his Body: Whence it is, That these Poets call the Heavens *Immer's* Skull, the Sun his Right Eye, the Moon his Left Eye, the Rocks his Bones, the Mountains his Shoulders, the Sea his Bladder, the Rivers his Urine, and so forth. Dr. *Wormius* did shew me a very Antient Copy of this *Edda*, written in the *Iseland* Tongue by an *Iselander*, and Interpreted it to me, whence I have taken what I have related to you now.

If we may believe the *Iselanders* Annals, they used in former Ages to be so formidable at Sea, that both the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* were jealous of their Naval Strength; whereas now they have not Wood enough to Build a Fisher-Boat: They formerly Traffick'd into all the circumjacent Countries, whereas now they scarce ever leave the Isle, unless some few of them, who come to *Copenhagen* to Study, and are generally so eager to return to their Native Country, that there is not so much as one instance to be given of their staying in *Denmark* afterwards, tho' good Livings have been offered them there, there being some among them, who have apply'd themselves to their Studies with very good Success: They are so Bigotted to their Misery, that whatever you tell them concerning the Advantage of the *Danish* Climate beyond theirs, has not the least effect upon them. There were at that time about 14 or 15 Students at the University of *Copenhagen*, who were generally speaking of a low

stature, and slender; tho' I remember, *Bleskemin* says in one place, That he saw an *Iselander* in *Iseland*, of such a prodigious Strength, that he could lift a *Hamborough* Barrel of Beer (holding 48 Gallons) to his Mouth.

The *Iselanders* retain to this day some Relicks or rather a Shadow of their Ancient Government; their Laws being now so interwoven with those of *Norway* and *Denmark*, that whilst they are fond, not quite to part with their own, and at the same time are obliged to Obey the others, they entangle themselves into no small Difficulties concerning the Concordance betwixt their and the *Danish* Laws; which has made *Angrim Jonas* say, that there are as many *Pantinomies* in the Laws of *Iseland*, as there are *Antinomies* in the Roman Law.

The *Iselanders* retain to this day their Ancient Custom of Building their Houses at a considerable distance from one another, without any Order or Rule, for fear of Fire, being all of Wood; They have no other Windows but a Hole on the top; their Houses being very low, and sometimes half under-ground, by reason of the high Winds that often blow here; They are commonly covered, (like those in *Sweden*) with the Bark of Beech-Tree covered with Turfs, much after the same manner as *Virgil* describes the Hut of *Tityrus* in his *Bucolics*:

Pauperis & Tuguri congestum cespite culmen.

These are their dwelling Houses, wherein they live to 100 years of Age, and more, without making use of any Physick or Physicians.

The whole Isle of *Iseland* has no more than two Villages, which are the Seats of their two Bishops, viz. *Hole* and *Schalholt*; the first whereof, being the biggest, has only a few Houses; and as they have neither Towns nor Villages, so they have no Highways; which obliges those that Travel here from one Province to another, to make use of the Needle and Compass, (as they do at Sea) for their Guide; and near those Pits, or Holes, which by reason of their being fill'd with Snow, might prove dangerous to Travellers, they set up Marks to forewarn them of the danger. The *Iselanders* seldom Inhabit but near the Sea-shore, or near a River, for the conveniency of Fishing and Pasture, so that the Inland Country is in a manner a Desert. At *Hole*, there is a College
or

or School for Boys till they come into Rhetorick, when they are sent to *Copenhagen*, to Study Philosophy and Divinity. Here is also a Printing-Press, where they did sometime ago Print the Old Testament, translated into the *Iseland* Tongue; the New Testament is still in the Press for want of Paper, which is a dear Commodity in that Country.

There have been divers Bishops of Note in *Iseland* especially in the See of *Hole*; a Catalogue of whom you may see in the *Crimogee* of *Angrim Jonas*. *Gundebrend* and *Torlac* was Bishop of this See, a Person of great Probity and Learning; *Angrim Jonas* being his Coadjutor, had the Survivance of this Bishoprick granted him by the King of *Denmark*; but after the Death of *Gundebrend*, refused to accept of the same, having for some time before Devoted most of his time to his private Studies. He is still living; and, as Dr. *Wormius* told me, above 90 years of age, notwithstanding which he Married a very young Woman about four years ago. He is both a Man of Learning and Probity, and much considered for his Knowledge in the Affairs of the North; as his Writings sufficiently testify.

I had almost forgot to mention one thing, worth our Observation among the *Iselanders*, viz. That they are great Chess-Players, there being not a Peasant in the Country, but what has a Set of it, which they make themselves out of Fish-Bones. The whole Difference betwixt theirs and ours, being only that our Fools stand for their Bishops; because, say they, the Clergymen ought to be near the King's Person. Their Rooks represent little Captains, whence the *Iseland* Schollars call them *Centuriones*. They are represented with Swords on their Sides, with Bloatd Cheeks, as if they were Blowing the Horn they hold in both their Hands. I shall have occasion to speak more concerning the Horns used by the Northern Generals in the Wars, which are not unlike that of our *Rowland*, or the Horn, or rather Trumpet of *Misemus*, whom *Virgil* styles *Horis magni Comes*, or *Hector's* Companion; it being certain, that in *Germany*, as well as the Northern Parts, Trumpeters are not considered as Servants, but Officers of the Troop; but of this more another time; we return to our Chess-Game.

This Game is very ancient standing, and generally used, but all over the

Chronicle tells us, That *Drosen* the Giant, Foster-Father of *Herald* surnamed the *Hairy*, (as *Chiron* was of *Achilles*) having understood the great Actions of his Pupil, then King of *Norway*, sent him, among other Presents, (mentioned in that Chronicle) a very fine and rich Chess-Table: This *Herald* reign'd about the year of Christ 870. And if *Encolpius* in *Petronius* could brag, that he had seen *Trimalcion* play at Draughts, upon Tables, made of Turpentine-Wood and Chrystals, with Men of Gold and Silver, I may boast to have play'd at Chess, with the Countess *Eleonore* Natural Daughter to the King of *Denmark*, Married to Count *Ulefeld*, Great Marshal and Chief Minister to the King of *Denmark*: The Tables were inlaid with a white and yellow Amber; the Pieces of Gold, curiously wrought, and Enamell'd with the same Colours as the Tables. The Kings and Queens were Dress'd in their Royal Robes, seated upon a Throne, with the Crown on the Head. The Bishops had their Mitres and Habits, richly adorned; and the Knights were mounted on Horses, with fine Trappings. The Rooks were represented by Elephants with Towers on their Backs. The Men were little Musqueteers, presenting their Guns close to their Cheeks, as if they were expecting the Word, to Fire.

I told you before, that the *Iseland* Tongue was founded upon the Ancient *Runic* Language; and Dr. *Wormius*, who is well versed in the *Runic*, and has writ a whole Treatise of it, has assured me, That the *Iseland* Tongue is the purest Dialect of the *Runic* that is to be found now; For a further Proof whereof, it is to be observed, That the Alphabet given us by *Bleskenius* are *Runic* Characters; adding, that some of them being design'd for Hieroglyphicks, express entire Words. *Angrim Jonas* has also a whole Chapter of it in his *Crimogee*. And since this Book is very scarce to be had here, and consequently much more in *France*, you will, I hope, not take it amiss, if I entertain you with some Things I have observed there, it being certain, that by explaining to you the Antiquity of the *Iseland* Tongue, I shall at once give you a considerable insight into the Ancient State of the North.

Angrim Jonas, tells us, That the *Iseland* Chronicles, speaking of the first Inhabitants of the Northern Part of the World, deduce their Origin from a certain

Chess play much used in the North.

Iseland a Dialect of the *Runic*.

certain *Asiatick* Prince, named *Odin* or *Ortin*, who being forced out of the *Lesser Phrygia*, by the victorious Arms of *Pompey the Great*, retired with the remainder of his *Phrygian* Forces into the North. *Angrim* is forced to confess, That the *Island* Chronicles don't begin but with *Odin*, tho' at the same time some other Northern Countries trace their Origin much further, viz. Of a certain Prince, named *Norus*, who first erected *Norway* into a Kingdom, and provided them with wholesome Laws. This *Norus* was Son to *Therre* King of *Gothland* and *Finland*, the most potent, brave, and most virtuous Prince of that Age: for which reason, he was by his Subjects revered like a God; and the *Norwegians* to this day, call the Month of *January*, *Therre*, after his Name. King *Therre* had a most beautiful Daughter, named *Goa*, who being Ravished by a Foreign Prince, her Brother *Norus* went in pursuit of the Ravisher; and the Name of *Goa* was given to the Month of *February*, to her Memory, the same being retained to this day among the *Islanders*. *Angrim* has given us the Genealogy of all the Ancestors of *Norus*, who were reckoned among the number of the Gods by the Northern Nations; one whereof represented the God of the Sea, another of the Winds, another of Snow, another of the Winter: Among the rest, they worshipped one under the Name of the God of Fire, whose Statue was extremely fine and handsome; whence they gave him the Name of *Halogie*, i. e. *A fierce and glorious Flame*. This Genealogy reaches to *Giloe*, a Nephew of *Norus*, in whose Reign (as the Chronicle tells us) the *Great Odin* came out of *Asia* into the North.

Angrim Jonas finding such a Diversity in the Chronicles, saw himself obliged to look further backwards, beyond the first Kings of *Norway*; for the first Original of the Northern Nations, which he deduces from the Ancient Giants that were forced out of the Land of Promise by *Jeshua*, and afterwards settled their Habitations in the Northern Parts, from whom the *Goths* derive their Race, the Word *Gor* signifying as much as a Giant; wherefore I think it not amiss, to say something as well in Reference of these Giants as of *Odin* the *Asiatick* Prince.

This famous *Odin* was worshipped as a God all over the North, under the Name of *Mercury*, by reason of his excellent Wit. It is he, who laid the first Foundation of the Northern Poësie,

and of their *Magie*, so much celebrated in other Parts of the World. Of the first I have said something already, and upon the *Magie* I could say much more, were it not that it both deserves and requires a most particular Account, which I intend to reserve for another opportunity. I can't however forbear to put you in mind upon this occasion, of the negligent Temper of many of our Modern Authors, who, without making any serious Reflection upon the Circumstances of things imposed upon the World (without the least Sense or Reason) by Antiquity, are not only taken by them for granted, but also improved by them, in order to make them pass current in the World. I would desire any body to consider how little Coherency there is betwixt the fabulous Relations of *Odin* their *Asiatick* Prince, and the time of *Pompey*, so much celebrated in History?

Is it not a most surprising thing, to see most of the Ancients, represent the Founders of Nations, or other great Men, like Giants? Thus they make *Hercules* three times bigger than other Men; And *Virgil* represents his *Aeneas* and *Turnus* like Mountains, *Quantus Atlas, aut quantus Erix*; and compares *Sandarus* and *Bitias* to two tall Oaks. Thus all the Pictures and Statues of *Charles the Great*, (in the German Churches) are much beyond the size of an ordinary Man. I remember that I saw the Statue of a *Rowland* in the Market-place of *Bremen*, of the height of a Pike. *Saxo Grammaticus* makes his *Danes* to be descended from Giants. *Joh.* and *Olaus Magnus*, two Brothers, and both Swedish Historians, do the same with their Countrymen, as *Angrim Jonas* describes his first *Islanders* as Giants, the Word *Gor*, as he says, signifying a Giant, and that the Ancient *Goths* were actually such. And because the Giants of *Canaan*, who were drove thence by *Jeshua*, were the first Giants mentioned in the Holy Scripture after the Deluge, these must be brought into the North, because *Palästine* was too hot for them to abide in.

The two before-mentioned Swedish Historians, (who being Brothers, and succeeded one another in the Archbishoprick of *Upsal*) out-do even *Angrim Jonas* himself in deducing the Origin of the *Swedes* from the Children of *Japhet*; and take a great deal of Pains to persuade the World, that the City of *Upsal* was built in the time of *Abraham*. I wonder how *Angrim Jonas* happened

not to follow their Footsteps, in deducing the Origin of his *Islanders* from the Race of *Japhet*; seeing it is said of the Children of *Japhet*, in the 10th Chapter of *Genesis*, *Ab his divisa sunt Insula gentium in regionibus suis, unumquique secundum linguam suam, & familias suas in nationibus suis*; By these were the *Isles* of the *Gentiles* divided in their Lands, every one after his Tongue, after their Families in their Nations. For it being a general and Orthodox Opinion, That the Children of *Noah* did Repopulate the World after the Deluge, and that those of *Japhet* in particular, settled in the *Isles*. *Angrim* might with much better pretence affirm, That of the first Inhabitants of his *Isle*, which *Olaus Magnus* had told us of the *Swedes* being descended from the Race of *Japhet*; for besides that, *Angrim* has the History of *Genesis* on his side, (which the *Swedes* have not) it saves the trouble of tracing the Original of the *Islanders* from the Giants of *Canaan* coming into the Northern Parts.

To tell you my real Opinion concerning those Gentlemen, who have taken so much Pains in making so nice a Scrutiny into the first Inhabitants of the World, after the Deluge, they have taken a great deal of Pains in vain; it being certain, that since we are destitute of true Histories concerning these most Ancient Times, all their Relations are founded only upon Conjectures, or some fabulous Chronicle or Account ill Digested and worse Explained: I don't apply this only to Mr. *Angrim Jonas*, for whom I have a singular Respect: The Error is general, he having not been the first, who traced the Original of the Northern Nations from the Giants of *Canaan*: besides that, he has no insignificant Plea for his Assertion, because he found some *Island* Words to have no small Congruity with the *Hebrew*, which was called the Language of *Canaan*, after the *Jews* had made themselves Masters of the Land of *Promise*, by chasing the Giants thence. Our Author had unhappily forgot, That these Giants did not speak *Hebrew*, which being foreign to them, they could not possibly introduce it in the North, if we would take it for granted that they actually Inhabited there.

Many Errors of this Nature are to be met with in the Writings of most of the best Authors, who have run upon the same Mistake, in looking for the

true Origin of Nations among the Interpretation or Etymology of certain *German* or *Hebrew* Words, which to them seem'd to have a near relation to the Language of those Nations they were treating of. Thus Mr. *Grotius*, in his Treatise of the Origin of the *Americans*, deduces their Race from the *Germans*, because, says he, many of their Words terminate in *Lau*, *Land* being a *German* Word. Mr. *Salz* says, That there is a certain Nation in *America*, called *Alavardes*, who have got their Name from one *Alvarado*, a *Spanish* Commander, who Conquered them. But *Grotius* traces the Origin of the *Alavardes* from the *Lombards*, by a Corruption of the Word; as to this day the *French* call *Hallbards*, certain Arms of the *Lombards*, called *Lombards* by the Ancient *French*.

Mr. *Bechard*, a Person not Inferiour in Learning to *Grotius*, takes the same road in his Treatise called *Phaleg*, of the Partition, and Inhabitants of the Earth after the Deluge, his Reasons being founded upon Conjectures of the same Nature, tho' I must confess I could not but be surpris'd at his stupendious Knowledge in the Eastern Languages, in finding out the Interpretation of the *Carthaginian* Verse in *Plantus* his Comedy, called the *Carthaginian*, out of the *Hebrew*. I told you just now, that his Invention is full of Ingenuity; but can't however agree with him, That the *Carthaginian* Tongue had any relation to the *Hebrew*; For *Dido*, (who founded *Carthage*) being a Native of *Phœnicia*, (which Language was very different from the *Hebrew*) the *Carthaginians* questionless were so far from speaking *Hebrew* in the days of *Plantus*, that it is most likely they retained the same Language that *Dido* had introduced there, viz. the *Phœnician*. Mr. *Samuel Petit*, a Learned Man and great Critick, having before Mr. *Bechard* found out quite another Interpretation of the same Words in *Plantus*, I am apt to imagine that if a third Person (as well skill'd as they in the *Hebrew*) should undertake the same task, he would find out another Interpretation of the same *Carthaginian* Verses in *Plantus*, by Virtue of the Transposition of the Letters and Points, which these two Gentlemen have made use of to attain their end, according to the liberty allow'd to the Critics in the *Hebrew*; by which rule they are able to give almost what Sense they please to a

Sentence, just as we can make our
Chimes sound a Tune of pleasing

I hope, Sir, you will pardon this
Digression. I thought not else

it foreign to our present purpose,
when I observed Mr. *Angrim Jonas* to be
misguided by the same Error, as many
others have been besides him, in looking
for the Origin of the *Islanders* among
the *Hebrews*, it being certain, that no-
thing can be more fallacious than Con-
jectures founded upon such-like Etymo-
logies.

I am apt to believe, That *Angrim Jo-
nas* would have acknowledged the same
Giants, who, according to his Opinion,
first Peopled the North, for the first
Founders of the *Islanders*, were it not,
that he believes that Isle not to have
been inhabited till for a considerable time
after; wherefore it will not be amiss, to
relate the Chief Heads of his Relation
upon that Account. He says, That
Island was first of all discovered by one
Naddocus, who, as he was going to
the Isles of *Faro*, was cast by a Tempest on
the Eastern part of *Island*, unto which
he gave the Name of *Sneeland*, i. e. *Snow-
land*, from the vast heaps of Snow he
saw there, which made *Naddocus* not to
stay there long. The next who went in
quest after this Isle, was a certain *Swede*,
named *Garderus*, who hearing *Naddocus*
speak of this Isle, found it, and landed
there in the year 864. and having pass'd
the whole Winter there, called it *Gard-
ersholm*, i. e. *Garders Isle*. The third
Person who came into this Isle, was a fa-
mous *Norwegian* Pirate named *Flocco*,
who having understood something of
the Situation of this Isle, made use of a
peculiar Invention for his Direction, the
Compass being then a Thing as yet un-
known in the World. As he was going
from *Hittland*, (one of the *Orcades* or
Orkney Islands, he ventured boldly into
the main Sea, and having taken 3 Ra-
vens along with him, he let one of them
fly as soon as he thought himself at a
good distance from the Shore; but find-
ing the Raven returning towards *Hitt-
land*, from whence he was come, he kept
on his Course further as Sea; and then
letting go the second Raven, he soon
found by her return to the Ship, that he
could discover no Land; so Steering his
Course for some time, he sent
the third Raven, which discovering
the Shore, *Flocco* followed her
the Sails he could make; and
a favourable Wind landed in

the Eastern part of *Island*, then call'd
Greenland, where he pass'd the Winter,
and landing himself againe the Spring,
surrounded with whole Mountains of
Ice, (called the *Greenland* Ice by the In-
habitants) he gave it the Name of *Is-
land*, i. e. *Ice-land*, which Name it has
retained ever since; *Flocco* pass'd ano-
ther Winter in the South-part of the
Isle; but being as little pleas'd with
that part as with the other, he return'd
to *Norway*, where they gave him the
Name of *Resingsfiske*, i. e. *Flocco* the Raven,
because he had made use of that Crea-
ture in the discovery of *Island*.

The true Founder of the *Islanders*,
was a certain Baron of *Norway*, named
Ingulph, who having with his Brother-in-
Law *Hiorleifus*, killed two of the greatest
Men of that Country in a Duel, were
Banish'd for that Fact. And it being
the Custom of this Country for Exiles
to take along with them the Doors or
Gates of their Houses, *Ingulph* having
cast Anchor near the *Island* Shore, threw
his Gates over-board, in order to facili-
tate his Landing upon them. But being
forced to another part of the Isle, viz.
in the Southern-part, he landed there;
but finding his Gates cast ashore 3 years
after, he thought fit to fix his Habita-
tion thereabouts. *Ingulph* and his Bro-
ther-in-Law first landed in this Isle in
the year 870. but did not settle there
till four years after, viz. 874. whence
the *Island* Chronicles take their Epocha;
this being the time of the first Peopling
of this Isle, which the same Chroni-
cles say, *Ingulph* found Desert and
Uncultivated. However, it is said,
That some *English* and *Irish* Miners were
before that time cast ashore here, the
same having been discovered by some
Bells, Crosses, and other pieces made in
England and *Ireland*, and some Books
they had left behind them. It is agreed
on all hands, That the *Irish* have been
ashore in this Isle several times before
the time of *Ingulph*; for their Chroni-
cles say, That the Ancient *Islanders*
called these *Irish*, *Papa's*, and the Western-
part of the Isle, *Paper*, from the *Irish*
who used to Land there.

Because the *Island* Chronicle calls
Island, *A Wilderness* and *Uncultivated*,
at the time of the arrival of *Ingulph*,
Angrim Jonas assures us boldly, That it
was not Inhabited before that time;
say, is Angry with those who disagree
with him in this Point, as *Pomarius*, and
others, who would have *Island* be
the

Thule of the Ancients mentioned by Virgil, who speaking of Augustus, says,

Tibi serviamus ultima Tenu.

For, (says he,) in his *Specimen Islandicum*, if *Island* is supposed to have been the Thule of the Ancients, it must have been inhabited in Augustus's time; which is contrary to our *Island Chronicles*, which tell us, That it was not inhabited till Augustus his time.

But I would have this Gentleman to call to mind, what he himself has alledged in another place, viz. That the Irish used to come ashore in *Island* before the time of Ingulph, and that these Irish were called *Papa's* by the Ancient *Islanders*. I would fain know of him, who were these Ancient *Islanders*. I agree with *Angrim*, that *Island* was not converted to the Christian Religion till some years after Ingulph landed there; But on the other hand, he will I hope, easily allow me, that there were a considerable number of Christians at that time in the Northern Countries: 'Tis certain, That the Irish were such, the Marks they had left behind them, and found by Ingulph, sufficiently testify the same. *Angrim* mentions in his *Crimogea*, that Ingulph's Brother-in-Law, who came along with him into *Island*, had many Sentiments which inclined to Christianity, if he was not an absolute Christian. And it is certain, That the Christian Religion was at that time spread all over the Northern Countries, and among the rest in *Island*, as I shall have occasion to shew anon. This being granted, What time is it that *Angrim* pretends to allow to the Pagan *Islanders*, who were, as he says, so zealous in their Idolatry, and especially in their Adoration of *Odin*, by whom they used to swear, and call him the Grand Protector of *Asia*. It is beyond all Dispute, That among all the Heathenish Superstitions, the Sacrifices of Men, are of the most Ancient date, which that they were practised among the Ancient *Islanders*, I have sufficiently demonstrated before. Their own Chronicle tells us, That in the Western-part of the Isle, there was a certain Cirque, in the Center whereof stands a high Rock, from whence they tumbled down the miserable Victims design'd for the Sacrifice, the Blood whereof was afterwards offered to their Gods. The same Chronicle mentions, That after the said Custom was aboli-

shed here, as well as in other Places, the Stock retained still a red Tincture, the remnants of the Blood spill'd there being so. I must, I say, upon this Account, once more ask *Angrim*, Where he will fix these many Ages mentioned in his Annals? And from whence he dates the Introduction or Invention of their Mythology call'd *Fadda*, which are of such Antiquity, and so peculiar to the *Islanders*, that the other Nations have but very little knowledge of it, and all the other Europeans none at all.

Add to this, Sir, That the *Island Chronicles*, when they speak of the Voyages of *Naddocus*, of *Garderus*, and *Flocco*, (all which happened before the time of Ingulph) don't make the least mention of the Isle of *Island* having been a Desert at that time: Certain it is, that *Flocco* lived there for two whole years, and in all probability, not without such Provisions as are the Products of a Country not destitute of Inhabitants. Besides this, How will *Angrim Jonas* come off of what he had said of the *Islanders*, that they were very Exact and Curious, in Recording the Histories of all other Nations of Europe; *Ad totius Europe res Historicas Lyneai*, says he: *Herodotus* and *Plato* mention the same of the Ancient Egyptians: For, (says he) they preserve in their Libraries, the most Ancient Monuments of the History of Foreign Nations, looking upon it, as the best Argument they can alledge for the Antiquity of their own Nations. To add as much weight as I can unto what *Angrim Jonas* says upon this head concerning his *Islanders*, I must tell you, That Dr. *Wormius* shew'd me a Copy of a Chronicle of the Western-part of *Island*, wherein, (by his Interpretation) I found many remarkable Passages in the History of *Norway*, *Denmark*, *England*, the *Orcades*, *Hebrides*, and among the rest, of the Invasion of that part of *France* by the *Normans*, unto which they gave that Name after their Conquest. The arrival of Ingulph being not mentioned till afterwards, it seems very probable, that there were certain People that took notice of the Records of *Island*, and consequently that Isle was inhabited at that time. I am of Opinion, that the *Island Chronicles* (which are of Ingulph) cited by *Angrim Jonas*, are Authentick, and that the said Ingulph did not come into *Island* till about

polite than this; the defect thereof you will, I hope, attribute in a great measure, to the want of time, and my readiness to Obey your Commands, which must at this juncture serve as a Plea to you to excuse its Errors; in

hopes of which, I beg you to be persuaded, that I am,

S I R,
Copenhagen,
Dec. 18. 1644.

Your most humble, and
most obedient Servant,
La Peyrere.

F I N I S

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
GREENLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the

Map of GREENLAND.

I judge a the same advantage, as I thought I could not do amiss, in following the Advice of a Person so highly and so universally esteem'd.

I have compiled this Map answerable to four Elevations particularly known to me; viz. that of Cape Farewell, of Iceland, of Spitzbergen, and of that part of the Christian's Sea, where Captain Monk, being stop'd by the Ice, gave it the name of Monk's Winter Haven.

I have computed the Longitude of all those Places, from the Meridian of the Iron Island of the Canaries, by the Advice of Mr. Roberval, a famous Mathematician; and of Mr. Santon, an excellent Geographer, whose Steps I have follow'd in that Map.

The Longitude of Monk's Winter Haven, was more exactly discover'd to me beyond the rest, by an Eclipse of the Moon, mention'd in the Journal of that Captain, who declares to have seen it in that Harbour, about eight a Clock at Night, the 20th of December, in the Year 1699. This Eclipse must have been seen at Paris, (according to the Tables of the Celestial Motions) about three in the Morning, the 21st day of that Month. But in regard, that Eclipse continued above three Hours, and that Captain Monk did not see it, either in its beginning, middle or end, I have consulted Mr. Gallendus,

being sufficiently known to all, who make projection of these Sciences, I thought I might with probability enough, suppose this Eclipse discover'd at Monk's Haven, between its beginning and end; that is to say, about the middle of its duration, or about the hour that it must have been seen at Paris; whence it is evident, that when it was three a Clock in the Morning at Paris, it was no more than eight a Clock of the preceding Evening at Monk's Harbour; and that consequently there are seven hours difference between the one place and the other. Now supposing 15 Degrees for every hour, (according to the Rules of Astronomy) the Meridian of Monk's Harbour must be distant from the Meridian of Paris 105 Degrees, and Paris being at the 23 Degree and half of Longitude, Monk's Haven ought to be placed in the 178 Degree and a half; that is to say, in the 81 Degree and half beyond the Meridian of the Canaries: And consequently allowing 12 ordinary Leagues of France for every Degree of this Parallel, the Degrees (whereof are one less than the Degrees of the great Circles moiety,) this Haven must be distant from Paris about 1260 Leagues. I have divided the Southern part of Greenland, taken at Cape Farewell, into two Islands, in the manner they are represented here. This I have done, as from the Danish Accounts I made use of to compose this History (for they don't mention it) but from a Map communicated to me out of the Library of my

These are the Words in Latin, Written at the bottom of the said Map: This Delineation was made by Martin, the Son of Arnold, born at the Briel, a City of Holland; who twice, viz. 1624, and 1625, went as Commodore to the Isle, known by the name of old Greenland. This Martin, the Son of Arnold, calls Greenland an Island; tho it is not certainly known, whether it be an Island, or part of the Continent, or made up of several Isles. He declares it to be the Map of the old Greenland; tho' he might rather have call'd it both the old and New, for none else has been discovered: and that New which we know, ought rather to be called the new Green Greenland, than the old. Because, tho the old Greenland must undoubtedly be fix'd hereabouts near the West of Iceland; nevertheless, this certain place is not known to this day, even not to the Inhabitants of Norway, tho' their Fore-fathers were the first Discoverers of it, and dwelt in its some entire Ages, as will more fully appear out of the following Relation.

The nearness of their Situation between Cape Farewell, and the Streights call'd Christian's, with the Sea of that Name, and Monk's Winter Haven, has been represented according to the Map Captain Monk caus'd to be made of his Voyage, and was Annexed to his Journal. I was the rather inclin'd to follow his Foot-steps, for as much as it agrees with that of Captain Hudson, who first discover'd these Streights, and this Sea; which Map Mr. Chaplain was pleas'd to communicate to me in order to compare it with that of Captain Monk.

I dare not affirm, That all the Coast of the Christian's Sea, and so Westerly from thence, between the Gulph of Davis, and Monk's Winter Haven, belongs to Greenland, because perhaps some great River or Streight, unknown, may separate Greenland from America. What makes me more doubtful upon this, is, That I never heard in Denmark, that all this Coast did belong to Greenland, as I have heard is declared of all the Coast on the N. E. between Cape Farewell and Spitzbergen. I refer the Solution of this Question to those who have got a better insight into this matter, from the English and Dutch Relations: my only design being to give an Account of what I understand of this Country out of the Danish Books, and from the Conversation I have had in Denmark.

The Embassador, mentioned in this Relation, was Monsieur le la THULLERIE, who was so instrumental in concluding that Amiable Peace between the two Northern Crowns.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
G R E E N L A N D,
T O
Monsieur de la *MOTHE* le *VATER*.

S I R,

I Perceive that I have not satisfied your Curiosity, in Writing to you a long Letter concerning *Island*: 'Tis but just therefore, that I should perform my promise, to send you a Relation of *Greenland*. Don't wonder at the time that I have taken to pass between these two Islands. If you weigh the Difficulties and the Dangers that attend such a Voyage, you will be satisfied that I ought to inform my self with leisure of the true Condition of this Northern Country, which deserves rather the name of *Incognita*, unknown, than the Southern part of the World. Nevertheless, it has been inhabited by the *Norwegians*, during the space of five or six hundred Years, who traffick'd and settled their Colonies there. But that I may not confound Matters, I will tell you what I have understood of this Country, (which is almost inaccessible,) with all imaginable Exactness, from what ever I could learn either by Conversation, or from the most confused Writings, I will not say that ever I read, because they were explained to me out of a Tongue I understood not, as were the *Danish* Books, and which Mr. *Retz*, a *Danish* Gentleman, was so kind to read, and to interpret to me whom you will see speedily at *Paris*; the King of *Denmark* having named him, in consideration of his Merits, his Resident in *France*.

Greenland is that Northern Tract of Land, which extends from the South to the East, and thence to the North from *Cape Farwell*,

that it joyns to the *Great Tartary*; But this is uncertain, as you shall see anon.

On the East it hath the *Frozen Sea*, on the South the *Deucalidian Ocean*, on the West the Streights of *Hudson* or *Christian*, and the *Christian* or *Hudson's* Sea, that divides it from *America*. Its extent towards the North is unknown hitherto. The *Danish* Chronicle informs us, that it is the farthest part of the World towards the North, and that beyond it, there is no Land on that side. Some believe, that *Greenland* is joyn'd to *America*, because the *English*, who have attempted to pass the Streights of *Davis*, to seek a passage that way to the East, have found, by experience, that what *Davis* fancied to be the Streights, is nothing but a Gulf; tho' according to the account of a certain *Danish* Captain, named *John Monk*, who ventured to find a Passage to the East, by the North-west of the Gulf of *Davis*, there is great likelihood, that this Country is altogether separated from *America*, as will appear in its proper place, when we shall discourse of his Voyage. The Elevation of *Greenland* taken at *Cape Farwell*, (the most Southern part of it) according to the computation of Captain *Monk*, a most expert Seaman, is sixty degrees and thirty minutes: The other part extending much nearer to the Pole. The Elevation of *Spitzbergen*, which the *Danes* judge to belong to *Greenland*, is according to their computation 78 degrees or thereabouts. I don't say any thing concerning the Longitude of that Country, because my Accounts being silent here I have learn'd nothing more than what our Maps inform upon this head. It will be sufficient for me to take notice in this Place, that *Cape Far-*

his Lat
tude.

Y y y y

med

well is beyond the *Canaries*, and our first Meridian: As to the History of *Greenland*, I have chiefly made use of two Chronicles, one of *Island*, the other of *Denmark*; the first being very Ancient and in Prose, the other of a later date in Verse, but both in the *Danish* Language. However the Original of that of *Island* was written in the *Island* Tongue, by one *Snorro Storlesonius* an *Islander*, who was *Nomophylax*, as *Angrim Jonus* calls him; that is, Chief Justice of that Island, in the year 1215. the same who compiled the *Edda*, or the *Island* Fables in Verse I have formerly mentioned to you. The *Danish* Chronicle was written in *Danish* Verse, by a *Danish* Priest, named *Claudie Christophersen*; within these 15 years, or thereabouts. This *Danish* Chronicle says, that some *Armenians* being long told'd at Sea by a furious Tempest were forced into the Northern Sea, at last got ashore in *Greenland*, from whence they pass'd over into *Norway*, where they Inhabited the Rocks of the *Hyperborean* Sea: But this Relation is founded only upon Ancient Fables and Customs to deduce the Original of remote Places and Nations: But thus much is certain, that the *Norwegians* did first discover and inhabit *Greenland*.

Snorro
Storleso-
nius, Au-
thor of the
Edda.

Torwald
and his Son
Erick.

A certain Gentleman of *Norway*, named *Torwald*, and his Son *Erick*, surnamed the Red hair'd, having committed a Murder in his Country, fled over into *Island*, where *Torwald* died. His Son *Erick* being a cholerick Person, kill'd soon after another Man in *Island*; so that to escape the severity of the Law, he resolv'd to seek for shelter in a Country which one *Gundebuirne* had told him he had seen to the West of *Island*; *Erick* landed by his direction, in a certain Harbour, made by two Capes or Points of Land, viz. one at the end of an Island, opposite to the Continent of *Greenland*, the other on the Continent: The Cape of the Isle was named *Huidferken*, that of the Continent *Huarfs*; having between both a very good Harbour call'd *Sandstafin*, where Ships may ride safely at Anchor, even in the greatest Storm.

Huidferken is a prodigious high Mountain, without comparison much bigger than *Huarf*. *Erick* call'd it *Mukla-Jokel*, i. e. The Ice Mountain; but has been since named *Bloferken*, i. e. The Blew Shirt; and a third time *Huidferken*, i. e. the White Shirt. The reason of these two last alterations, seems to be founded upon the change of its Colour; for the Ice that melts and freezes at the same time, appears in Colour at first not unlike the Mo's, or Grass, or little Trees growing upon these Rocks: But when by a long continued Snow, vast heaps are gathered, the Ice becomes extraordi-

nary thick, and returns to its former colour and natural whiteness. This I can affirm by my own experience in *Swedeland*, where we have seen Rocks, some whereof appeared to us of a bluish, and others of a white colour for the same reason. I will assure you, and my Lord Embassador can testify, That in our return the same Winter from *Swedeland* to *Denmark*, as we pass'd in a Coach over the Sea, between *Elfenore* and *Copenhagen*, we met vast shoals of Ice piled upon one another, some whereof appeared to our sight very white; others of the finest Azure, which being not able to give a sufficient reason for this difference, as being produced by the same Water; and situate in respect of our Eyes, at no such distance as to cause so remarkable a difference. This put me in mind of what *Virgil* says concerning the *Frozon Zones*.

Ice of
veral
lours.

Carulea glacie concretæ atque Imbribus atris.

Tho' I am apt to believe that the word *Carulea glacie* ought to be interpreted in this Passage, the Black Ice, as *Virgil* fancies to be in these dark and black Countries; in the same sense, he says in another Place

Olli caruleum supra Caput adstitit Imber.

And in another place,

*Stant manibus Aræ,
Ceruleis mastæ vittis atræque Cupresso.*

In both which Passages the word *Carulea* signifies black, without all dispute.

But to return to our purpose, *Erick* before he would venture on the Continent, thought it advisable to land in the Isle unto which he gave the name of *Ericksumd*, i. e. *Erick's Isle*, and continued there all the Winter. In the Spring he pass'd over to the Continent, which he call'd *Greenland*; i. e. the *Green Country* from the verdure of its Pastures and Trees. Unto the Place where he Landed, he gave the name of *Ericksforden*, i. e. *Erick's Haven*, at a small distance from whence he built certain Habitations, call'd *Ostbrugg*, i. e. The East Borough or Plantation. Next Autumn, he went to the Western side, where he Erected another Plantation call'd *Vestbrugg*, i. e. The Western Borough. But whether the Continent seem'd to him colder and sharper than that of *Island*; or whether he found it less secure, he return'd the next Winter to *Ericksumd*, yet return'd from thence next Summer, to the Continent, taking his Course towards the North to the foot of a great Rock which he nam'd *Sneefiel*, i. e. the Snow Rock, and thence to a

certain Harbour, upon which he bestowed the name of *Røvensfiorden*, i. e. *Rookshaven*, from a great number of Crows or Ravens he found there. *Røvensfiorden* lies directly opposite on the North side of the *Ericksfjorden*, which is Seated on the South side, being divided only by a Branch or Arm of the Sea: About the end of *Autumn*, *Erick* returned to his Island, where he pass'd the third Winter. In the Spring he resolv'd to go in Person to *Island* to Engage the Inhabitants of that Isle (with whom he had good Correspondence) to follow him into *Greenland*; he was not backward in telling them Wonders of his New discovered Country, of its plenty of great and small Cattel, of excellent Pastures, of Fishes and all sorts of Game. His Rhetorick proved so prevailing, that a good number of them crossed the Sea with him into *Greenland*.

Erick had a Son, named *Leiffe*, accompanied his Father into *Island*, and from thence crossed over to *Norway*; where as my Chronicle of *Island* tells us, he gave a favourable Account to King *Olaus Trugger* of the Country discover'd by his Father. The King of *Norway* having then but lately embraced the Christian Religion, caus'd *Leiffe* to be instructed in the same, and to be baptiz'd, who continued at his Court all the Winter. The next Summer he sent him back to his Father into *Greenland*, in Company of a certain Priest, to instruct *Erick* and his People in the Christian Faith. *Leiffe* being return'd to his Father in *Greenland*, had the name of *Leiffdenkepe*, i. e. *Leiffe the Fortunate* bestowed upon him, because he had escap'd great Dangers in his Voyage: On the other hand, he met with but an indifferent Reception from his Father, because he had brought along with him certain strange Seamen, who being Shipwreck'd during the same Tempest he so narrowly escap'd, he found upon the Keel of their Ship, cast upon the Ice-rocks, and receiv'd them into his Ship, and carried them into *Greenland*. *Erick* was displeas'd because *Leiffe* had, as he alledg'd, shew'd to the Strangers the way to a Country he desired not to discover to all the World: But the generous *Leiffe* knew so well how to manage his Father's Savage Temper, by representing to him the true duty of Humanity, and of Charity the chief Ornament of Christians, that he began to relish his and the Priest's Advice, sent to him by the King of *Norway* with such Success, that he was perswaded to suffer himself to be baptiz'd, as did all the Inhabitants under his Jurisdiction. This is all I could learn concerning *Erick*, his Son *Leiffe*, and those first Norwegians that inhabited *Greenland*. The *Danish* Chronicle

mentions the departure of *Torweld* and of *Erick* his Son from the Harbour of *Fredren* in *Norway* to have happened under the Reign of *Hakon Jarle*, surnamed the *Wealthy*, where this Chronicle begins under the Reign of *Olaus Trugger* King of *Norway*, who Reign'd about the Year of our Lord 982. But the *Danish* Chronicle puts it about the Year 770. I have proved to you in my Relation of *Island*, that this Computation is more probable than the First, by a Bull of Pope *Gregory IV.* granted about the Year of our Lord 835, to Bishop *Angvsius*, to encourage the Propagation of the Christian Religion in the Northern Countries, and particularly in *Island* and *Greenland*. I will not pretend in this Place to weigh all the Arguments alledged on this head, but will content myself to mention two particulars only, in relation to this Opinion. The first is, That the same *Danish* Chronicle says, that the Kings of *Denmark* being continued Christians during the Reign of the Emperour *Lewis*, the mild, *Greenland* was much talk'd of in those Days. The Second is, that Mr. *Gunter* Secretary to the King of *Denmark*, a Person of more than ordinary Learning and Ingenuity, and my intimate Friend, has assur'd me, that he himself saw among the Records of the Archbishoprick of *Bremen*, an Ancient M.S. Chronicle containing a Copy of a Bull, by virtue whereof the Archbishop of *Bremen*, was constituted Metropolitan of all the North, and particularly of *Norway*, and of the Islands thereunto belonging, viz. those of *Island* and *Greenland*. He had indeed forgot the Date of the Bull, but remembred very well that it was granted before the Year of our Lord 920.

Archbishop of Bremen Metropolitan of all the North.

The *Danish* Chronicle says, that as the Successors of *Erick* increased in number in *Greenland*, they ventured deeper into the Country, and met with a fruitful Soil, Meadows, and Rivers in the Valleys between the Mountains. They divided *Greenland* into East and West *Greenland*, according to the different Situation of the two Boroughs. *Ostreborg* and *Vestreborg* built by *Erick*. In the East they laid the Foundation of a Town named *Garde* whither (as the Chronicle tells us) the Norwegians Transported every Year, divers Merchandises, and sold them to the Inhabitants.

Garde Town in Greenland.

Their Posterity went farther in, and built a City, unto which they gave the Name of *Albe*. And as their Zeal increased, they built a Monastery upon the Sea shoar, Dedicated to *St. Thomas*. The City of *Garde* was the Residence of their Bishops, and the Church of *St. Nicholas* (the Patron of Seamen) built in the same Town, the Cathedral

St. Nicholas Church.

thedral Church of Greenland. A Catalogue, together with the Succession of those Bishops, is to be seen in that part of the *Specimen Islandicum* of *Angrim Jonas* which treats of Greenland from the time of their Settlement there, till the Year 1389. And *Pontan* observes in his History of Denmark, that in the same Year 1389, one named *Henry* Bishop of *Garde* was Present at the Assembly of the States of Denmark held at *Nieuburg* in the Isle *Funen*, at the entrance of that part of the *Baltick* Sea, commonly call'd the *Great Balt*. As Greenland was under way in knowl.

Drunthen in Norway, in Ecclesiastical matters, and the Bishops of Greenland us'd frequently to cross the Sea into Norway to advise with the Bishops of *Drunthen* about such difficulties, as sometimes interven'd in points of Religion. Greenland was then Governed by the Laws of *Ifeland*, under certain Governours, appointed by the Kings of Norway: The Names of whom, with the Actions performed by some *Ifeland* Heroes in Greenland, you may read in the *Specimen Islandicum*, where good *Angrim* their Affectionate Countryman, has remembered them to the best Advantage.

Magnus
K. of Nor-
way, and
Erick of
Denmark
Conquer
Green-
land.

The *Danish* Chronicle tells us, That in the Year 1256, Greenland revolted and refused to pay their Tribute to King *Magnus* of Norway; which induced King *Erick* of Denmark (at the request of King *Magnus* who had Married his Niece) to Equip a Fleet against them; but they no sooner saw the *Danish* Flags displayed on the Coast of Greenland, but they were seiz'd with such fear that they sued for Pardon, and desired Peace. The King of Denmark (in respect of the love he bore to his Niece, and her Children) wou'd not take any Advantage of the Weakness of the King of Norway, but left him in full Possession of Greenland. This Peace was concluded in the Year 1261. *Angrim Jonas* further mentions the names of the three Principal Inhabitants of Greenland, who were Instrumental in concluding the Treaty of Peace in Norway: By virtue thereof, those of Greenland were for the time to come to swear Fealty, and to pay Tribute to the Kings of Norway.

The Chronicle of *Ifeland* being only a Collection of other Stories; has among the rest a Chapter intitled a Description of Greenland, which as it seems to relate to its most flourishing State during the settlement of the Norwegians there; so I will Transcribe to you *verbatim* the whole Chapter, as it was interpreted to me from the *Danish* Tongue into French. But don't require from me either Time or Method in this Relation, for I can warrant neither.

In the most Eastern part of Greenland lies *Skagefiord*. The City of *Skagefiord*, seated near an inaccessible Rock; and further at Sea, a Sand Bank hinders Ships from entering the Road, except at high Water, when if the Wind blows hard, many Whales and other Fish come into the Bay, and are taken in great abundance. A little higher towards the East, there is another Harbour call'd *Funcheluder*, having borrow'd its name from a certain Page of St. *Olaus* King of Norway, who was with several others Shipwreck'd there. A little higher nearer the Ice Mountains, there is an Island call'd *Raaslen*, well stor'd with

Old Green-
land de-
scrib'd

On the Western Coast lies the Bay of *Kindelsfiord*, Inhabited all along the Shore. On the Right hand of this Bay stands a Church call'd *Korskirke*, i. e. the *Cross Church*; the Lands whereof reaches to *Petresfiuk* near *Vandalebug*; and beyond it a Monastery of Monks, Dedicated to St. *Olaus* and St. *Austlin*. The Jurisdiction of this Monastery extends to *Bolton*. Next to *Kindelsfiord*, is *Rumpesfiord*, where is a Nunnery, and near it several little Islands, having divers Hot Springs of such an excessive heat in the Winter, that no Body can endure it, tho in the Summer they are pretty Cool and Temperate; these Waters are very wholesome, and proper for the cure of divers Diseases. A little beyond them is *Eynesfiord*: Between *Eynesfiord* and *Rumpesfiord*, stands a Royal Palace call'd *Fos*; and a great Church Dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. Near the Bay of *Lunesfiord* is the Cape of *Kjining*, and beyond it another Bay call'd *Grantevig*; and beyond that a House named *Daller*, that belongs to the Cathedral of Greenland. To this Cathedral appertains all the Country about *Lunesfiord*, and particularly the great Island beyond *Eynesfiord* call'd *Reyasfen*, because of the many *Renes* (a kind of Stags frequent in the North) found there. This Island produces a certain Stone call'd *Talguestein*, of a such solidity, as not to be corrupted by Fire, and so easy to be cut, that drinking Vessels, Kettles and Vaults containing 10 or 12 Tun are made of it. More towards the West is an Island call'd *Langen*, where are eight Farms: This Island belong to the Cathedral. Near to the Church of *Eynesfiord* is a Royal Palace named *Hollesfad*. Not far from it is the Bay of *Ericksfjord*; at the Entrance whereof lies an Island call'd *Herricueu*, i. e. the *Lord's Island*, one half whereof belongs to the Cathedral, the other half to the Church call'd *Diumas*, the first Church you meet with in Greenland, as you enter on *Ericksfjord*. To the Church of *Diumas* be-
longe

is all the Country as far as *Midfjord*, the whole Tract of Land from *Ericksfjord* to the North East. Near it is *Bondefjord* to the North, where are many Islands and good Harbours. The Country is not Inhabited, but altogether Desart between *Ostrebog* and *Vestrebog*. Near to this Desart is a Church named *Strofnes*, formerly the Cathedral, and Residence of the Bishop of *Greenland*. The *Skyeglingues* or *Skræglingres* inhabit all the Country about *Vestrebog*. These Desarts produce Horses, Goats, Oxen, Sheep and all manner of Wild Beasts, tho' not Inhabited either by Christians or Pagans. The Author of this Account was one *Iver Ben*, who was a long time Steward of the Bishop of *Greenland*, and an Eye Witness of what he says, having been with others employed by the Judge of *Greenland* to suppress the *Skyeglingres*. At their Arrival they found no living Men, but abundance of Cattel, of which they took as much as their Ship could carry. Beyond *Vestrebog* is a great Rock call'd *Himmelsradshjeld*; beyond this Rock there is no safe Passage for Ships, by reason of the many Whirlpools on that Coast.

These are the Contents of the whole Chapter which I have set down here with as much exactness as I was able; and as I had neither Map nor any other History of *Greenland*, to justify or contradict this Account: I have given it you in the same manner as I had it; what puzzles me most is, what is said of the Church of *Strofnes*, between *Ostrebog* and *Vestrebog*, to have been ever since *Greenland* began to be Inhabited, the Cathedral and the Bishop's Residence; there being not the least doubt but that the City of *Garde* has always had that Prerogative. The *Danish* Chronicle lamenting the loss of this Country, assures us, that if the City of *Garde*, the Residence of the Bishop, were yet in being, and the Passage thither could be recovered, we might from thence be supply'd with sufficient Memoirs for the compiling of a good History of *Greenland*. *Angrim Jenson* a Native of *Island*, speaking of this Residence says expressly *Fundata in Bordo* (we must read *Garden*) *Episcopalis Residentia in sinu Eynersford Greenlandie Orientalis*. An Episcopal See was settled in the City of *Garden* in the Bay of *Eynersford*, on the Eastern Coast of *Greenland*. The Author of that Relation may perhaps have been a good Steward, but has proved himself but an indifferent Historian, having not given us the least Account who were these *Skyeglingres*, against whom he was sent. I will therefore tell you what *Mr. Wormius*, the most curious Person that ever I met with in the Affairs of the North, has communicated to me by word of Mouth, and in

Writing. They were *Savages*, the Original Natives of *Greenland*, unto whom 'tis probable, the *Norwegians* gave that Name, but for what Reason I know not. 'Tis likely they Inhabited the West side of the Bay of *Kindelsford* in *Greenland*; the other being Inhabited by the *Norwegians*: What this Author says concerning the *Skyeglingres* being in Possession of *Vestrebog* must be understood of the West-side; the East part being Possess'd by the *Norwegians*. 'Tis very probable that some few of the *Norwegian* Adventurers having pass'd the other side of the Bay of *Kindelsford*, were worried by those *Skyeglingres*. The Vice-Roy, or Governour of *Greenland* call'd the Judge of *Greenland*, (according to the *Island* Idiom) being resolv'd, to revenge this Affront, sent against them a Ship well Equipp'd, and Mann'd with Land Forces, which those *Savages* no sooner saw Approach their shoar, but according to their usual Custom (when they find they are too weak to resist) they fled into the Woods and Rocks. The *Norwegians* finding no living Body upon the Coast, Plunder'd the Country, and carried the Booty aboard their Ship. This did induce our Author to tell us, That amongst the *Skyeglingres*, were Horses, Goats, Oxen, Sheep, &c. but neither Christians nor Pagans.

Mr. Wormius is of Opinion, that those *Skyeglingres* were not far distant from the Gulph of *Davis*, and perhaps were *Americans*, or the Native Inhabitants of *New Greenland*, Discover'd by the *Danets*, in the Reign of *Chrystiern IV.* their King; of which I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter: that they lived near the Old *Greenland*, Inhabited by the *Norwegians*, and that they Peopled part of *Vestrebog*, before ever *Erick* possessed himself of the other Part.

To tell you my Opinion, I see no reason why we should Transplant the *Americans* hither; *Mr. Wormius's* Opinion is more reasonable; unto which I shall add only, that by the same reason that *Vestrebog* was Inhabited by the Natives of that Country, when the *Norwegians* came thither, *Ostrebog* had likewise its Inhabitants; and as the Eastern shore was nearer to the *Frozen Sea*, it was less Fruitful, and by consequence more Desart than the Western Coast. The *Norwegians* finding less resistance on that side than on the other, took Possession of *Ostrebog* with less resistance than *Vestrebog*; and according to all the Relations that I have seen, they were not so resolute in attempting a Passage on the Western Coast, but to the North, where they Travell'd eight Days together without discovering any thing but Snow and Ice in the Valleys. From whence you

may infer that the Tract of Land, Inhabited by the *Norwegians* in *Greenland* was enclosed between the Southern and Eastern Seas; to the North by unaccessible Ice Mountains, and to the West by the *Skryglinges*, who stop'd their farther Progress on the side of *Vestrebug*. It is also observable, that the *Island* Chronicle affirms it for a certain Truth, that the *Norwegians* were possess'd of so small a Tract of Land in *Greenland*, as would not amount to above a third part of a Bishoprick in *Denmark*, notwithstanding their Bishopricks are no larger than those of *France*. The *Danish* Chronicle declares the same, tho' in different Words, viz. That the *Norwegians* did not Inhabit the hundredth part of *Greenland*; that it was Inhabited by divers Nations, Govern'd by their peculiar Lords, most of whom were never known to the *Norwegians*.

Green-
land bar-
ren.

The *Island* Chronicle speaks variously concerning the Fruitfulness of *Greenland*, according to the different Relations that Compose it. It says in one Place, that there grows the best Wheat in the World, and high and lofty Oaks, which bear Acorns as big as Apples. In another place he tells us, that nothing grows in *Greenland*, because of the cold, and that its Inhabitants know not what Bread is. This agrees with the *Danish* Chronicle, which affirms that when *Erick* first came into this Country, his People were forced to live altogether upon Fish, by reason of the Sterility of the Land. Nevertheless the same *Danish* Chronicle relates, that *Erick's* Successors, who went farther into the Country, found between certain Mountains, Fruitful Lands, Meadows and Rivers, not discovered by *Erick*. The Contradictions in the *Island* Chronicle are not to be regarded, when it declares that nothing grows in *Greenland* because of the cold, the reason it self alludg'd to back this Assertion, rendering it very dubious; it being most certain that That part of *Greenland*, inhabited by the *Norwegians*, was situate under the same degree of Elevation with *Upland*, the most Fruitful Province of *Sweden*, which produces very good and fine Wheat. Add to this what the same Chronicle observes, in another Place, viz. That the cold is not so violent in *Greenland* as in *Norway*: Now 'tis most certain that *Norway* produces very good Wheat; and what I am going to tell you upon this head, would perhaps seem strange to you, if the same was not founded upon the Authority of Creditable Persons, who have informed me that there are certain Places in *Norway*, where they have two Crops within the space of three Months. This must be understood of the Plains between the Rocks, which being continually enlivened by the reverberated Sun-

Norway
wonderful-
ly fruitful.

beams against these Rocks, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, become so Fertile, that in six Weeks time they Sow and Reap good Corn. The Soil being so fat and moist there by reason of the great quantity of Snow melted and carried into the Plains from the Mountains, that immediately after they Sow again, and at the end of another six Weeks, never fail of a second Harvest as good as the former.

'Tis very likely that in *Greenland* as well as other Countries are, some good and some bad Grounds; some Plains, some Mountains. 'Tis certain it has many Rocks; the *Island* Chronicle tells us expressly that it produces Marble of all Colours. And it is agreed on all hands, that their Pasture Grounds are excellent, and maintain abundance of great and small Cattle, many Horses, Hares, Staggs, Renes and other Deer, ordinary Wolves, and Stag Wolves, Foxes, Bears white and black, and if Credit may be given to the *Islandian* Chronicle, they have taken Castors and Martins also, the Furrs whereof were not inferior to the Martin Sable of *Muscovy*. *Greenland* abounds more in Falcons (white and gray) than any other place in the World. Formerly these Birds used to be sent to the Kings of *Denmark* as Rarities, because of their extraordinary goodness; and the Kings of *Denmark* Presented them frequently to other Kings and Princes, because Falcons and Hawks are not used in *Denmark*, nor in any of the Northern Countries.

Green-
land Bears

The Sea produces great plenty of Fishes all along the Coasts of *Greenland*; as likewise Sea-Wolves, Sea-Dogs, and Sea-Calves, and an incredible number of Whales. I know not whether I ought to reckon the white Bears of *Greenland* amongst the Terrestrial or Marine Creatures; for, as the black Bears never forsake the Land, and live altogether upon Flesh, so white Bears never leave the Sea, and live upon what Fish they catch. They are much larger and wilder than the black. They hunt after the Sea-Wolves and Dogs, who save their Young ones upon the Ice for fear of the Whales. They are greedy after the young Whales, their Flesh being a greater dainty to them than that of any other Fish: They never of their own accord venture into the main Sea when the Ice is melted: 'Tis not but that they can swim, and live in the Water as well as the Fish, but they much dread the Whales pursuing them by the scent, out of a natural Antipathy, and because they devour their Young ones. It happens sometimes that vast Ice shoals are from the North part of *Greenland* driven towards the South, so that the Bears not daring to venture from

Its fishes

White
Bears

the Ice are carried along with it, either into *Iceland* or *Norway*, and being enraged with Hunger

(*Hæu male cum solis Norwegum errant in Oris.*)

destroy all they meet in their way, whereof they tell you strange Stories in these Countries.

Greenland has ever yielded plenty of horned Beasts, call'd Unicorns. In *Denmark* we have frequent opportunity to see many of them entire, and some pieces of these Horns. If you inquire what sort of Animals bear these Horns, I must tell you, Sir, that they are horned Creatures, improperly named Unicorns, having nothing common with that so much celebrated Horn of the Creature which bears that name, of what nature forever it be. And as this name is ambiguous, some do yet question, whether the Creatures that have them are Flesh or Fish. You may observe, that the Horns of the Unicorns which I saw in *Denmark*, (whether whole or in pieces) are of the same substance, fashion, and virtue, as those seen, in *France* and elsewhere. That Beautiful entire Horn I have sometimes spoken of to you, in the King of *Denmark's* Palace at *Fridericksbourg*, is without dispute bigger than that at *St. Denis*. I confess, 'tis not so straight, and bends within two or three foot of the point, but for the rest, 'tis of the same colour, shape, and weight as that of *St. Denis*; for the pieces of those Horns I have seen in divers places at *Copenhagen*, are esteemed great Preservatives against Poison, as those in *Paris*, and elsewhere, are. Now taking it for granted that all those Horns in *Denmark*, are altogether the same with those of *France*, and that these of *Denmark* are brought thither from *Greenland*, the main question is, What sort of Animals bear these Horns in *Greenland*? Mr. *Wormius* being the first who informed me that they are Fishes; this occasion'd a smart Dispute betwixt us at *Christianople*, this Opinion being contradictory to the sentiments of all the Naturalists who have discours'd of it, who represent the Unicorn as a Terrestrial four legg'd Creature, which agrees with divers Passages of Holy Scripture which cannot be understood but of four legg'd Unicorns. Curious and Learned Person having had the goodness to give me a farther Account thereof in his Letter from *Copenhagen*, I will insert the Copy thereof here.

Some years ago, being at Mr. *Frise* the Lord Chancellor of *Denmark's* House (the Predecessor of Mr. *Thomasson*, the Pre-

sent Lord Chancellor) I took an occasion to complain to that Great Man, of the Negligence and want of Curiosity of our Merchants and Seamen that frequented *Greenland*, in not enquiring into the Nature of those Animals; the Horns whereof they brought in such plenty to us, without giving themselves the trouble of bringing along with them some part of their Flesh or Skin, for the better Discovery of the whole. The Lord Chancellor answer'd, They are more Curious than you imagine, and instantly sent for a great piece of a dry'd Skull, with part of that kind of Horn on it, of about four Foot long. Being extremely rejoiced to see me hold in my hands so great a Rarity, and could scarce sufficiently feast my Eyes with the sight of it, as not understanding at first what it was, I intreated my Lord to give me leave to carry it home to my House, to look upon it there at my own leisure, which he readily granted. I found this Cranium or Skull much like that of the Head of a Whale, having two holes on the top, and which Penetrate to the Pallat or Throat: these two holes, being doubtless the two Passages, thro' which this Fish spouts up the Water it drinks: I took also notice, that what they call'd the Horn, proceeded out of the left side of its Jaw. I invited the most curious and ingenious of my Auditors, to be Eye Witnesses of so extraordinary a sight in my Closet; and among the rest sent for a Painter, who, in the presence of all the Company drew the Picture of that Skull, with the Horn, as it really was in Figure, and answerable to its bigness, according to the Original.

My curiosity stop't not here, but understanding that such another Creature had been taken near and carried into *Iceland*. I writ to the Bishop of *Hole*, whose name was *Thorlac Schalonius*, and had been formerly my Disciple at *Copenhagen*, to send me the Draught of that Animal, which he did accordingly; and sent me word at the same time, that the *Icelanders* call'd it *Narhual*, that is, a Whale that feeds upon dead Carcasses; for *Hual* signifies a Whale, and *Nara* a dead Carcass. 'Twas really the Picture of a true Fish, like a Whale: I promise to shew it to you in your Return from *Christianople*, with that of the Skull, I had from my Lord Chancellor *Frise*.

Narhual,
a great
Fish.

Mr. *Wormius* fail'd not at our return to fulfill his promise, and even beyond it; for not satisfied to shew me the Draughts of those Fishes, he led me into his Closet, where I saw upon a Table the Skull it self of that Animal, which my Lord Chancellor had formerly delivered to him. He had got it, (at his request) from a *Danish* Gentleman,

a Kinsman of Monsieur Frise, who being one of his Co-heirs, had got it for his share, and valu'd at 8000 Rixdollers; he had brought it 20 Leagues to *Copenhagen*, to shew it to my Lord Embassador. I must confess, that I could not sufficiently admire so exquisite a piece of curiosity. After he had carried it to my Lord Embassador, he was desirous to look upon it in the same Closet. His Excellency viewed it with more than ordinary Satisfaction, and intreated Mr. *Wormius* to lend it him, in order to have a draught made of it, which he intended to carry with him to *Paris*. This great Man, who has a great veneration for all virtuoso's will be glad to shew this Draught among his other curiosities he brings along with him from the North. As he has a particular affection for you, and for all those Gentlemen of the famous and ingenious Society of the Library of Monsieur *Bourdelot*; So I am certain, that his Closet (which he designs to furnish and accomplish, if God grants him life) will after his return into *France*, be free for you, and for all those Gentlemen.

There is no doubt, but that the name of *Unicorns*. Unicorn is Equivocal, and belongs to several Animals, as to the Onyx and *Indian As*, mentioned by *Aristotle*, and to that wild Beast, described by *Pliny* to have the head of a Stag, the Body of a Horse, and the Feet solid all of a piece like the Elephant; and besides this of a wonderful swiftness and strength, being the same Unicorn, mention'd in several places of the Holy Scripture. As to its Swiftness, the same is represented as so Marvellous that God will cause *Syrius*, (a Mountain of *Libanus*), to skip as the Foal of an Unicorn, and its strength so exalted that the Power of God is compared to it. The strength of God, (saith *Moses*, the leader of the Children of *Israel*), is like that of the Unicorn. Whence it appears that our Unicorns of the North, which we know to be Fish, must be of a different kind from the Unicorns believed to be in the South or Eastern parts of the World, and are without doubt Terrestrial Animals, when the Prophet *Isaiah* foretells the *Jews* that God would drive them and their Kings, (whom he names Unicorns) from *Jerusalem*. The Unicorns, saith he, shall descend with them: this cannot be understood but of a Terrestrial Creature; if the Prophet had supposed those Unicorns to be Fishes, 'tis likely he would have said, they shall swim, instead of, they shall descend. I will therefore call them, a kind of Sea-Unicorns, as others have done with Sea-Dogs, Sea-Calves, and Sea-Nolves. This name is not new, seeing *Barboline* a *Banish* Author, hath inserted a pe-

culiar Chapter of Sea-Unicorns, in his Treatise of Unicorns. Notwithstanding which, there remains still another difficulty, viz. whether these Sea-Unicorns (of which we are now speaking) be really Unicorns, and whether that we call their Horns, be truly Horns, or rather their Teeth. The Resolution of the first doubt depends upon the second; for them to be Teeth, those Fishes cannot properly be call'd Unicorns, because they have no Horns, and if they be Horns, they are doubtless Unicorns, because they have but one Horn. Mr. *Wormius* affirms, that they are Teeth and not Horns. And I find that *Angrim Jonas* calls them *Dentes* in that place of his *Specimen Islandicum*, where he speaks of a Bishop of *Greenland* named *Arnoldus*, being Shipwrack'd as he was sailing to *Norway*: the Ship being shatter'd to pieces by a Storm in the *Isthmus* to the West of *Island*. This Shipwrack happen'd in the Year 1126. He mentions the several things taken up out of this Shipwrack: *Reperi sunt*, saith this old Man, *Dentes Balenarum*, &c. There were cast ashore by the Tide precious and rare Teeth of Whales, *Runic* Letters done upon them, with a red Gum, not to be blotted out, that every one of the Seamen at the end of their Voyage might know their own. And 'tis certain, that this *Angrim Jonas* understands by these precious Teeth of Whales, the same which in *Denmark*, they call, and ought to be understood of those Horns we attribute to Unicorns, and of which we now treat; what makes me suppose them to be Teeth and not Horns, is, that *Aristotle* lays it down as an undoubted Truth, That all Unicorns, carry their Horns in the middle of their Fore-heads, but these Fish have that which we name Horns, at the end of their Snout, or under Jaw, or Gums, in the same place where Teeth are fixed. That the Horns are growing in the Fore-head *per Symphysim*, i. e. by an Adjunction, or natural Union with the Bone, but the Teeth are sunk into the Gums *per Gomphosim*, i. e. as a Wedge or Nail that enters the substance. This was plainly to be seen in that Skull, Monsieur *Wormius* shewed us, which was sunk into the Jaw near a Foot deep, and stretch'd out in length like a Lance, laid flat in the same manner as the Fish named *Pristes*, carries its Sythe, and the *Xiphius*, or Sword-fish wears its Sword.

I have taken notice of a very good reason, or rather Observation in *Aristotle*, concerning the Horn of these Unicorns. He says, That all the Animals that have two Horns, are Cloven-footed; but all Unicorns have but one solid Claw. That Nature had made the same Union, and the same Con-

*Lasting
Runic
Letter.*

junction

junction of Claws in the Feet, as of the Horns in the Head of the Unicorns, as it has made the same division of Claws and Horns in the Feet and Heads of other Animals. From whence it follows, that the only distinction of the Unicorns from the other Animals, consists in the Unity and Solidity of their Claws and Horns, and by the same reason that the Unicorns have their Claws in their Feet as the other Animals, they bear their Horns in the same place of the Head, namely in the Fore-head: And as the other Beasts that have two Horns, carry them on both sides of their Front: they that have but one, have it in the middle of the Fore-head. But as the Fish, we are speaking of, that have neither Claws nor Feet, cannot have any Horns in their Head, we may from hence conclude, that what some suppose their Horns, being fixed deep into their Jaws, and not fastned to their front, cannot properly be said to be Horns, and therefore are to be reckon'd as Teeth.

At first I my self was not of this Opinion, but as I was disputing about it with Monsieur *Vormius*, the great Marshal of *Denmark*, (of whose high Birth, eminent Vertues, and Dignities he possesses next to the King, my Letters have inform'd you before.) This great Person, who has honoured me with his particular Favour, and taken a singular satisfaction to satisfy my curiosity in every thing I could desire, told me in Relation to this matter, something that confirm'd me in my first Opinion, that they were Horns and not Teeth. He acquainted me, that the King of *Denmark*, his Master, designing to make a Present of a piece of this sort of Horns, that should be extraordinary beautiful and handsome, he ordered him to cause an entire Horn to be sawed near the Root, where 'tis biggest and most beautiful. As soon as he had sawed a little of the Horn, (which he fancied to be solid) he found it hollow within, and what surpris'd him most, in the same Concavity, another less Horn, of the same figure and substance as the great one. He order'd the great Horn to be sawed round without touching the little one; and found it to be grown in the inside of the great one, about a Foot long within the Concavity, the remainder of the great one being solid. This made me imagine that the Animals which bear those Horns, cast them as the Stags do theirs, that their great Horns fall off, and others come in their stead; and that it was doubtful for this Reason, that so many Horns separated from their Heads, were carried by the Ice Shoals unto the Coast of *Greenland* over *Island*: But I was soon convin-

ced to the contrary, when I saw the Skull before mentioned, and observ'd that long Root that was fixed in its Jaw bone, and that the very same thing that the said Minister told me, he had caus'd to be sawed, was a Tooth and no Horn: That also 'tis possible that Teeth fall, and others grow in their steads in these Fishes, as well as they fall and grow again in Children, and some Persons of a more advanced Age. 'Tis very frequent that such Teeth as fall are put out, and forced away by other new Teeth that begin to appear before the old ones fall away. The like never happens to the Stags, whose Heads after having cast their Horns, remain as bare as if they never had any, until such time as their new Horns grow again.

But for fear so long a Discourse of Horns should seem tedious, I will conclude it with saying something of the pretended Unicorn's Horn of *St. Denis*. I have told you, that it is altogether, and every where like that of *Denmark*. I will add to this, that the *Danes* are of Opinion, (as most certainly it is) that all those kind of Horns found in *Muscovy*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, came originally out of *Denmark*, where this sort of Merchandize was very frequent, whilst there was a Passage between *Norway* and old *Greenland*, and that they constantly cross'd the Seas from one Coast to the other. The *Danes*, who brought them to Sale in Foreign Countries had no reason to declare them to be Fishes Teeth, but sold them for Unicorn's Horns, to sell them at the higher rate; this they have not only practis'd formerly, but also continue to do it to this day. 'Tis not long since, that the Company of new *Greenland*, *Fishes* at *Copenhagen*, sent one of their Agents *Teeth sold* into *Muscovy* with several great pieces of these for *Horns* kind of Horns, and amongst the rest, one end of a considerable bigness, to sell it to the Great Duke of *Muscovy*. The Great Duke being extremely taken with the beauty thereof, he shew'd it his Physician, who understanding the matter, told the Great Duke, 'twas nothing but the Tooth of a Fish; so that this Agent returned to *Copenhagen* without selling his Commodity. After his Return; giving an Account of the Success of his Journey, he exclaimed against the Physician who had spoiled his Market by disgracing his Commodities: Thou art a half-headed Fellow, Replied one of the Directors of the Company, (as he told me since) Why didst thou not offer two or three hundred Ducats to the Physician, to persuade him that they were the Horns of Unicorns? You need not doubt, Sir, but that the Horn of *St. Denis*, did come Originally from the same place, and was sold in the same manner.

The Horn of St. Denis.

Fishes Teeth sold for Horns of an Unicorn.

I can't exactly tell you the time since I saw it; but if the remembrance of the Idea that remains in me, deceives me not, 'tis a Tooth like those they show in Denmark; for it has the same Root as the rest, hollow and Worm-eaten at the end like a rotten Tooth; this being granted as it is really True, I will positively affirm it to be a Tooth, fallen out of the Jaw bone of the same Fish known in *Island*, by the name of *Narhual*, and that consequently it is no Horn.

But it is time to return into *Greenland*. The Chronicle of *Island* tells us, That the Air of *Greenland* is milder and more temperate than in *Norway*: That there is not so much, nor such frequent Snow, neither the cold so excessive: Not but that it freezes very hard, and sometimes they have grievous Tempests; but those violent Frosts and great Storms happen not often, nor do they continue for any considerable time. The *Danish* Chronicle mentions it as a very strange thing, That in the year 1308, they were afflicted with such dreadful Thunders and Lightning in *Greenland*, that a Church named *Skalholt*, was burnt to the ground: That this Thunder and Lightning was followed by such a prodigious Tempest, that it

Air of
Green-
land.

A violent
Storm.

A strange
Shower of
Ashes.

overthrew the tops of several Rocks, which cast out such abundance of Ashes that they fancied it Rain'd Ashes. This Tempest was succeeded by an excessive cold Winter, the like had never been known in *Greenland*; the Ice continuing a whole year without melting. One time as I was relating this stupendous Rain of Ashes to my Lord Embassador, he inform'd me, that being at *Rechel*, a Sea Captain lately come from the *Canaries*, assured him that lying at Anchor about six Leagues from those Islands, there hapned to fall just such a Shower of Ashes, which lay as thick upon the Deck of his Ship, as if it had Snowed very hard. The cause of this sudden accident was attributed to a violent Earthquake, which having shaken the Fiery Mountains in the *Canaries*, the Ashes were by the Wind carried six Leagues into the Sea. 'Tis very probable, That the Ashes cast out from the *Greenland* Rocks, proceeded from the same cause, and that there are in that Country Sulphurous Mountains, and subterraneous Places, which burn like those of the *Canaries* and elsewhere. This may be verified by the Neighbourhood of Mount *Hecla* in *Island*, which lies much more Northerly than this Part of *Greenland*, as also by several Instances of other fiery Mountains in *Lapland*, much farther than the *Arctic Circle*: Besides what questionless

you may have taken notice of before, in the old Description of that Country, viz. That there are Baths there of such an excessive heat, that they are useful only in Winter.

The Summer in *Greenland* is always pleasant both Night and Day, if that continual twilight, that in Summer abides all the Night in the Air may be called Night. As the Days in Winter are very short, the Nights are consequently very long. Besides that, Nature produces there a wonder which I should scarce relate upon my own Credit, had not the *Island* Chronicle Recorded the same as a Miracle; and had I not an entire confidence in Monsieur *Relis*, who did Read and Interpret it to me.

In *Greenland* with the beginning of the Night, a certain Light arises either with the New Moon, or just before it, which gives light to all the Country, in the same degree and manner, as if it were full Moon; and the darker the Nights are, the more conspicuous the light appears. It takes its Course towards the North, whence it is call'd the *Northern Light*. It appears like a flying fiery Meteor, streaming along in the Air, as a high and long Palisado. As it moves from one place to another, it leaves behind it a Smoak in those places, through which it had passed; its swiftness being such, that none but such as have seen it are able to imagine it. It lasts all the Night and vanishes with Sun rising. The enquiry into the true cause of this Meteor, I will leave to those who are better versed in Natural Philosophy than my self, whether certain Vapours arising out of the Earth, enflamed by a continual Motion, are not the most probable cause thereof, as we see with the same swiftness those long Fuzes, or fiery Tongues, to kindle, which fall from, or pass thro' the Sky, or in the same manner as the flaming Meteors fly about the Church-yards. I have been told for certain, that this *Northern Light* is plainly seen as far as *Island* and *Norway*, when the Air is clear, and the Night not clouded with any Mists: It gives light, not only to the People of this Northern Climate; but also discovers it self in our Parts. Doubtless this Light is the same which I have heard mention'd by the most Learned, and judicious Philosopher Monsieur *Gassendi*, to have been frequently seen by him and nam'd *Aurora Borealis* or the *Northern Twi-light*. The most remarkable that he ever saw, was that seen all over France, *some Years* after the New Moon, the Night of the 13th of September, 1675. It only en-
Petrified, but described

described it at large, more compleat in his Learned Observations, and at the end of his Exercitations against Doctor Flud; whither I refer you, to avoid Prolixity; and to return to my former Relation.

The Danish Chronicle says; That in the Year 1271, a violent Wind from the North-east forced such a vast quantity of Ice shoals loaden with Bears and Wood, to the Coast of *Island*; that from thence they conjectured that what was discovered in the West of *Greenland*, was only a small part thereof; and that it extended a great way farther to the North-East. This persuaded some Seamen of *Island* to venture upon this Discovery, but could meet with nothing but Ice shoals, some Kings of *Norway* and *Denmark* having a long time before the same thought and design in their heads, they had sent thither several Ships, nay some of them went thither in Person; but with no better success than the Seamen of *Island*: What had induced them to attempt this Voyage, was either the Fame, or the general received Opinion grounded upon certain Reports that this Country abounded in Veins of Gold and Silver, and Precious Stones. Or perhaps that Passage in *Job* had made some impression upon their Mind, *Gold comes from the North*. Upon which Account I can't forbear to tell you what the same Danish Chronicle says upon that Subject, viz. That in former times certain Merchants return'd from thence with great Riches. It says also, That in the Reign of St. Olaf, King of *Norway*; some Mariners of *Friseland* undertook that Voyage for the same purpose; but being by violent Tempests forced among the Rocks of this Coast, they were forc'd to shelter themselves in some Creek. He further tells us, that when they adventur'd ashbor, they found not far from the Sea-shore some ill built Huts or Cabins half under ground; and about those Cabins, a great many Mineral Stones, glittering like Gold and Silver Ore, which made them resolve to take a good quantity along with them: In effect every one of them having taken as much as they could well carry away, as they were Marching off to their Ships, they saw coming out of these underground Huts, a good number of ill shap'd and ill look'd Fellows, resembling more the Devils than Men, with their Bows and Slings, and great Dogs at their heels. This oblig'd these Mariners to hasten their pace to preserve both themselves and their Treasure; but one of them, lowering behind him, had the Misfortune to fall into the hands of those Savages, who tore him immediately in pieces, in the sight of his Companions. The Danish Author tells, that this Country is full

Riches in the North.

of Riches, and therefore 'tis commonly said, That Saturn has hid here his Treasures, and Planted a sett of Devils here to guard them.

In the *Island* Chronicle, he has a peculiar Chapter intituled, *The Course and Navigation from Norway to Greenland*. The Course into *Greenland*, according to the Account given by the most skillful Pilots, born either in *Greenland*, or returned from thence lately, is as followeth. From *Nordstaden* *Sundthor* in *Norway*, you direct your Course towards the West, till ye come to *Horensunt*, on the Eastern side of *Island*, is seven days sail. From *Susfuels Fjokel*, a Sulphurous Mountain of *Island* to *Greenland*, the land. The strait course to *Greenland*. Shortest way is to sail towards the West. Half way between *Island* and *Greenland*, lies *Gundebuirne skær*. This was the old Passage before the Ice from the North rendred this Navigation very dangerous. 'Tis also Recorded, (but in a separate Paragraph) from *Languevies* to *Island*, (which is the most Northerly part towards the Pole) are eighteen Leagues to *Ostrebørn*, which signifies the *Eastern Horn*. From *Ostrebørn* to *Huals-biedde*; is twice 24 hours sail. I would not have any body to undertake a Voyage into *Greenland*, according to this direction; the same having always been, as far as I was able to learn, very difficult and dangerous; you may perhaps have taken notice of this from what I have said before, of the return of *Leiffe* into *Greenland*, to his Father *Errick*, surnamed the Red hair'd, from the fore-mentioned Shipwrack of Bishop *Arnold*, and the disasters that beset the Mariners of *Friseland*. The same *Island* Chronicle has another Chapter, Entituled, *A Copy taken out of an old Book call'd, Speculum Regale, or, The Royal Looking-Glass*. Concerning the Affairs of *Greenland*, the Contents whereof are plainer than the former. It says, That in former days, three large Sea Monsters of a strange shape, were seen in the Sea of *Greenland*. The first was by the *Norwegians* call'd *Haffstramb*, which appear'd from the Girdle upwards above Water; its Neck, Head, Face, Nose and Mouth, were altogether like those of a Man; only the Head was extraordinary high, and pointed towards the Crown. It had very large Shoulders; and at the extremities thereof two stumps like Arms, but without hands. The Body was but slender towards the middle; and keeping constantly under Water, below the Girdle, none ever saw the whole shape of this Monster. Its Countenance appear'd like Ice, and as often as it was seen above Water, it prov'd the forerunner of violent Storms.

The strait course to *Greenland*.

Three strange Monsters.

The second
Monster.

The second Monster was call'd *Marguer* in shape, (as far as the Girdle) not unlike a Woman, with large Breasts, its Hair hanging down behind, large Hands, at the extremities of its stumps of Arms with long Fingers join'd together, with a skin like the Feet of Geese. Sometimes this Monster has been seen holding a Fish in its Hands upon which it fed. It always portended an approaching violent Storm: if it dived under Water, with the Face towards the Mariners, 'twas a sign they should not be Shipwreck'd; but if it turn'd its back to them, 'twas an ill omen, foretelling that they should be cast away.

The third
Monster.

The third Monster was call'd *Hafgierdinguer*; being no Monster to speak properly, but three Mountains of Water rais'd by violent Storms, which occasioned a Whirlpool, that swallow'd up all the Ships that had the Misfortune to light within this Triangular Whirlpool, made by the Position of these Watery Mountains, out of which seldom any escap'd without Shipwrecking. This pretended Monster or Whirlpool, was occasioned by the Currents of the Sea, which meeting with turbulent Winds contrary to the Current, used to surprize and swallow up the Ships.

This same Book declares, That in this Sea are great heaps of Ice rais'd upon one another, appearing at a distance like huge Statues of strange shapes: It advises those that go into *Greenland*, to bend their Course towards the South-west, before they come near the shoar of that Country, by reason of the great quantity of Ice that swims on these Seas, at a great distance from the shoar, even in the Summer. It advises those that happen to be entangled among the great Ice shoals to put in practice what others have done, in such like emergencies, viz. to put their Longboat upon the thickest part of these Ice shoals, with all the Provision they have, and to stay there till this Ice carries them to some Land or other, or else it dissolves, when they may save themselves in their Long-boat.

How to
escape
from the
Ice shoals.

Here ends the History of old *Greenland*; but the History of *Denmark* tells us precisely, that in the year 1348, a furious Plague, call'd the *Black Pestilence*, carried away the greatest part of the Inhabitants of the North, and among the rest, the Seamen and Merchants of *Norway* and of *Denmark*, that were Members of the *Greenland Company* in both Kingdoms. And it is observable, That from this time on, the Voyages and Traffick into *Greenland* were discontinued, and began to be lost. Monsieur *Wormius*, as I remember, told me nevertheless, to have read in an old *Danish*

Manuscript, that about the year 1484, in the Reign of King *John*, there were in the City of *Bergen* in *Norway*, above 40 Seamen living that sailed every year into *Greenland*, and brought from thence several Commodities of great value: But having refused to sell them to certain *German Merchants*, come on purpose to *Bergen* to buy them, these *Germans* (without discovering their Design) invited those Mariners to a Supper, and destroyed them all in one Night. This Story as 'tis related carries but little probability along with it; there being at that time no such free, and frequent Passage betwixt *Norway* and *Greenland*. The Narrative I am entering upon being most certain that the Trade and Traffick which *Norway* and *Denmark* formerly had with *Greenland*, was then either quite decayed, or totally ruined.

You must understand Sir, That the Tributes and Customs of *Greenland* were anciently designed and employed to defray the Charges of the Table of the Kings of *Norway*; and that not a Mariner durst sail into *Greenland* without leave, upon pain of Death. It happened in the year 1389, That *Henry*, Bishop of *Garde*, went over into *Denmark*, to be present, as I told you before. At the Assembly of the States of this Kingdom, then Assembled in *Funen*, in the Reign of Queen *Margaret*, who united the two Crowns of *Norway* and *Denmark*. It happened, about the same time, That certain Merchants of *Norway*, who had cross'd the Seas to *Greenland* without leave, were accused of having Embezzled the Tributes and Customs belonging to the Queen's Table. The Queen treated those Merchants severely enough, for they had been infallibly hang'd, if they had not taken a strict Oath upon the Holy Bible, that they had been carried over into *Greenland*, not designedly but by a Storm. And that what Merchandises they had brought from thence were purchased with ready Money, without meddling in the least with the Queen's Revenues; they were discharged upon this Oath. However the severe Prohibitions made upon this occasion, together with the danger of the Seas, produced this Fatal effect, that since that time, neither Merchant, nor Mariner durst venture on this Voyage. The Queen, some time after, sent thither some Ships, which were never heard of since, supposed to be cast away, tho' it was never known either how or where, or in what manner they were lost. This put such a

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meeting no great Account of *Greenland* was not very forward to force them to these Voyages.

The *Danish Chronicle*, unto which I stand indebted for this History, says, That about the same time, viz. in the year of our Lord 1406, *Eskild Bishop of Drunthem*, in *Norway*, willing to take the same care of *Greenland*, as his Predecessors had done before: sent thither a certain Person named *Andrew*, to succeed in the place of *Henry*, Bishop of *Garde*, in case he was dead, or to send him word if he was alive. But since this *Andrew* took Shipping for *Greenland*, not the least News could be heard of him; and notwithstanding, all the inquiry that could be made, it was impossible to hear the least Tidings, either of him or of Bishop *Henry*. This was the last Bishop that was sent from *Norway* into *Greenland*.

The same *Danish Chronicle* gives us a Catalogue of the Names of all the Kings of *Denmark*, since Queen *Margaret*, to the Reign of *Christian IV.* the present King, with an exact Account of what happen'd in reference to the recovery of *Greenland*, in their respective Reigns. It is absolutely requisite, Sir, you should not be ignorant of this Succession, and of the Fatalities or Misfortunes, which have made us lose even the Knowledge of this Renowned Country, which in former days was so well known, inhabited, and frequented by the People of our World.

Erick of Pomerania succeeded to Queen *Margaret*, but as he was a Foreigner newly come into *Denmark*, he never took the Pains as much as to enquire, whether there was such a Country in the World as *Greenland*.

Christopher of Bavaria was Crown'd next after *Erick*, but being all the time of his Reign, employ'd in a War against the *Vandals*, then inhabiting *Pomerania*, had but little leisure to look after *Greenland*.

The Family of *Oldenbourg*, that now sways the *Danish Scepter*, began to Reign in the year of our Lord 1448. But King *Christian*, the first of that name, and of that Race, instead of bending his Thoughts towards the North, employ'd them in the South: For going in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, he got from the Pope the Propriety of the Country of *Dithmarsen*, to be annexed to the Crown of *Denmark*, and leave to establish an University at *Copenhagen*.

Christian the 11d. succeeded *Christian* the 1st, and solemnly promised at his Coronation, to use his utmost endeavours for the recovery of *Greenland*: But instead of recovering a Country lost by his Predecessors, he was forced to forsake his own Kingdoms. His

Vol. II. .

Cruelties having caus'd him to be driven out of *Sweden*, which Queen *Margaret* had united with the two Kingdoms of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and Establish'd in these three Kingdoms but one Government. He departed into *Denmark*, with the same furious Spirit that had possess'd him in *Sweden*, so that the *Danes*, not able to suffer him any more than the *Swedes*, depos'd him. Whence it is, That he is represent'd amongst the Kings of *Denmark*, with a broken Scepter in his Hand. His Lord Chancellor *Erick Valkanor*, a *Danish Gentleman*, remarkable for his Vertue, Wisdom and Wit, being made Arch-bishop of *Drunthem* after his Master's Disgrace, retir'd to his Archbishopsrick, where he employ'd his Mind and Skill in the recovery of *Greenland*. He perus'd all the Books that mention'd it: He examin'd all the Merchants and Mariners of *Norway*, that could in the least be supposed to have any knowledge of it, and caus'd a Map to be made of the Passage, leading to it. But just as he was upon the point of putting in Execution so laudable a design in the Year 1524, a great Lord of *Norway* pick'd a Quarrel with him, and forc'd him to abandon both his Archbishopsrick and the Kingdom, whence he departed to *Rome*, where he died.

Frederick the 1st. Uncle to *Christian*, had took Possession of the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*; and because the Faction of *Christian* was not altogether extinct, *Frederick* fearing the Interest of *Valkanor*, caus'd him to be driven out of *Norway*, and annull'd the Charters given to the respective Companies Erected for the Discovery and Recovery of *Greenland*.

Christian the 3d. succeeded *Frederick* who caus'd the Passage into *Greenland* to be Attempted, but those he sent, return'd without being able to find it out. This oblig'd this King to repeal all the severe Prohibitions and Orders Publish'd by the King's Predecessors, viz. That none should sail into *Greenland* without peculiar Licence. Instead whereof, he granted full Liberty to every one that had a mind to go thither without his leave. But the *Norwegians* being in those days so weak in Shipping, and so miserably Poor, were not in a condition to provide Ships for so difficult and dangerous a Voyage.

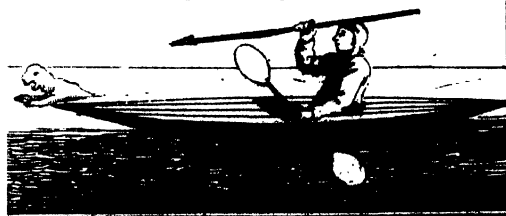
King *Frederick* the 2d. Inherited with the Kingdom his Father *Christian* the 3d's Design. He sent a certain Person named *Magnus Heingson* to discover *Greenland*. If we may rely upon the Author's Credit in reference to this Voyage, there is a Secret and hidden Cause unknown to all the World, that visibly stops and hinders the designs of recovering this Country. For after *Magnus Heingson*

6 B

Heingson



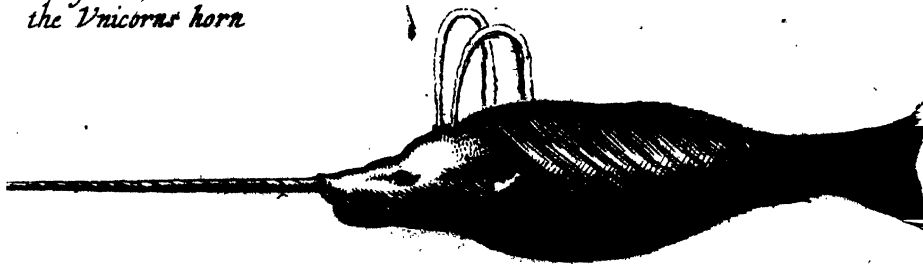
A Savage fishing in his boate



A little groenland boate



The fish the Islanders call Narwall, which has the horn, or tooth call'd the Unicorns horn



The head of the fish Narwall, with a piece of the tooth or horn, four foot long



savour'd still to draw *the English*,
 y casting a great deal of *the English* upon the
 coast, as if they had Dogged *the English*.
 ut finding the *English* to be afraid, they
 roach them, these Salvages contriv'd a
 ner Artifice. They carried a *the English*
 Drizzle to the Sea shore, and *the English*
 im, they departed, and *the English*
 me time, as if they were *the English*
 ff, or for good and all. They *the English*
 hat the *English*, according to the *the English*
 rangers, would come and carry *the English*
 weak and *the English*, (who could not
 hands) to make *the English*

s an *the English*. But the *the English*
 he Rat, discharged a Musquet at *the English*
 ble, which *the English* to that degree, that
 e was said to run away as fast as he could
 to the Ground. Then the *the English*
 ck'd in vast Numbers to the Shore,
 the sending whole Showers of Stones and
 Arrows out of their Slings and Bows, the
 only laugh'd at it, but in lieu
 of, gave them a Volley of Shot and Can-
 non Ball that dispers'd them all in a Mo-
 ment.

According to this Relation, those Salvages
 re Treacherous, Wild and so Barbarous, as
 not to be civilized by flattery. They are
 Gros of Body, and of an Olive Colour;
 tho' some are of Opinion, that there are a-
 mongst them Negro's as well as in *Ethiopia*.
 Their Cloathing is of Skins of Sea-Dogs
 together, with dry Nerves. Their
 walk with their Hair loose, they
 cast it behind their Ears to show their Faces,
 Painted with blew and yellow: They wear
 no Petticoats as our Women do, but many
 drawers made of Fish skins, which they put
 one over another; each pair of Drawers has
 its Pockets, where they keep their Knives,
 Thred, Needles, and small Looking-glasses,
 and other Trifles brought to them by Stran-
 gers, or cast ashore by the Tide of the Sea.
 The Shifts of Men and Women are made of
 the Bowels of great Fish, sewed together with
 very small Nerves. Both Sexes wear a kind
 of loose Garments which they girt with straps
 of the skins of Fish. They stink most nau-
 tiously, are nasty and filthy: Their Tongues
 serve them instead of a Napkin or Handker-
 chief, neither are they ashamed of what o-
 ther Men conceal and cover. Amongst
 them those are reckon'd the Richest who have
 most Bows, Slings, Boats, and Cars: their
 Bows are but short, and their Arrows slen-
 der, pointed with Bone or sharp Horns.
 They are very dexterous
 Bows and Slings, and in de
 in the Water

which hold no more than one Man at a
 time. Their great Boats are made of Wood
 fastned together, with *the English* Wooden Pegs
 and Ribbs, and covered with *the English* hales skins
 sewed together with very *the English* Nerves:
 these Boats carry at most *the English* Men
 at one time, *the English* Saye *the English*
 Rubiance as their *the English* the Bowels
 of Fish sewed together with small Nerves,
 and tho' there be many of these Ships,
 they are so artificial, and so closely joind
 together, that they don't advance in them
 a great way into the Main Sea, without
 dreading the most violent Storms or Tem-
 pelts. This Country produces *the English*
 Creatures except Spiders. They have
 abundance of Gnats, which with their
 raise large Pustules and Swellings in the
 Face. They have no fresh Water, but what
 they procure from the dissolved Snow.

The Author of this Chronicle is of Op-
 nion, that the violent Frosts blind, and stop
 the Veins of the Earth to such a degree, as
 to hinder the Passage of all Fresh Water
 Springs. Their Dogs are of an extraordinary
 size, so that they couple them together, and
 use them to draw their Carriages in the same
 manner as other People do with their
 Horses.

Here ends this Relation, which whether
 this *Danish* Author has taken out of the *Eng-
 lish* Travels of *Martin Vossius*, or whether
 he has written by hear-say, in imitation of
 those Ancient *Danish*, who made up and
 Compos'd the History of their times accord-
 ing to the Tales that were spread abroad in
 the World, I am not able to determine. But
 it is time to return to the Kings of *Den-
 mark*.

Christian the Vth. Son of *Frederick II.* Christian
 undertook once more the business of *Green-
 land*, resolving to leave no stone unturn'd for
 the discovery thereof, notwithstanding the
 ill success his Father and Grandfather had
 met with in this Attempt: In order to this
 Design, he sent for a Captain and skilfull
 Pilot from *England*, both well acquainted
 with those Seas, and the Course they were
 to take in this Voyage. The Captain and
 Pilot being arrived in *Denmark*, three stout
 Ships were Equip'd and committed to the
 Conduct of *Gotske Lindenau*, a *Danish* Gen-
 tleman, as Commodore, who set sail from
 the Sound in the beginning of the warm Sea
 son, in the Year 1605. These three Ships
 kept together for some time, till the *Engli-
 sh* Captain being come to the Elevation he
 long'd for, he steer'd his Course towards the
 the South-West, for fear of the Ice, that he
 might with the more safety and conveniency
 approach the Coast of *Greenland*. The
 Course he took seem'd suitable to the Anci-
 ent

His endeavours to recover *Greenland*.

Gotske Lindenau sailing to *Greenland*.

cats
 Dogs

Two courses into Greenland.

ent Passage from *Ifeland* mention'd before. The Relation whereof gives the same Directions. The *Danish* Commodore judging the *English* Captain to have taken the wrong Course to the South West, steer'd his Course to the North East, and arriv'd alone with his Ship in *Greenland*. As soon as he cast Anchor, divers Salvages that had discover'd him from the high Shoar, (where they Inhabited) leap'd into their little Boats, and came on board him. He receiv'd them with a great deal of Civility, and Welcom'd them with several Bumpers of excellent Wine; but these Salvages fancying it to be bitter, made very ugly faces at it; but seeing some Whale Oil, they desired something of that; accordingly great Pots being fill'd with it, they did drink them off very greedily. These Salvages brought Skins and Furrs, of Foxes, Bears, Sea-Calves, and a great many Horns, (which the Author calls Precious,) or at least some Picces, Ends and Stumps of them, which they exchanged for Needles, Knives, Lookinglasses, Buckles and other such like Trifles, which the *Danes* shewed them. They making not the least Account of the Gold and Coined Silver that was offer'd them, but express'd an earnest desire for all Steel-Works, a thing most in request among them, above all other Commodities. To purchase which, they were ready to part with what they esteem'd most precious, viz. their Bows, Arrows, Boats and Oars, and when they had nothing else to give, they stripped themselves of their Shirts. *Gorske Lindenau* continued three days in this Road, but the Chronicle does not say that he Landed here. Doubtless he was afraid to venture ashoar, and to hazard his small number of Men amongst such Multitudes of Salvages of this Country. He weigh'd Anchor and departed the 4th day, but before he set sail, detain'd on Board his Vessel two of those Salvages that were come to Traffick with him, who made such violent efforts to get out of the hands of the *Danes*, that they attempted to leap over Board into the Sea, so that they were forced to bind them. Those that remained a shoar, seeing their Companions chained and carried away, made a most dreadful noise, and sent whole showers of Arrows and Stones after the *Danes*; but these firing a great Gun at them, they were soon dispersed. The Commodore return'd alone with his Ship into *Denmark*.

The *English* Captain, with his and the other *Danish* Ship, arriv'd in *Greenland*, (as the Chronicle tells us) at the furthestmost end of the Land, to the West, which could be no other place but *Cape Farewel*: For 'tis most certain that he enter'd *Davis's* Gulph,

and sail'd a-long the Eastern Coast of that Gulph. He discover'd a great many good Harbours, a Beautiful Country and large verdent Plains. The Salvages of this part of the Country barter'd with them, as the Salvages of the other part of *Greenland* had done with *Gorske Lindenau*. These indeed seem'd to be much more wary, timorous and mistrustful than the others, for as soon as they had made any exchange of Goods with the *Danes*, they would run and leap into their Boats as if they had stolen them, or as if they had been pursued by an Enemy. The *Danes* being very desirous to Land in one of these Harbours, went ashoar well provided with all sorts of Weapons. The Country where they set foot ashoar, appear'd to them Pleasant and Pretty good but Sandy and Stony, like the Grounds in *Normay*. By the Exhalations and Vapours that issued out of the Earth, they concluded that there were divers Sulphurous Mines here, especially since they found a great many Stones supposed to belong to the Silver Mines which they carried over into *Denmark*; where out of one hundred weight of these Stones, they extract'd twenty six Ounces of Silver. This *English* Captain finding so many fine Harbours along this Coast, gave them *Danish* Names, and caus'd a Map to be drawn of them before his departure thence. He also seiz'd four of those Salvages, the most comely they could meet with, one of which was so enraged at his Captivity, that the *Danes* finding they could not drag him along with them, they beat out his Brains with the Butt end of their Musquets, which so frighted the other three that they followed them without any further Opposition. At the same time a Body of Salvages got together, either to revenge the Death of him that was kill'd, or to relieve those that were leading away into Captivity. To effect this, they got betwixt the Sea and the *Danes*, with an intention to engage them before they could reach the Harbour, and prevent their getting on Board. But the *Danes* having sent a volley of their small shot, seconded by their Cannon, among them, the Salvages frighted both with the Noise and the Fire, fled in great confusion, suffering the *Danes* to Embark without any farther disturbance, who were no sooner got on Board, but they weigh'd Anchor and returned into *Denmark* with the three Salvages, whom they presented to the King their Master, who declared that he thought them much better shaped, and less barbarous, than those two *Gorske Lindenau* brought along with him, being also very different from them in their Habit, Language and Manners.

Davis's
Gulph.

The

An Account of GREENLAND.

The King of Denmark well satisfied with this first Voyage, resolv'd on a Second: Accordingly the next Year 1606, he sent the same Gentleman *Gotske Lindenau*, with five good Ships into *Greenland*: He set sail from the *Saund* the 8th day of May, carrying along with him the three Salvages, the English Captain had taken in *Davis's Gulph*, for to make use of them as his Interpreters. Those poor harried Creatures express'd an unspeakable Joy when they understood that they were returning back into their own Country. One of them fell sick at Sea, died and was cast over board. *Gotske Lindenau* Steering his Course directly towards *America* (as the English Captain had done before) came to the South West point of the Gulph of *Davis* by *Cape Farewell*. One of his five Ships lost her Company in a Mist, but the other four arrived in *Greenland* the 3d of August. In the first Road where the *Danes* cast Anchor, the Salvages appear'd in great Numbers near the shoar, but would not Traffick with them, so that as they seem'd to be afraid of the *Danes*, those likewise would not trust them. This obliged them to hoist their Sails, and go up higher to another Place, where they met with a Harbour much more Commodious than the first, but the Inhabitants were as ill humoured as the former; for, being Jealous of the *Danes*, they threatned to fight them if they offer'd to set foot on shoar. The *Danes* not willing to trust these any more than the others, or venture upon a Landing, failed further; and as they Coasted along the shoar, the Salvages rowed along in their small Boats, and following them at some distance; the *Danes* found a means to surprize at several times, six of these Salvages, whom they carried aboard in their Boats belonging to their Ships. It happen'd that when the *Danes* had cast Anchor at the third Road, a Servant of *Gotske Lindenau*, a bold Fellow, earnestly intreated his Master to suffer him to go alone ashore, in order to try the Temper of those Salvages, alledging that he hoped either to intice them by the Commodities he would carry along with him, or to save himself by flight if they had any malicious design against him. The Admiral yielded at last to the importunity of his Servant, but no sooner had he set his foot on shoar, but he was taken; kill'd and torn in pieces by these Salvages, who after this Tragedy withdrew from the shoar, sheltering themselves behind the Hills, beyond the reach of the *Danes's* Cannon. The Knives and Swords, which were the weapons of the Horrid Creatures, were call'd *Uliks*, and were as keen as *Gotske Lindenau*.

not likely to get much advantage by staying in this Country, set sail for *Denmark*, but one of his *Greenland* Prisoners was so much afflicted at his removal from his Native Country, that in despair he cast himself over board into the Sea and was drown'd.

The *Danes* in their return home, met with the first ship that was separated from them in this Voyage, but did not keep together above five days, when by a most violent Storm they were again separated and scatter'd from one another in such a manner, that they did not meet again till a Month after the storm ceas'd. After much Labour, Hazzard, and a thousand Difficulties they return'd to *Copenhagen* the first day of October following.

The King of Denmark having taken a resolution undertook the third and last Voyage into *Greenland*; he sent two great Ships under the Command of a certain Captain, a Native of *Holstein*, named *Karsten Rickhardsen*, who took into his Service some of the best Mariners of *Norway* and *Iceland*, who being well versed in those Seas, were to serve him as Guides in the dangerous Enterprize. The Chronicle says, this Captain set sail from the *Saund*, the 13th day of May, without mentioning the Year, which I could never learn. The 8th day of June following, he discovered the tops of the Mountains of *Greenland*, but he could not come near the shoar, by reason of the vast Ice shoals that were settled near to the shoar, and extended a great way into the Sea. The Ice being heap'd upon one another, appear'd at a distance like Mountains or high Rocks. Upon this occasion the Author observes, that some Years the Ice of *Greenland* never melts all the Summer. Thus the Captain of *Holstein*, finding no means to approach the shoar, and being besides this separated by storm from the other Ship, before he came to these vast Ice Mountains, was obliged to return without being able to compass his design. However the King of *Denmark* was pleas'd to admit of his Excuses and the difficulties he alledg'd in his behalf. Perhaps you will be curious to know what became of the four first Salvages, and of the five last, the Remnants of all they had taken in the two first Voyages into *Greenland*: I will give you, Sir, a brief Account of them.

The King of *Denmark* appointed certain Persons to take particular care of their food, and to look after them, with this proviso, however, that they should bear liberty to walk where they pleas'd. Their food was Milk, Butter, Cheese, raw Flesh, and Fishes, after the same manner as they used to feed in their own Country. It being found impra-

The third Adventure.

Is prevented so approach the shoar by the Ice.

As Account of some Salvages carried from Greenland into Denmark.

fitable to accustom them to our Bread, or roasted or boil'd Meat, much less to our Wines; but they swallow'd nothing more greedily than great draughts of Oil, or of Whale's Grease. They often turn'd their heads towards the North, and by their sighs express'd the desire and affection they bore to their Native Country, that after their Keepers were removed, some of them who could get to their little Boats and Oars, put off to Sea, with an intention question-lets to cross the Seas; but being surpris'd by a Storm about 10 or 12 Leagues from the *Sound*, were forced upon the shoar of *Schonen*, where being taken by the *Peasants* they were brought back to *Copenhagen*, where they were more strictly guarded by their Keepers afterwards, which put them into such a Melancholy humour, that they pined themselves to death.

However there being five of these Salvages alive, a *Spanish* Ambassador came into *Denmark*, the King being willing to give the said Minister the Divertisement of seeing these Salvages to row in their little Canoo's or Boats, they perform'd the same with extraordinary dexterity.

But to give you the best Idea I can of the shape of these Boats, I would have you fancy the *Weaver's* Shuttle, of 10 or 12 foot long, compos'd of large Whale Bones, of the thickness of an Inch, or thereabouts, cover'd both within and without, (not unlike the sticks of an *Umbrello*), with the skins of Sea-Dogs, and Sea-Calves, stitched together, with the Nerves of the same Creatures.

Their Boats
and man-
ner of u-
sing them.

We must also suppose this Engine or Boat to have a round hole on the top, in the middle about the compass of both the thighs of a Man; and that it grows narrower and narrower by degrees, at both ends proportionably to its bigness, (like our Watermen's Boats upon the *Thames*.) The chief strength and ingenuity of the whole Engine, consisting chiefly in the junctures at both ends, where these Whale bones are join'd and fastened together; and in the Opening, Hole, or Circle above, in the Circumference whereof all the Whalebones from the lowermost parts meet; the Demi-circle underneath being fastened to the uppermost Circle, or round Hole like a Rudder; where it opens towards its *Paniers*: It is further to be observed, that all the Whalebones underneath and of the sides of the Boat either pass thro' or end in this Demi-circle; and that every thing is so well join'd together, that what with its light weight, and the good management of the Rower, it will bear against the most violent Storms at Sea.

The Salvages when they are to make use

of these Boats, get into them by the Hole or Open, at the Top, and stretching their Legs towards one or other of these two ends, stop the overtures left with their Waistcoats, made of Dog or Sea-Calves skins; these they fasten close to their middle, and the Hole wherein they sit, and cover their heads with certain Bladders or Caps ty'd to the upper part of their Waistcoats, that let the Weather be never so bad, and the Sea never so boisterous; may tho' they are dip'd sometimes over head and ears, (which often happens) they are never the worse for it, no Water entering either thro their Cloaths, or into their Boat. Thus they always swim on the Surface of the Water, and are in less danger in Tempestuous Weather than a large Ship.

They use only one Oar, not above 5 or 6 foot long, and half a foot broad at both ends, which they manage with both hands, grasping it in the middle where it is round.

I did not tell you without very good reason, that the shape of these Boats resemble a *Weaver's* Shuttle, it being certain that the Shuttle manag'd by the most dexterous Workmen, does not go forward with the same swiftness as these Boats do upon the Water, by the dexterity of these Salvages: The *Spanish* Ambassador was extremely delighted to see five of them perform their Task with such incredible swiftness, and to cross and pass by one another with so violent a motion, without touching their Oars or Boats.

The King of *Denmark*, being curious to try the uttermost of their strength, Order'd a Sloop to be Mann'd with 8 pair of Oars, to Row against them, but they were so nimble, that the Sloop could scarce overtake them. The Ambassador was so generous as to give a Present of Money to every one of these Salvages, which they bestow'd in Cloaths after the *Danish* Fashion: Now some of them bought themselves Boots and Spurs, and Feathers in their Hats, offering to serve the King on Horseback.

But they were soon after seiz'd with their former Splenetic fits; all their thoughts being bent upon their Native Country. Two of these mention'd before, who got out at Sea, and were cast upon the shoar of *Schonen* being not so strictly guarded as the rest, because no Body believed they would run the same hazard again, (after their first deliverance) did once more Attempt to row in their Boats end the Seas, steering their Course towards the North; they were pursued as far as the Entrance of the *Sound*, but could not be overtaken; so that it is probable they were lost, it being not likely they could reach *Greenland* in their small Boats.

was generally observed, that these Salvages would burst out into Tears, as often as they saw a Child on his Mothers or a Nurses Breast; questionless because they were Married and could not forget their Wives and Children, they had been forced to leave behind them.

Those that remained at Copenhagen had a strict Guard put upon them, which served only to encrease their desire to return to their Native Country, because they now despaired of ever seeing it again.

This had such a Powerful influence upon their Minds, that they all died with vexation, except two who outliv'd their Companions about 10 or 12 Years. The Danes did what they could to render their Captivity easie, representing to them, that they were, and always should be treated among them like Friends and Country men; which seem'd to have some influence upon them.

The next thing they did, was to endeavour to instruct them in the Christian Faith, but as they could never be brought to learn the Danish Tongue, and that Faith comes by hearing, it was impossible to make them truly sensible of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion.

Some People who had taken particular Notice of their Actions, did observe them frequently lifting up their Eyes towards Heaven, and to worship the Rising-Sun. One of them died at Colding in *Gotland*, being employed in Fishing of Pearls in the Water.

For it is observable, Sir, that the Mussels in Denmark are so full of Seed Pearls, (as they call them) that scarce any are without them; of these Mussels, vast quantities are taken in the River of Colding; and some among the rest, which contain very good

The Greenland Salvages have

portunity of the next fair day, cross'd the Seas to the opposite shoar of the Sound, before any body had the least suspicion of his flight; however he was pursued and overtaken, but not before he was got betwixt 30 and 40 Leagues at Sea. Being given to understand by certain signs, that he must have been infallibly swallow'd up by the Waves of the Sea, before he could reach the Greenland shoar; he answered by signs, that his intention was to keep along the Coast of Norway, to a certain light, from whence he would have cross'd over to Greenland, by the direction of the Stars. After his return to Copenhagen, he died for grief. This was the end of the unhappy Greenlanders.

They were much the same, as I formerly described to you the Laplanders, of a low stature and broad shoulder'd, *furti pectore & armis*, strong limb'd, flat Nosed, with large thick Lips. The remnants of their Boats, Oars, Bows, Arrows, Slings and Garments, are to be seen to this day in Denmark. I had the opportunity of seeing two of their Boats with their Oars at Copenhagen, one at Mr. Wormius's, and the other at the Landlord's of our Ambassadour. The said Mr. Wormius has also some of their Garments made of Dogs and Sea-Calves skins, some of their shirts made of the guts of Fishes, one of their Vests made of the skin of a Bird, with the feathers on it of various colours; as also their Bows, Arrows, Slings, Knives, Hangars, and their Javelins or Darts, which they use in Fishing, pointed at the extremities (as well as their Arrows) with Horns, or Teeth sharpened at the Points. I also saw here a Greenland Almanack, compos'd of 25 or 30 small Canes or Reeds, fastened to a piece of a sheep-skin, but the Use thereof was known to no-body but the Greenlanders themselves.

ment, where he gave him assistance. The Salvage being an excellent Diver, brought up abundance of the best Mussels, and for the most part some of that kind, which contained very good Pearls; The Governour was so pleas'd at this Success, that imagining no otherwise, but that in a little time he should be able to sell his Pearls by the Bushel, he made this Poor Salvage dive continually for Pearls (notwithstanding the Rigour of the Winter Season) to such a degree, that at the last the cold kill'd him.

His Companion now become inconsolable by his Death, made Shift to get into one of their little Boats, and taking the op-

portunity of the next fair day, cross'd the Seas to the opposite shoar of the Sound, before any body had the least suspicion of his flight; however he was pursued and overtaken, but not before he was got betwixt 30 and 40 Leagues at Sea. Being given to understand by certain signs, that he must have been infallibly swallow'd up by the Waves of the Sea, before he could reach the Greenland shoar; he answered by signs, that his intention was to keep along the Coast of Norway, to a certain light, from whence he would have cross'd over to Greenland, by the direction of the Stars. After his return to Copenhagen, he died for grief. This was the end of the unhappy Greenlanders.

Whilst they were busy in exchanging these Commodities, a Cannon aboard one of these Ships happened to be discharged at the drinking of a Health; the sudden noise whereof put these poor Wretches into such a consternation, that they run over-board into their Boats, and so put to Sea, with such swiftness, that they could scarce well perceive them, till about 200 or 300 Paces from the Ship. The *Danes* surpris'd at their unaccountable fear, gave a signal to these Salvages to return, which they did, as soon as they saw the fire and smoke quite gone. Their manner of Traffick is thus: Having chosen what Commodities they like best, they put them together in one bundle; this done, they put in another bundle what Commodities they are willing to exchange for them; and thus adding or diminishing till both Parties are satisfied, the bargain is struck at last.

Much about the same time that the *Danes* were busy in exchanging their Commodities with those of the Salvages, they saw one of these *Marine Unicorns* lying upon the shoar, where being cast by the Tides, it was left wallowing upon the Sands. As it is generally reported of these Sea-Calves, that they love to feed upon Grass; so it is likely that these Fishes (which may well be call'd Sea-Oxen) take delight to come now and then ashoar.

The Salvages had no sooner discovered the Prey, but they attack'd and kill'd the Fish, and after they had beaten his Horn or Teeth into several Pieces, carried them aboard immediately and sold them to the *Danes*. This Fish which appears to defenceless ashoar, is very fierce at Sea, being the same thing at Sea to the Whale, that the Rhinoceros is to the Elephant among the Terrestrial Beasts; for he will engage the Whale, and run his Tooth into his sides. Some affirm, that they are of such strength as to be able to split a Vessel at Sea, if they run their Teeth against it, and that several Ships have been sunk by them.

However this Traffick was not the main Reason that had induc'd the *Danes* to bestow such vast Charges upon those Voyages: The Pilot it seems, who was the chief Conductor of these Ships, had formerly taken notice of a certain Tract near the Sea shoar on that Coast, the Sand whereof had both the Colour and full Weight of Gold Oar, he thought it best to improve this opportunity, he gather'd as much of it, as the Ship aboard of which he was, could well carry, and so set sail for Denmark, telling the Ship's Crew that they were all Rich enough, if they could come safely thither.

The Great Marshal of Denmark, who was

Governour and the first Establisher of this Company, being surpris'd at their sudden return, the Pilot told him, that his Ship being loaden with Gold, they had done their Business beyond expectation. But the Great Marshal being a Person not easily to be impos'd upon, he sent some of this Sand, to the Gold-Smiths of Copenhagen, who not being able to bring as much as one single grain of Gold out of it, the Grand Marshal was so enraged at the folly of the Pilot, that, to give all Possible demonstrations that could be to the rest of the Company, that he had not the least hand in so gross a Misadventure, he commanded the Pilot immediately to weigh Anchor and to throw the whole charge of his pretended Gold Oar into the Baltic Sea: The Pilot was forced to obey, but finding himself at once despoiled of all his hopes, died soon after, as it is suppos'd, for grief.

However the Great Marshal had sufficient occasion afterwards to repent of this rash resolution; for (as he told me himself) not long after, such another Gold Dust or Sand being found in the Mines of Norway, an Assaymaster, who was lately settled at Copenhagen, found means to separate a considerable quantity of Gold, in proportion of the Oar, so that the *Danes* in all probability, lost a great Treasure by the ignorance of the other Goldsmiths (in whose skill they confided) who perhaps would not have drawn any Gold ever out of the Oar of Peru.

This was the last Voyage undertaken by the *Danes* for the Discovery of Greenland; in this Voyage they brought along with them, that great piece of an Unicorn's horn, which, as we told you before, the Great Duke of Muscovy's Physician discover'd to be the Tooth of a Fish; which the Master of the House, where the Ambassador Lodged, and who belong'd to the Greenland Company, shew'd us, being valued at 6000 Rix-dollars.

The Danish Ship at the time of their departure from the Greenland Coast, seized two of the Salvages of that Country aboard them, in order to carry them to Denmark: After they were come into the Main Sea; they loosened these poor Wretches of their Bonds, who guided by a violent desire after their Native Country, laid hold of the first opportunity, and throwing themselves over-board, did endeavour so much that Shoar by swimming, that as they were devoured by the Fishes, being too great a distance from the Coast.

I have now given you an Account of what has been done, as well of the Old as the New Discoveries, the first Inhabited, by the Europeans, and the second discover'd by

by the *Norwegians, Danes and English*, whilst they were endeavouring to recover the Passage in the first. 'Tis very probable that the Passage between the *Old Greenland* and *Island*, has been stop'd up by the vast Ice shoals forced thither during the extremity of the Winter Season; and by the strong North-East Winds from the *Frozen Sea*, and gathered into vast Ice Mountains in these Straights; whereby the free Passage for Ships being quite interrupted, those Mariners who were sent in quest after the Recovery of *Old Greenland*, were forced to steer their Course towards the *Cape Farwel*, and the *Gulph of Davys*, lying to the East, being that part of the Country now known by the name of *New Greenland*; it being certain by so many reiterated tryals and experiments, that the Passage betwixt *Island* and the *Old Greenland*, has been quite lost, which must be attributed to its being stopped up by the Ice Mountains.

The *Island Chronicle* in that Chapter which treats of the Old Passage, mentions something which seems much to confirm the Truth of this assertion, *viz.* That half ways betwixt *Island* and *Old Greenland*, there were a considerable Number of small Rocky Isles, frequented only by Bears; betwixt which, it is likely, these Ice shoals might be forced in betwixt those Rocks, with such violence, and in such vast heaps, that the Sun being not strong enough to melt them in the Summer Season; they became in process of time to be petrified, and consequently stop'd up the whole Passage into the *Old Greenland*; so that ever since there has not been the least News heard of the Posterity of those *Norwegians* that settled there.

'Tis not unlikely, that the same Plague which raged in 1348, all over the North, being transplanted out of *Norway* into *Greenland*, did sweep away most of their Inhabitants, as it happened in divers other Countries of the North. I am apt to persuade my self, that *Gotske Lindenau*, who as I told you, steer'd his Course to the North-East, in his first Voyage, did either actually come to the shoar of the *Old Greenland*, or at least very near it; and that the two Salvages he took in those Parts, were actually of the Posterity of the Ancient *Norwegians*, that settled in *Old Greenland*.

On the other hand, I have heard it affirm'd by very considerable Persons, who saw and conversed with them at *Copenhagen*; that neither these, nor the other Salvages, brought from the *Gulph of Davys* (tho' much different both in their Manners and Language) had nothing either in their Language or Manners, that had the least Re-

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lation either with *Denmark* or *Norway*; nay, that the Language of those Salvages was so far from having any Congruity with that of the *Danes and Norwegians*, that even they could not as much as understand one word they said.

The *Danish Chronicle* takes particular notice, that the three Salvages brought from the *Gulph of Davys* by the *English Pilot*, spoke so fast and thick, that one could not hear them speak distinctly, except these words, *Oxa indecha*; the signification of which words, no body has been able to understand hitherto. 'Tis beyond all dispute, that That part of *Greenland*, known by the name of the *Old Greenland*, is only a slender part of that vast Tract of Northern Land, so often mentioned in this Treatise, and, that the shoar is opposite and nearest to *Island*, as also that the *Norwegians*, who settled there, did not advance very far into the Country, no more than those, who since that time have discover'd the *New Greenland*, did never advance farther than to the Ports, and upon the shoar; the most of them (as we told you before) not daring as much as to venture to set foot ashoar.

I had it from the Lord Great Marshal of *Denmark's* own Mouth, that in the last Voyage made thither by the *Danes* in 1636, they by certain signs enquired of the *Greenlanders*, who came to Traffick with them, whether there lived another People like themselves, beyond the Mountains, they saw about 10 or 12 Leagues distant from the Sea side; whereupon the Salvages did give them to understand by certain signs, that there actually lived other Men, having no hair upon their heads, on the other side of those Mountains, That they were of a Gyantick Stature, with vast Bows and Arrows, killing all strangers that came into their Country. But no real certainty can be given of these People, no more than of the Country they Inhabit; both the Ancient and Modern Histories being silent in this Point; the only thing we are certain of, is, That *Greenland* is without Comparison of a much larger extent, than has been hitherto discovered by the *Norwegians, Danes and English*.

I was willing to enlarge my self the more upon this Subject, in order to the representing to you, two other things: (1.) That it is not very certain, whether *Greenland* is coherent with the Continent of *Asia*, near the *Grand Tartary*; (2.) No more, than whether it be contiguous to *America*. Concerning the first, I can tell you, that the vast Ice Mountains near *Nova Zembla*, have hitherto so infested the Passage thereabouts, that no body has been able to determine, whe-

ther there be a Passage that way into the Sea of the East; For tho' the most skillfull Pilots and Mariners have been employed in finding it out, they could never come beyond the Cape of *Spitzbergen*, accounted by the *Danes* a part of *Greenland*, whereabouts they catch most of the Whales, Transported afterwards into *Europe*: The *Dutch* here have their Huts for the management of their Trade, and with other Nations, send thither Ships every Year.

I can't upon this occasion forbear to give you an Account of what I had the Honour to learn from the *Grand Marshal of Denmark's* own Mouth, concerning this Part of *Greenland*, and the adjacent Sea: Nay, such was his Generosity, that not satisfied to have told it me by way of Mouth, he would give himself the trouble of writing it in a Letter to me, which I carefully preserve as a glorious Proof of his generosity and favour towards me, in hopes of meeting before long, with a favourable opportunity of showing the same to you. But what do I say of showing you his Letter, when there is so great a Prospect, that you may suddenly see his Excellency in Person; it being at present reported here at the *Hague*, as a thing unquestionable, that this great Person, with the Countess *Eleonor* his Spouse, the Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, are gone lately from *Copenhagen* to *France*, where this great Personage is to reside with the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary, from his Majesty of *Denmark*: This is the same great Person, of whose most excellent qualifications, I have sent such ample Praises to our dear Friend *Mr. Burdett*, when I gave him an Account of that Famous Interview betwixt the two Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* and *Denmark* at the Bridge of *Brensbroe* on Account of a Negotiation of Peace, betwixt the two Northern Crowns; which was at last happily concluded by the intercession, and indefatigable Care of my Lord Ambassador from our most Illustrious King: This Interview was one of the most Glorious that had been seen for a long time, where the two Greatest Men of the two Northern Crowns, viz. the *Grand Marshal of Denmark*, and the Lord Chancellor of *Sweden*, did meet one another with an unexpressible Veneration, and all the marks of a most generous Courage; and our Ambassador had there the Honour to Establish a most intimate Friendship between those two great Personages.

Of the Lord Chancellor of *Sweden*, I shall have occasion to speak upon another occasion, and it is beyond my present purpose to enter upon a Panegyrick of the *Grand Marshal of Denmark*, so I will only assure you, that whenever you shall have the opportunity of seeing this Great Minister, you will be satisfied both in respect of his extraordinary Courage and refined Wit, and by his noble Presence, that he not only deserves the Honour of managing all the Affairs of Moment in the North, but also of a far greater Empire.

Add to these his Historical Vertues, that he is a compleat Philosopher who disdains all Pomp and Vanities, but in lieu hereof is endowed with the most generous Inclinations in the World, which renders his Conversation the most agreeable in the Universe. This great Person had in his Service among many others, a certain *Spanish* Gentleman named *Leonin*, who being a great Naturalist he sent him to *Spitzbergen*, in order to give him an account of what observations he could make there; whereof I will give a brief Account.

This Country is situate under the 78 degree of Elevation, and not improperly call'd *Spitzbergen*, i. e. peaked Mountains from those peaked Mountains wherewith it is covered. These Mountains are a Mixture of Sand or rather Gravel, and small flat Stones joined pretty close together, not unlike that which we commonly call the grey *Ardoise* stone. The Mountains increase in Bulk every Year, so as to be plainly discovered by those who sail that way; *Leonin* went altho, as deep into the Country as he durst venture, and found the whole Country, as far as his Eyesight could carry, all covered with these peaked Hills; and met with no living Creature except some few Foxes; he was not a little surpris'd to discover upon one of these Hills, about a League from the Sea side, a small Mast of a Ship, with one of its Pulleys still fastened to it; this made him ask the Seamen how that Mast came there, who told him they were not able to tell, but were sure they had seen it as long as they had used that Coast. Perhaps formerly the Sea might either cover or come near this Mountain, where some Ship or other being stranded, this Mast is some remnant of that Wreck.

They have some Grass, but so short, ^{A description of} that it is scarce to be seen above Ground, or beyond the Stones; for to speak properly, ^{tion of} here is scarce any Earth, but only small ^{Spitzbe} Stones or Gravel, betwixt which comes forth a sort of Moss, like that which grows upon the Banks of Trees; in other parts ^{gen.} of

of the Northern Climate, which serves for food for the Reindeer, and is so nourishing to them, that they become absolutely fat by it; and I remember that the Grand Marshal had once one of these Creatures kill'd, which had at least four Inches of fat.

This Country is a Desert, and not Habitable, by reason of the excessive Cold, for tho' the Sun does not set here for four whole Months in the Year; and that for 6 Weeks more, it does not go below the Horizon above 3 Ells: To speak after the *Danes*, who seem to have taken their mensuration of the Heaven from *Virgil*; meaning that at Midnight (if you may so call it) the Sun does approach only within 11 degrees and half of the Horizon in this Country for the space of 6 Weeks: As the Cold is very fierce here, so the Sunbeams are very bright and piercing, and consequently this subtilty of the Air, encreases the effects of the Cold.

There is no living near these Mountains, which scarce having any solidity, they constantly send forth certain exhalations, which pierce the whole Body in a very little time; To prevent which, the best remedy is to expose your self to the Sunbeams in a Place where they may surround you on all sides without any obstacle.

They have great quantities of Bears in this Country; they are all white, some living in the Water, others upon the shoar. They are commonly seen swimming a good way out at Sea, or else upon the great Ice shoals. The Grand Marshal had caused several of these Creatures to be taken alive, which he kept at *Copenhagen*; and when he had amind to shew some sport to his acquaintance, they used to take a walk along the Sea shoar, and in some Sandy but deep place where the Water was very clear, cause these Bears to be thrown into the Water, where they could see them dive quite to the bottom; he told me, that it was one of the best Diversions in the World, to see those Creatures plunge themselves down to the bottom of the Sea, and to sport there for two or 3 Hours successively; nay, he believed they would have continued there for a whole day, had they not been drawn out by the Ropes and Chains that were fastened round their Bodies.

Tales of Spitzbergen. The Sea of *Spitzbergen* produces abundance of Whales of such a bigness, that some taken herabouts have been found to be no less than 200 foot long, and of a proportionable bigness in the Circumference their Bodies. But they frequently take

those of 130 and 160 foot long. These vast Creatures have no Teeth, and within these vast Bodies, they seldom find any thing, except 10 or 12 handfull of a kind of small black Spiders, progenerated by the corrupted Air of the Sea; and some small quantity of green Herbs tore up from the bottom of the Sea; it is most probable that these Whales don't live upon these Spiders, neither upon these Herbs, but upon the Sea, which produces both; the Sea herabouts being so covered with these Insects, that it appears quite black, an infallible sign to those who go about catching of Whales, that they are likely to make a good booty; the Whales generally delight in that part of the Sea, which produces these Insects.

Sometimes they take of these Whales in so vast numbers, and in so prodigious a bigness, that the Ships are not sufficient to carry all the Lard, but are forced to leave part of it behind them, in order to carry it away the next Year.

It is observable that never any thing corrupts or putrifies in this Country; even the dead Carcasses buried 30 Years before, appear as entire and as well coloured, as they did at the same Moment they gave up the Ghost.

Here are certain Hutts erected a long time ago, for the convenience of boiling the Whale Oil or Greese; these appear the self-same, without the least alteration, now, as they did from the beginning, when they were built, the Wood being as firm and as fresh, as it was the day it was cut from the Tree. To speak the truth of these Northern Parts, the dead fare better here than the living; for if the first don't Corrupt the living don't keep long in Health; witness poor *Leonin* (before mentioned) who returned from this Voyage so cramp'd with Cold, that he lived not long after.

All the Birds you meet with here, are Water-birds, there being not one kind of them living upon Land. They have Ducks in great abundance, besides divers other sorts of Water-fowl not known to Strangers. The Grand Marshal of *Denmark* has several of them by him stuffed out, it being impossible to bring them to *Copenhagen* alive. Their Feathers and Beaks, are not unlike those of the *Paroquets*, and their Feet are like those of the Ducks. Those that have taken them, assure us, that they sing very deliciously, especially when many of them sing together, they make a most harmonious noise.

Those that sail to *Spitzbergen* to catch Whales, arrive there in the Month of *July*, and

and return from thence in *August*. If they come before *July*, they can't Approach the Shoar, by reason of the vast Ice shoals, and for the same reason they must not venture to stay longer than about the middle of *August* at farthest; for nothing is more frequent than to see vast Ice shoals in these Seas, sometimes 60, 70, or 80 Fathoms thick.

*Que tantum vertice ad nivas Aëreas,
Quantum radice ad Tartara tendunt.*

For in certain places near this shoar, the Ice shoals are so thick, that they reach the bottom of the Sea, and these encreasing by degrees, by the occasion of new Ice shoals, arise as high above the Surface of the Water, as they are deep below it. These Ice shoals are as bright and transparent as Glais: What renders the Navigation hereabouts most dangerous, is, the uncertainty of the Currents, occasioned, as I suppose, by the sudden melting of the Ice, which sometimes congeals and melts in different Places, at no great distance, at the same time.

Uncertainty about Greenland whether a Continent or Isle.

It ought therefore not to seem strange to you, if I am not able to resolve absolutely the first Proposition, *viz.* whether *Greenland* is coherent to the Continent of *Asia*, and the *Grand Tartary* or not; by reason of the vast distance there is between us and the *Frozen Sea*; the uncertainty of the melting of the Ice, the violence of the Tempests that reign frequently near these Coasts, the uncertainty of the true Course to be taken, the Defarts you meet with there, and what is worst, the want of all manner of Subsistence and Conveniencies in these Defarts. all these taken together, are such insurmountable obstacles, as render this Discovery past all hopes of Success: The second Proposition being involved in no less difficulties than the first; we can with no more certainty affirm of this, than of the former, whether *Greenland* joins with the Continent of *America* or not.

Of this I can give you not a more convincing Proof, than what I intended to oblige you with, *viz.* The Account of a Voyage made by a *Danish* Captain named *John Munk*, (which I promised you long ago) who attempted the Discovery of the *Eastern Passage*, towards the North-West, betwixt *Greenland* and *America*; the same being not in the least Foreign to my present purpose; for besides that it contains no small varieties, it has a particular relation to *Greenland* and the adjacent Isles.

Munk's Voyage to discover a Passage between Greenland and

The King of *Denmark* (that now Reigns) being prevailed upon to encourage by his Authority, the Discovery of a Passage to

the *East Indies*, thro' a supposed Streight betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, engaged one Captain *Munk* to undertake this Voyage. A certain *English* Captain named *Hudson*, had some time before attempted the Discovery of this Sea and Streights with the same design, but was lost in the Voyage tho' no body knows how; it is likely that his boldness, having some relation to the Presumption of *Icarus*, his Wings were rendered useless by the Cold, as the others were by the heat of the Sun, and so met with the same Fate of Perishing in the Sea; which like that of *Icarus* got from him the name of *Hudson's Streights* and *Hudson's Bay*.

Captain *Munk* set sail from the *Sound* the 16th of May 1619, with two Vessels, equip'd at the Charge of the King of *Denmark*, one Mann'd with 48, and the other with 16 men. He arrived the 28th of January on the Cape *Farewell*, (as the *Dane* call it) i. e. *Farewell*; having got its name questionless from the Opinion the *Dane* have conceived, that such as go beyond it are passing into another World, and take a long Farewell from this part of it: This Cape *Farewell*, as I told you before, lies under 60 degrees and a half of Elevation, in a Mountainous Country, covered always with Snow and Ice; and as these vary frequently in colour, and with their whiteness and transparency, dazzle the Eye the true shape of this Cape has not been discovered hitherto.

From this Cape Captain *Munk* steering his Course to the West by North, entered *Hudson's Streights*, where meeting with a bundance of Ice, he avoided the danger thereof, by keeping out at Sea: Hence it is that he advises those that will attempt this Passage, not to go too far to the West, by reason of the many Ice shoals, and impetuous Currents that are near the *American* Coast. He tells us, that the 8th of July there arose so thick and strong a Frost in these Seas, that all his Ship tackling were covered with Ice-tags, so that they were scarce able to manage them; but that the next day from three a Clock in the Afternoon till Sun-set, it was so excessive hot, that they were forced to pull off their Cloaths.

Coming into *Hudson's Streights*, he gave it the name of *Christians Streights*, after the King of *Denmark* his Master; and Landenone of his Men the 17th of July in an Isle upon the Coast of *Greenland*. Those that were sent to view this Isle, the Captain, that they had the footsteps of Men, but no houses. However the next day they saw a Troop of them near the Sea-shore, who were amazed and frightened.

The Dr. biton

ed at the sight of the *Danes*, did run away as fast as they could, but had no sooner hid their Arms, they carried along with them, behind an adjacent huge Mass of Stones, but they advanced towards the *Danes*, and in an obliging manner, return'd the Salute given by them; with this caution however, to keep betwixt the *Danes* and the Place, where they had concealed their Arms. But the *Danes* found means by several turnings and windings to amuse them so long, till coming near to the Stone heap, they seiz'd upon their Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

The poor Salvages quite dismay'd at their loss, did in the most submissive Posture, and with all the engaging signs in the World beg the *Danes* to restore them their Weapons, giving them to understand, that as they lived upon Hunting, and must Perish for want of them, they would give them their Cloaths in exchange for them. The *Danes* moved with Compassion, restored them their Arms, which they joyfully received upon their bended Knees: The *Danes* to engage them the more, produced their Toys, and made some trifling Presents to the Salvages, who were infinitely delighted with them, and in lieu thereof, gave to the *Danes* divers sorts of Birds, and some fat of Fishes. One of these Salvages casting his eyes upon a little Looking-glass, in which he saw his face, was so taken with it, that he put it in his Bosom, and run away as fast as his legs could carry him, the *Danes* having the diversion of laughing at his simplicity, as they had occasion to do soon after at the rest of the Salvages, who seeing one of their Ships Crew, with black hair and flat faced, not unlike themselves, mistook him for one of their Country men, and Carrels'd him as if they had been very old Acquaintance.

Captain Muneck left this Isle the next day, being the 19th of July, with an intention to pursue his Voyage, but by reason of the vast Ice shoals, was forced to return to his old Station, but could not get sight of any of the Salvages again, tho' they did all they could to entice them to the Sea-shoar, by hanging little Knives, Looking-glasses, and other Toys on small Ropes; whether it was out of fear for the *Danes*, or that they were forbidden to keep any further Correspondence with them by the chief Judge or Governour, is uncertain.

Captain Muneck meeting with no Men, went often a Hunting, and having taken abundance of Reem in this Isle, he gave it the name of *Reinsundr*, i. e. the Gulf of Reem, and the Head where they lay at Anchor. Muneck's after his own name:

This Isle lies at 61 deg. 20 min. Elevation; where after having set up the Arms of the King of Denmark his Master, he departed a second time, the 22d of July; but was soon after surpris'd by such violent Tempests, and vast Ice shoals, that with much ado he made shift to save himself the 28th of July betwixt two Isles, where he cast all his Anchors, and for his better security, was forced to fasten his Vessels with long Ropes, on the shoar.

It was no sooner Low-Water, but the Muneck *Danes* found themselves all upon dry Land, and the Water beginning to rise again, carried along with it such a prodigious quantity of Ice shoals, that had they not been day and night upon their guard, they would have been in greater danger here than in the open Sea.

Betwixt these two Isles, where was a huge Ice shoal, about 22 Fathoms high; which being loosened from the Shoar, and broken in two Pieces, did sink to the bottom of the Sea with so violent a Motion, that the Waves did arise like Mountains, as if it had been in a violent Tempest, and put our Ship in great danger of being swallowed up by them.

They did not see any Inhabitants here; but discovered several foot-steps, and other marks which sufficiently convinced them, that they were either at that time, or had been formerly inhabited by Men. They found here divers Minerals, and among the rest, great store of Talc, of which they carried off several Tuns into Ships. They saw several other Isles thereabouts, which in all probability, were inhabited as well as these, but the shoar being so Rocky and full of Ice, that there was scarce ever any thing seen like it; the *Danes* durst not venture too near them. These Isles are situated at 62 deg. 20 min. about 50 Leagues within the Christian's Streights. Captain Muneck gave that part where he lay at Anchor, the name of *Haresound*, i. e. The Bay or Foad of Hares; from the vast number of Hares they saw in this Isle, and set up *Christian the Fourth*, there, which the *Danes* generally express by this Character (4).

He left these Isles the 9th of August, steering his Course to the W. S. W. with a N. W. wind, and the 10th came on the Southern Shore of *Christian's* Streights, being the American Coast it self. Pursuing his Course, he discovered a large Isle to the W. unto which he gave the name of *Snoeuland*, i. e. the Snow Isle.

The 20th of August he steer'd his Course from the W. to the N. and then (as the Journal breadth of says) I took the Right Course at the Elevati-
on of 62 deg. 20 min. But it being a very
thick

thick Fogg they could discover no Land; tho' as the same Journal says, *The Straights of Christian is whereabouts, not above 16 Leagues broad.* From whence 'tis reasonable to conclude, that it is broader in other Places.

Out of the Strait he Sailed into *Hudson's Sea*, the name whereof he changed likewise, as he had done that of the Straights, giving it two names instead of one; for that part which washes the Shoar of *America*, he call'd the *New Sea*, and the other part towards the side of *Greenland* (if it may be supposed to belong to that Country) *Christian's Sea*.

Judson's
Christi-
ans Sea.

He steer'd his Course as much as possibly he could to the W. N. W. till finding themselves at 63 deg. 20 min. Elevation; they were so entangled amongst the Ice, that they were forced to seek for shelter on the *Greenland Coast*, and to pass the Winter there; whence it is that they gave the name of *Munckens Winter Haven*, i. e. *Munck's Winter Haven* to that Road; and to the Tract of Land along the Coast, the name of *New Denmark*.

The Author of this Journal has pass'd by in silence several Places they saw in their Passage thither, because having inserted their names in a peculiar Map, he directs his Readers thither for farther instructions. He speaks only of two Isles in the *Christians Sea*, call'd by him the *two Sister Isles*, and of one more much larger than the former, towards the *New Sea*, unto which he has given the name of *Dikes Oeland*. He advises those that intend to pass the *Christians Straights*, to keep in the middle of the Straights as much as possible they can, by reason of the rapidity of the contrary Currents, occasion'd by the flux and reflux of the Seas on both Coasts, which carrying along with them vast Ice shoals, put the Vessels in frequent danger of being lost. He adds, That the Tides in the *Christians Sea*, keep their certain times, from five to five hours, and that these Tides are regulated according to the Course of the Moon.

Munck's
Haven.

Captain *Munck* came to an Anchor the 7th of September at *Munckens Winter Haven*, where after having somewhat refresh'd his Men, he ordered his Ships to be drawn into a little Creek near the Harbour, in order to have them refitted, and to preserve them against the force of the Ice: The next thing they had to do, was to erect some Huts, to defend themselves against the extremity of the cold of the approaching Winter Season, which would not permit them to return homewards at that time. *Munck's Haven* is situate at the entrance of a River, which was not frozen in October, tho'

the Sea was already full of Ice near the Shoar.

Captain *Munck* says, that the 7th of October, he went up the River in a Sloop, to view the Situation of the adjacent Country, but could not go further than a League and half, being stop'd by the Rocks that are cross the River: Finding the Passage by the River thus clos'd up, he took along with him some Soldiers and Seamen, and March'd along with them about 3 or 4 Leagues deep into the Country, in hopes of meeting with some of the Inhabitants, but found nothing like it that way. However, in his return thro' another part of the Country, he found a pretty broad and high Stone, and upon it the figure of a Devil, with his Horns and Claws very distinctly Painted. Near it was a Place inclos'd with small Stones about 8 Foot square: on one side of this square place he saw a little Hill composed of small Stones, intermix'd with the Moss of Trees. On the opposite side of the same square, stood another square Stone, not unlike an Altar, resting upon two other Stones, and upon the Altar, he saw three pieces of Charcoal laid crossways upon one another.

The Coun-
try near it.

One of
their Al-
tars.

Captain *Munck* saw several such like Altars in his return, with Charcoal upon them, just like the former; and tho' he could not as much as get sight of one single Person of the Natives, yet was it observable, that near every one of these Altars they saw, they observed the foot-steps of Men; whence they conjectured, That the Natives of the Country used to assemble near these Altars, to perform their Sacrifices, which in all likelihood they Celebrated either with Fire, or to the Fire. They further took notice, that near those Places, where they discovered these foot-steps of Men, they found abundance of Bones gnaw'd; which as they supposed, were the remnants of the Sacrificed Beasts, eaten by the Salvages at the Sacrifice, after their fashion, or rather torn or gnaw'd to pieces with their hands and teeth, as our Dogs do with a bone.

Their
crisis.

In the Woods, thro' which they pass'd, they found abundance of Trees, saw'd or cut in pieces by Iron Instruments; as also abundance of Dogs muzzled with small twigs of Trees. But what confirm'd them most of all in their Opinion, viz. That this was not a desert of Inhabitants, was, that they had discovered the marks where Tents or Houses had been pitched in divers Places, and among them, and Wolf skins, as also Dogs skins, and Dogs skins, which were used to cover these Tents, and more than probable, that upon this head, that

Inhabi-
tants.

that these Inhabitants lead a Vagabond life, like the *Scyres*, or *Encamp* in Troops like the *Lapländers*.

The *Danes* having fix'd their Huts; which were to serve them all the Winter, began to provide Wood to keep themselves warm, and Venison for their food.

18 Captain Munnick was the first who shot a
19 white Bear with his own Gun, which they
20 eat with a good Appetite, and say, did re-
1877 lish and digest very well. They also kill'd abundance of Hares, Partridges, and other Birds; which tho' not express'd by their Peculiar Names, he says are very frequent in *Denmark*. He adds, that they catch'd also four black Foxes, and some *Sables*, a name the Northern Nations generally give to the *Sable Martins*.

What most surpris'd the *Danes* was, That they discover'd in the sky, divers Phenomena's they never observed in *Denmark*. Thus, (as the Journal assures us) there appear'd the 27th of November, three distinct Suns on the Firmament, tho' it was a very thick and gross Air. The 24th of January next following, two Suns appeared very distinctly, and the 10th of December, or the 20th of the *Old Style*, they observed an Eclipse of the Moon about 8 a Clock at Night; and the same Night they saw for two hours together, the Moon surrounded by a very bright Circle, with a Cross in it, dividing the whole Body of the Moon into 4 parts: This Meteor seem'd to be the forerunner of the ensuing Miseries, and almost total Destruction of the *Danes*, as you will see out of the following Account.

The extremity of the cold began by this time to increase to such a degree, that there lay Ice shoals near the shoar of 300 and 360 foot thick; and their Beer and Wines, nay, even the most Spirituous Spanish Wines and strong Brandy's, froze from top to bottom in the Vessels that contained them, which breaking a sunder, and the Liquors being congealed into entire pieces of Ice, they were forced to cut out Pieces of them with their Hatchets, which being melted before the Fire, they afterwards used to drink; nay such was the excess of the cold, that if they happened to forget a small quantity of Water in any of their Tin or Leather Vessels, they found them certainly crack'd the next Morning, in that very place where the Water had begun to freeze.

Thus the merciless cold, which even did not spare the Metals, increased its rigour with such violence upon the Bodies of the miserable *Danes*, that they fell all sick one after another, their sickness encreasing according to the rigour of the Season: For, being seized with a violent cough, they

were emaciated to the last degrees, till they dropt one after another; there being about the middle of March, not enough left to keep the Guard; so that Captain Munnick himself was forced to stand Sentinel at his own Hutt.

The worst was, that this Distemper instead of abating did augment with the approach of the Spring, when their Teeth began to loosen in their Gums, and their Mouths were so full of Ulcers within, that they could eat no Bread, except what was steep'd in Water. Towards May, the miserable remnants of the *Danes* were attack'd by the Bloody Flux and such excruciating Pains in the Nervous parts, as if they had been pricked without intermission, with the Points of Knives. Their Bodies did decay visibly day by day, turn'd livid and black at last; no otherwise than if they had been beaten with sticks, and some of them lost their Arms and Legs by the violence of the cold. This is properly nothing else than the highest degree of Scurvy, a Distemper very common and sufficiently known in the Northern parts of the World. Such as did were forced to be kept above Ground, the rest wanting strength to bury them.

By this time the want of Bread encreasing, they were constrained to digg under the Snow, where by good chance they found a certain sort of Berries, which they did feed upon for some time; but the worst was, that they would not keep in the least, wherefore they were obliged to boil and eat them immediately. The Journal mentions the 12th of April as a very remarkable day, because it then rained the first time, after 7 Months, there having not fallen a drop of rain in all that time.

The Spring rejoiced them with the sight of many sorts of Birds, none of which had Green- appear'd all the Winter long, but their weakness would not permit them to catch or shoot any of them. About the middle of May they saw abundance of wild Geese, Swans, Ducks, an infinite number of small Birds, Partridges, Ravens, Falcons and some Eagles. Not long after, Captain Munnick happened to fall ill among the rest, and on the 4th of June was so miserably afflicted with tormenting pains in his Limbs, that for 4 days together he could not stir out of his Hutt. Not imagining otherwise than that his last hour was near at hand; he made his last Will, in which he pray'd the next that came to that shoar, to bury his Body, and to be careful of his Journal, in order to deliver it to the King of Denmark. But about 4 days after, finding his strength somewhat recovered, he made shift to creep out of his Hutt to see whether

No rain in seven Months.

Birds of Green-land.

Captain Munnick makes his last Will.

whether

Recovers.

whether any of his Crew were living or not; and out of 64 that came along with him, found only two alive. These poor wretches ravish'd with joy to see their Captain, revived as it were from the Dead, run to him with open Arms, and carried him straightways to a fire, wherewith rubbing his joints, they brought him pretty well to himself. They then encouraged one another, resolving to live if possible they could, but how, was the difficulty; they were forced to look for food under the Snow, where now and then they found some herbs and roots, which had that happy effect upon them, that they began to recover more and more every day. It being then the 10th of June, the Ice began to melt, which gave them opportunity to catch some Trouts, Salmon and other fishes: Thus what they catch'd by Fishing and Hunting, furnish'd them with sufficient Food; by which means having now recovered their full strength; they resolv'd notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers they were to surmount, to endeavour to get back to Denmark; what hastened their resolution, was, that about that time the Summer Season and rainy weather brought ashore such vast quantities of Gnats, that they were not able to abide there.

Muneeck
Reimbarke
with two
Seamen
only.

According to this resolution, they left their greatest Ship behind them, and Embark'd aboard the small Frigate, the 16th of July; and set sail from the same Port, where I told you they had laid up their Ships, and was by the Captain named *Jens Muneeck's Bay*, i.e. *John Muneeck's Bay* or Port, after his own name: Coming into the *Christian Sea*, they met with abundance of floating Ice shoals, where they lost their Sloop, and with much ado got their Vessel clear, for having lost their Rudder, they were forced to fasten their Ship to a vast Ice Rock, till it could be refitted. The Ice beginning to melt, they found their Sloop again, about 10 days after; but this lasted not long, for the Sea freezing and thawing again by turns, they got, not without a great deal of trouble, thro' the *Christian Strait*, and thence by *Cape Farewell* into the Ocean; where they were surpris'd the 3d of September, by so violent a Tempest, that they were in great danger of being lost; the two Seamen being so tired out by the long continuance of the Tempest, that being forced to commit themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves, their Mast was brought by the Board, and with much ado, they got the Sail's out of the Sea into the Ship.

Arrive in
Norway. The fury of the Tempest being somewhat allay'd for some days, gave them leisure and opportunity to get the 21st of Sep-

tember, into a part of Norway, where they came to an Anchor with one Anchor, the only one they had left.

But when they thought themselves freed from all danger, they were assailed by another Tempest, which put them in more danger than ever they had seen before; however they had the good fortune once more to escape this danger; having found means to run their Ship among the Rocks, they made shift to get ashore, till the fury of the Tempest being past, they refitted their Vessel, and in some days after, got safe into Denmark, where Captain Muneeck gave an Account of the Success of his Voyage, to the King, who received him no otherwise, than if he had been return'd from the Dead.

One might reasonably suppose, that this Voyage would put a Period to Captain Muneeck's Misfortunes; but his ill Fate not tired yet of pursuing so brave a Man, the oddness of the Accident that befel him hereafter ought not be pass'd by in silence.

After some stay in Denmark, (during which time he mus'd upon his last Miscarriage for want of knowledge of the Country) he began to be perswaded within himself, that there was still a possibility of finding out a Passage to the East that way, and therefore resolv'd to attempt the same a second time. But this being a thing of such a Nature as to require the assistance of other People, he engag'd divers Gentlemen of Quality, and rich Citizens of Denmark in the same design, who entering into a Society, they equip'd two Vessels, which they committed to the care of Captain Muneeck.

Having taken effectual care to provide his Ships with all necessaries, and to remedy all the inconveniences he had been made sensible of in his former Voyage; when being just ready to depart, the King of Denmark demanded the Captain (as he was taking his leave of him) the day fix'd for his departure; and thus entering upon the Discourse of his late Voyage into Greenland, the King began to upbraid his Conduct, as if his Ships had been lost by the Captain's ill management. His Reply happening somewhat rougher than the King expected, he push'd him with his Cane against the breast, which the Captain taking to heart, went home to bed, and what with grief, and want of food (which he refused to take) died in 10 days after.

But it is time to return to the subject, that did lead us into this long digression; from what has been said, it seems to be evident, that there is a long and broad Canal, if not an entire Sea, betwixt Greenland and America, the straits which, as we know, are the only of this Coast, it remains

mains doubtful, whether *Greenland* is upon the same Continent with *America* or not; tho' it seems most probable it is not, as I told you before. And Captain *Munck* was questionless of the same Opinion, without which he would never have taken so much pains to engage a whole Society of Gentlemen, to attempt the finding out of this Passage to the East.

This Leads me to a Discovery of the Mistake of the Author, who has Published his Dissertations concerning the Origin of the *Americans*, which he deduces from the *Greenlanders*; the first Inhabitants of which he would make us believe were *Norwegians*; and consequently that the first Inhabitants of *America*, were originally of *Norway*. He pretends to justify his Opinion by a certain imaginary affinity betwixt some *American* words, that terminate in *Lan* and the termination of *Land*, so frequent in the *German*, *Lombard*, and *Norwegian* Languages, and the resemblance of the manner of living; there is, as he tells you, betwixt the *Americans* and *Norwegians*, who are, if you will believe him, the *Alcmani* of *Tacitus*: But I don't question to convince you of his mistake, by the following reasons: (1.) because the *Norwegians* were not the first Inhabitants

of *Greenland*, as is apparent from what has been said upon the head before; and Mr. *Wormius*, that Learned and Famous Antiquary of the North, is so far from tracing the Original of the first Inhabitants of *America* out of *Greenland*, that on the contrary, he believes the *Skyreglingres*, or Original Natives of *Greenland*, about *Westenburgh*, to have been descended from the *A-*

mericans. (2.) He is grievously mistaken in his guess, there being little or no likelihood that *Greenland* is join'd to the Continent of *America*, neither is that Passage so well known, nor so easie as he would have us imagine. (3.) He is no less in an Error, in what he says concerning the Affinity of the Languages and manner of living, betwixt the *Norwegians* and *Americans*; the contrary being made sufficiently evident by the preceding Relation: But supposing the *Norwegian* Language to have been introduced in *America*; he must find out another Passage for these Northern People into *America*, than by the way of *Greenland*.

I will not trouble you with the other Mistakes this Author has been guilty of in several Passages of his Dissertations, knowing that you are constantly employed in Matters of much more moment, wherewith you have obliged the Learned World; and as I must look upon it as an eternal obligation, that you would throw away part of your precious time, in reading so unpolish'd a Work; that has so little resemblance to the nicety of your own excellent Pieces, I don't question, but that you are as well pleas'd to have done with reading of this Letter, as I am satisfied to have finish'd it, and to declare to you, that I shall always be

S I R,

From the
Hague, Jan.
18, 1646.

Your most Humble and
most Affectionate Servant

F I N I S.

Captain *THOMAS JAMES'S*
STRANGE and DANGEROUS
V O Y A G E
In his intended Discovery of the
North-West Passage
INTO THE
S O U T H S E A:

In the Years 1631. and 1632.

Wherein the MISERIES Indured, Both
GOING, WINTERING, RETURNING,

And the RARITIES Observed, both
PHILOSOPHICAL and *MATHEMATICAL*,
Are Related at Large.

published by His Majesties Command.

To which are added,
A PLAT or CARD for the Sailing in those Seas.

ALSO,
Divers little TABLES of the AUTHOR'S,
Of the Variation of the Compass, &c.

WITH
An *APPENDIX* concerning *LONGITUDE*,
By Mr. *Henry Gellibrand*, Astronomy Reader of *Gresham College, London*.

AND
An *Advice* concerning the Philosophy of these late Discoveries,
By *W.*

THE PREPARATIONS TO THE VOYAGE.

HAVING been for many years Importuned, by my Honourable and Worshipful Friends, to undertake the Discovery of that part of the World, which is commonly called, *The North-West Passage into the South Sea*, and so to proceed to *Japan*, and to Round the World to the Westward; being prest forward withall, by signifying to me the Earnest Desire the King's Most Excellent Majesty had, to be satisfied therein: I acquainted my much honoured Friends, the Merchants of *Bristol* therewith; who, as ever they have been Benefactors and Advancers of them that pursue the Ways of Honour; together with the Enlargement and Benefit of His Majesty's Kingdoms; did freely offer to be at the Charge of furnishing forth Shipping for this purpose. And now being thus Enabled, I Address my self to the Honourable Sir *Thomas Roe* Kt. (as to a Learned, and furthest employed Traveller by Sea and Land, this Day in *England*) who Joyfully presented theirs and mine own voluntary willingness, to do His Majesty's Service in this kind; who most graciously accepted of the Offer; and Encouraged me by many Favours in my weak Undertakings. Wherefore with all speed, I contrived in my Mind, the best Model I could, whereby I might effect my Design. The Adventurers Monies were instantly ready, and put into a Treasurer's Hand, that there might be no want of present Pay, for any thing I thought necessary for the Voyage.

I was ever of the Opinion, That this particular Action might be better effected by one Ship, than by two Consorted; because in those Icy Seas, so much subject to Fogs, they might be easily separated; I forbear to speak of Storms and other Accidents; as that a Rendezvous in Discoveries, cannot surely, or without much hindrance be appointed; and that speedy Perseverance is the life of such a Business: Wherefore I resolved to have but one Ship, the Ship-Boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship (as by former Experience I had found) was unfit to be forc'd thorow the Ice, wherefore I made choice of a well-conditioned, strong Ship, of the Burthen of 70 Tun; and in GOD, and that only Ship, to put the hope of my future Fortunes.

The Ship resolved upon, and that in less time than Eighteen Months our Voyage could not be effected: I next considered how our Ship of Seventy Tuns in Bulk and Weight might now be proportioned, in Victuals, namely, and other Necessaries; this was all done, as contractedly as we could: And the number of Men it would serve, at ordinary Allowance for the forementioned time, was found to be Twenty Two, a small

small number to perform such a Business, yet double sufficient to Sail the Ship with provident Carefulness.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their Offices upon their Credits; knowing it to be a general Business, and their utter undoing if they failed in Performance, but truly they proved themselves Masters in their Arts, and have my praise for their honest Care; in them consisting a great part of the Performance of the Voyage.

The Carpenters go in hand with the Ship, to make her as strong and serviceable, as possible in their Understandings they could.

Every thing being duly proportioned, and my small number of Men known, I began to think of the Quality and Ability they should be of.

Voluntary Loyerers I at first disclaimed, and published I would have all Unmarried, Approved, Able, and Healthy Seamen; in a few days an abundant number presented themselves, furnished with general sufficiency in *Marine* Occasions. I first made Choice of a *Boatswain*, and some to Work with him, for fitting the Rigging of the Ship; and as things went forward, Ship'd the *Subordinate Crew*: And all things being perfectly ready, I Ship'd the *Master's Mates*; and last of all, the *Master* of my Ship, and my *Lieutenant*. The whole Company were Strangers to me, and to each other, (as by way of Familiarity) but yet privately recommended by worthy Merchants, for their Ability and Faithfulness. I was sought to by divers, that had been in Places of the chiefest Command in this Action formerly; and others also that had used the *Northerly Icy-Seas*; but I utterly refused them all, and would by no means have any with me that had been in the like Voyage, or Adventures, for some private Reasons unnecessary here to be related; keeping thus the Power in my own Hands, I had all the Men to acknowledge immediate Dependance upon my self alone; both for Direction and Disposing of all, as well of the Navigation, as all other things whatsoever.

In the mean time, the better to strengthen my former Studies in this Business, I seek after *Journals*, *Plots*, *Discourses*, or whatever else might help my Understanding.

I set Skillful Workmen to make me *Quadrants*, *Staves*, *Semicircles*, &c. as much, namely, as concern the Fabrick of them; not trusting to their Mechanick Hands, to *divide* them; but had them divided by an Ingenious Practitioner in the *Mathematicks*. I likewise had *Compass-Needles*, made after the most reasonablest and truest ways that could be thought on: And by the First of *April*, every thing was ready to be put together into our hopeful Ship.

In the mean space, I made Journey up to *London*, to know His Majesty's further Pleasure, and to make known to him my Readiness; who, calling for the beforementioned honourable Knight, I speedily after received His Majesty's Royal Letters, with Directions for proceeding in my Voyage, and my Discharge; whereupon I had forth the Ship into the Road, expecting a fair Wind to begin the Voyage.

A VOYAGE

For the Discovery of a North-West Passage

INTO THE SOUTH SEA.

THE 2d of *May* 1631. I took my leave of the Worshipful Merchant-Adventurers in this Action, in the City of *Bristol*; and being accompanied with a Reverend Divine, one Mr. *Thomas Palmer*, and divers of the Merchants, with others of my Kindred and Native Countrymen, I repaired on Board. Here Mr. *Palmer* made a Sermon; exhorting us to continue Brotherly-Love amongst us, and to be bold to profess the True *Christian* Religion where ever we should happen, in this our Peregrination. After they had received such Entertainment as my Estate could afford them, they departed for *Bristol*. This Afternoon, I made a Review of all Things, as well of Clothes, and other Necessaries, as of Victuals; and where there was found any want, we were presently furnished.

The 3d of *May*, (after Prayer for a prosperous Success to our Endeavours) about three a Clock in the Afternoon, we came to Sail, and stood down the Channel of *Severne*, with little Wind, but slowly got forward to the Westward of *Lundie*; and then the Wind opposed it self so strongly against us, that we were driven to bear up and come to an Anchor in *Lundie-Road* the 5th in the Evening, where we remained until the 8th in the Morning. Now hoping the Wind would favour us, we came to Sail, but we were forc'd to put into *Milford*, where we came to an Anchor about Mid-

night. Here we remained till the 17th in the Morning; when with the first favouring Wind, we proceeded and Doubled about Cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*.

The 22d we were in the Latitude 51. 26. and the *Blaskes* did bear of us North-East, about 12 Leagues off; which *Blaskes* is in Latitude 52. 4. Here I ordered the Course that should be kept; which was generally West North-West, as the Wind would give leave, which in this Course and Distance is very variable and unconstant.

The 4th of *June*, we made the Land of *Greenland*, standing in with it to have Knowledge of the Trending of it; it proved very thick foul Weather.

The 5th, by two a Clock in the Morning, we found our selves encompassed about with Ice; and endeavouring to clear our selves of it, (by reason we could not see far about us) we were the more engaged, and struck many fearful Blows against it: at length we made fast to a great piece, (it blowing a very Storm) and with Poles wrought day and night to keep off the Ice; in which labour we broke all our Poles.

The 6th, about two a Clock in the Morning, we were beset with many extraordinary great pieces of Ice that came upon us, as it were with wilful violence; and doubtless had crushed us to pieces, if we had not let fall some Sail which the Ship presently felt. In escaping that danger, we ran against another great

great piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been stav'd to pieces; but Pumping, we found she made no Water. The former pieces of Ice had crushed our Shallop all to pieces; wherefore I caused our long Boat speedily to be had up from betwixt the Decks, and put over-board; by help whereof we again recovered our broken Shallop, and had her up on the Decks, intending to new build her. All this day, we did beat, and were beaten fearfully, amongst the Ice, it blowing a very Storm. In the Evening, we were enclosed amongst great pieces, as high as our Poop; and some of the sharp blue corners of them did reach quite under us. All these great pieces (by reason it was the outside of the Ice) did heave and set, and so beat us, that it was wonderful how the Ship could indure one blow of it; but it was God's only Preservation of us, to whom be all honour and glory. In this Extremity, I made the Men to let fall, and make what Sail they could, and the Ship forced her self thorow it, tho' so tossed and beaten, as I thing never Ship was. When we were clear, we Sayed the Pumps, and found her stanch; upon which we went instantly to Prayer, and to praise God for his merciful delivery of us.

The 7th and 8th days, we endeavoured to Double about Cape Farewell, being still pestered with much Ice.

The 9th, we were in Latitude 59. 00. and we made account the Cape Farewell bare of us Due-East, and some 10 Leagues off. The *Blaskes in Ireland*, is in Lat. 52. 4. and Cape Farewell in Lat. 59. 00. The Course is West North-West, and the Distance about 410 Leagues. I know very well these Latitudes, Courses, and Distance, do not exactly agree with Mathematical Conclusions; but thus we found it by Practice. The Variation of the Compass in Lat. 52. 30. and 30 Leagues to the Westward of *Ireland*, is about 3. 00. to the Eastward; in Lat. 57. 00. about 310 Leagues West North-West, from the *Blaskes*, the Compass doth vary 9. 00. to the Westward: In Lat. 59. 15. some 40 Leagues to the Eastward of Cape Farewell, the Variation is about 14. 45. In this Course I have been observant, whether there were any Current that did set to the N. E. as some have written there did, and that as well in Calm weather, as otherwise; but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable; and the Sea of an unfearchable depth. We have not

seen from *Ireland* hitherto any Whales or other Fish; the Weather, for the most part, was Foggy and Mifty, that wets as bad as Rain.

The 10th, all the Morning, was very foul Weather, and a high-grown Sea, although we had Ice not far off about us, and some pieces as high as our Top-Mast-head. Our long Boat, which we were fain to Towe at Stern, (by reason we were Building our Shallop on our Decks) broke away, and put us to some trouble to recover her again. This we did, and made means to have her into the Ship, though very much bruised; and that I had two Men sore hurt, and like to be lost in the heaving of her in. By 8 of the Clock this Evening, we were shot up as high as Cape *Defolation*; for finding here the Land to trend away North and by East, we certainly knew it to be the Cape. It stands in Lat. 60. 00. and the Land from Cape Farewell to it, trends N. W. the distance about 40 Leagues. The Distance from Cape *Defolation*, to the South end of the Island of *Resolution*, is about 140 Leagues; the Course West, half a Point North. The Lat. of the South end of the Island, being 61. 20. some 12 Leagues to the Westward of Cape *Defolation*, the Variation is 16. 00. In this Course, we were much tormented, pestered and beaten with the Ice, many pieces being higher than our Top-Mast-head. In our way, we saw many Grampusses amongst the Ice, and it seemeth the Sea is full of them: The Weather for the most part, a stinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occasioned by reason of the Fog.

The 17th at night, we heard the Rut of the Shore, as we thought; but it proved to be the Rut against a Bank of Ice that lay on the Shore. It made a hollow and hideous noise, like an overfall of Water, which made us to reason amongst our selves concerning it; for we were not able to see about us, it being dark Night and Foggy. We stood off from it, till break of day, then in again; and about four a Clock in the Morning we saw the Land above the Fog; which we knew to be the Island of *Resolution*. This last Night was so cold, that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. We endeavoured to compass about the Southern Point of the Island; for that we were so much pestered with the Ice, and blinded with a very thick Fog. Here runs a quick Tide into the Strait, but the Ebb is as strong as the Flood:
The

The Fog was of such a piercing nature, that it spoiled all our Compasses, and made them flag, and so heavy withall, that they would not traverse. Wherefore I would advise any, that shall Sail this way hereafter, to provide Compasses of *Muscovia* Glass, or some other matter that will endure the moisture of the Weather. As the Fog cleared up, we could see the entrance of the Strait to be all full of Ice close thronged together. Endeavouring to go forward, we were fast enclosed amongst it; and so drove to and again with it, finding no ground at 230 Fathom, four Leagues from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning, we had got about the Southern Point of the Island; and the Wind came up at West, and drove both us and the Ice upon the shore. When we were driven within two Leagues of the Shore, we came amongst the most strange Whirlings of the Sea that possibly can be conceived: There were divers great pieces of Ice aground in 40 Fathom Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Island, amongst these Isles of Ice, made such a distraction, that we were carried round, sometimes close by the Rocks, sometimes close by those high pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We were so beaten likewise with the encountering of the Ice, that we were in a most desperate Estate. We made fast two great pieces of Ice to our sides, with our Kedger and Grapnels, that drew nine or ten Fathom, that so they might be a-ground before us, if so be we were driven on the Shore. But that design failed us; and now from the top seeing in amongst the Rocks, I sent the Boat (for now we had finished her) to see if she could find some place of Security; but she was no sooner parted, but she was inclosed, and driven to hale up on the Ice, or else she had been crushed to pieces. They ran her over the Ice from piece to piece; and in the mean space, with the whirling and encountering of the Ice, the two pieces brake away from our sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels: Then we made signs to the Boat, to make all the haste she could to us, which she perceiving, did; the Men being with much difficulty, inforced to hale her over many pieces of Ice. In the mean space, we made some sail, and got to that piece of Ice, that had our Grapnel on it, which we again recovered. By this time, was our Boat come; and we put a fresh Crew into her,

and sent her to fetch our Kedger, which she endeavoured with much danger of Boat and Men. By this time, the Ship was driven so near the Shore, that we could see the Rocks under us and about us; and we should be carried with the Whirlings of the Waters, close by the Points of Rocks, and then round about back again; and all this, notwithstanding the sail we had abroad; that we expected continually when she would be beaten to pieces. In this extremity, I made them to open more Sail, and to force her in amongst the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there was many great pieces of Ice a-ground. We went over Rocks, that had but 12 or 13 foot Water on them; and so let fall an Anchor. This Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that (by good fortune) the Ship ran against a great piece of Ice that was a-ground. This Rush, brake the main Knee of her Beak-head, and a corner of it tore away four of our Main-Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at the Bowe, fastened into it, and so stopt her way, that she did wind up to her Anchor. We saw the sharp Rocks under us, and about us; and had but 15 foot Water; being also in the sides way, where all the Ice would drive upon us: Our Boat we could not see, which made us doubt she had been crushed to pieces. In her, was the third part of our Company; but by and by we saw her come about a point amongst the Rocks. She had recovered our Kedger; which made us something joyful: With all speed we laid out Hawfers to the Rocks, and every one did work to the best of his strength, to Warp her out of this dangerous place, to the Rocks side; where we had three fathom Water, and were under the shelter of a great piece of Ice that was a-ground, which should keep off the Ice, that otherwise would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well all the Ebb; but when the Flood came, we were assaulted with pieces of Ice, that every half hour put us into despairable distress. We did work continually, and extreamly, to keep off the Ice. At full Sea, our great piece of Ice (which was our Buckler) was a-float; and do what we could, got away from us, and left us in a most eminent danger, by reason of the Ice that drove in upon us. But the Ebb being once made, this great piece of Ice came again a-ground very favourable to us, and sheltered us all the rest of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard, to
shift

shift our Cables and Hawfers; and to make them fast aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better pass under them. All Day and all Night it Snow'd hard, and blew a very Storm at West, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working against the violence of the Ice, the Flocke of our Kedger was broken, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawfers, our Shallop being again very much bruised; whereupon to work we go on all hands to repair it.

This Tide, the Harbour was choaked full of Ice, so that it did seem firm and unmoveable; but when the Ebb was made, it did move. Some great pieces came a ground, which did alter the Course of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks. Here, notwithstanding all our uttermost Endeavours, she settled upon a sharp Rock, about a yard above the Main-Mast; and as the Water Ebb'd away, she hung after the Head, and heel'd to the Offing. We made Cables and Hawfers aloft to her Masts, and so to the Rocks, straining them tough with our Tackles; but she as the Water Ebb'd away, sunk still; that at length she was so turned over, that we could not stand in her. Having now done all to the best of our Understandings, (but to little purpose) we went all upon a piece of Ice, and fell to Prayer, beseeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an hour to low Water, and the Tide did want a foot and a half to Ebb, to what it had Ebb'd the last Tide. We were careful Observers of the low Waters, and had marks by Stones and other Things which we had set up, so that we could not be deceived. The Ship was so turn'd over, that the Porttles of the Forecastle was in the Water; and we did look every minute when she would over-set. Indeed at one time, the Cables gave way, and she sunk down half a foot at that slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and sensibly we perceived the Water to rise apace, and the Ship withall. Then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, praising God for his Mercy, in so miraculous a Deliverance.

As soon as she was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the Flood, we were pretty quiet from the Ice; but when the Ebb was made, the Ice came all driving again upon us, which put us to a great extremity. We got as many pieces betwixt us and the Rocks as we could, to fence us from the Rocks. There came a great

piece upon our quarter, which was above 300 of my Paces about, but it came a-ground. Thus did divers great pieces besides, which was the occasion, that this Tide the Harbour was quite choake up; so that a Man might go any way over it, from side to side. When it was three quarters Ebb, these great pieces that came a-ground, began to break with a most terrible thundering noise; which put us in a great fear, that those about us would break us all to pieces. But God preserved us.

The 22th in the Morning, the Water veer'd to a lower Ebb than the last Tide had done by two foot, whereby we saw God's mercies apparent in our late extremity. That Flood we had some respite from our Labours; but after full Sea, our hopes Ebb too. The great piece that was by us, so stopt the Channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us; so that now undoubtedly we thought we should have lost our Ship. To work thereupon we go, with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for such a purpose; to break the corners of the Ice, and to make way for it to drive away from us. It pleas'd God to give good Success to our Labours; and we made way for some, and tended off the rest; and got so much of the softer sort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks, that we were in pretty security. But at low Water, those pieces that were a-ground, breaking, kept a most thundering noise about us. This day I went ashore, and built a great Beacon with Stones upon the highest place of the Island, and put a Cross upon it, and named this Harbour, *The Harbour of God's Providence*. In the Evening, the Harbour was fuller of the Ice than ever it had been since we came hither; and the greater pieces grounded, and stopt the rest, that none went out the Ebb, but the Ship lay as if she had lain in a bed of Ice.

The 23d in the Morning, with the Flood, the Ice drove up amongst the broken grounds; and with the Ebb, drove all out (it being then very Calm) except one extraordinary great piece; which coming a-ground not far from us, settled it self in such a manner, that we much fear'd him. But there came no more great Ice after him; otherwise we must have expected as great danger, as at any time heretofore. I took the Boat, and went ashore upon the Eastern-side, to see if I could find any place freer from danger than this unfortunate place, where amongst the Rocks I descried a

likely place. From the top of the Hill where I was, I could see the Ship. It was now almost low Water; at which instant the forementioned piece of Ice brake with a terrible noise into four pieces, which made me doubtful it had not spoiled the Ship, it being full half Mast high. I made what haste I could to the Boat, and so to the Ship, to be satisfied; where I found all well, God be thanked, for that the Ice had broken from the Ship-ward. I instantly sent away the Boat, to Sound the way to a Cove that I had found; which was a very dangerous passage for the Boat. At her return, we Unmoor'd the Ship, and with what speed possible warp't away from amongst this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them, but they brake all to pieces; and would surely have made us bear them company, but that God was more merciful unto us. We got about the Rocks, and so into this little Cove which I had so newly discovered. Here we made fast to the Rocks, and thought our selves in indifferent safety; which being done, I went ashore again, to wander up and down, to see what I could discover. I found it all broken rocky Grounds, and not so much as a Tree, Herb, or Grass upon it: Some Ponds of Water there were in it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl: We found not in the Snow any footing of Deer, or Bears, but Foxes we saw one or two.

We found where the Salvages had been, but it was long since. They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Firebrands about them; and some Heads and Bones of Foxes, with some Whale-Bones: I could not conceive to what purpose they should come thither; for we could find none or very little Wood on the shoares side, and no Fish at all; though we did daily endeavour to take some. But it may be the Season was not yet come. I named this Cove by the Master's Name of my Ship, *Price's Cove*. The Latitude of it is 61. 24. the Variation. The Firebrands and Chips which I spake of, had been cut with some Hatchet or Instrument of Iron. From the top of the Hills, we could see the Islands that are on the South shore, and commonly called Sir *Thomas Burton's* Isles: They did bear South and By-East, half a Point Easterly; some 14 or 15 Leagues distant upon the Change day, it flows here seven a Clock and a half, and the Tide highest at most three Fathoms. The Flood comes from the Eastwards, and thither it re-

turns. I have been observant from the top of the Hills, whence I might descry the great pieces of Ice two or three Leagues from the Shore, drive to and again with the Flood and Ebb indifferently. Hence I collected, that assuredly there is no Currant sets in here, but that it is a meer Tide. Near the Shore, the Eddies whirl into twenty Manners, when the Ebb is made; which is, because it comes out of the broken ground amongst the Ice that is a-ground near the Shore: Besides which reason, there be divers Rocks lying under Water, on which you shall have now 30, then 12, and anon but 8, and then 20 Fathom; and these uncertainties occasions such distractions. I would therefore advise none to come too near those dangerous Shores, for fear he lose his Ship, and so by consequence all: The last Night we took better rest than we had done in ten Nights before.

And this Morning, being the 24th, there sprung up a fair gale, of Wind at East; and after Prayer we unfastened our Ship, and came to Sail, steering betwixt great pieces of Ice, that were a-ground in 40 Fathom, and twice as high as our Top-Mast-head.

We went forth of this Cove, upon the Flood, and had none of those Whirlings of the Waters, as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North Shore, and kept our selves within a League of the Shore of the Island of *Resolution*, where we had some clear Water to sail thorow. In the Of-fing, it was all thick throng'd together, as might be possible. By twelve a Clock we were fast inclosed, and notwithstanding it blew very hard at East, yet we could make no way through it; but the hard corners of the Ice did grate us with that violence, as I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ships sides. Thus we continued in torment till the 26th day, driving to and again in the Ice, not being able to see an Acre of Sea from Top-Mast-head.

The 26th, was Calm Sun-shine Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation. The Latitude is , the Variation we Sounded, and had ground at 140 Fathom, small white Sand. I caused the Men to lay out some Fishing Lines, but to no purpose; for I could not perceive that the Bait had been so much as touched. The Nights are very cold, so that our rigging freezes; and the fresh Ponds of Water stand upon the Ice above half an Inch thick.

The 27th, there sprung up a little Gale at South-East, and the Ice did something open. Hereupon we let fall our Forefall, and forced the Ship thorow the throng of Ice. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary, at W. N. W. and blew hard; which caused us to fasten to a great piece, to which we remained Moor'd till the 29th.

The 28th, I resolv'd, that here is no Current, and that by many Experiments which I have made: namely, by taking Marks on the Land, and noting our drift to and again with the Ebb and Flood for many days together, as well in Calm Weather as otherwise. By all these Experiments, I found exactly, that the Tide was no stronger there than that betwixt *England* and *France*.

The 29th in the Morning, there sprung up a fine Gale at E. and the Ice did open something, so that we did force the Ship thorow it with her Forefall. By 12 a Clock, we were gotten into some open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at East, and so clear Weather that we could see the Island of *Resolution*. The North-end did bear of us E. N. E. some 12 Leagues off.

From the 29th, till the 5th of *July*, we failed continually thorow the Ice; with variable Winds and Fogs, and sometimes Calm. At Noon we had a good Observation, and were in Latitude 63. 15. and then we saw *Salisbury* Island, bearing W. by N. some seven Leagues off, with much Ice betwixt it and us; to Weather which, we were driven to stand to the Northward. Soon after we saw *Prince Charles's* Cape and *Mill* Island; and to the N. N. W. (and indeed, round about us) the Sea most infinitely pestered with Ice. This did grieve me very much; for whereas I had determin'd to prosecute the Discovery to the North-Westward, I saw it was not possible this year. We were moreover driven back again with contrary Winds, still closed and pestered with Ice, and with all the Perils and Dangers incident to such Adventures, so that we thought a thousand times that the Ship had been beaten to pieces.

By the 15th of *July* we were got betwixt *Digge's* Island and *Nottingham's* Island, not being able to get more Northward. There for an hour or two we had some open Water.

But before I proceed further, it were not amiss in some manner to describe the Strait, which begins at the Island of *Resolution*, and ends near at *Digge's* Island.

If you go down into the Bay, the Strait is about 120 Leagues long; and trends W. N. W. and E. S. E. generally. In the entrance, it is about 15 Leagues broad; and then on the Southward side is a great Bay. About the midst it is likewise about 15 Leagues broad, and then the Land opens something wider; so that betwixt *Digge's* Island, and Cape *Charles*, it is about 20 Leagues broad: Betwixt which two, stands *Salisbury* Island and *Nottingham* Island. If it be clear Weather, you may see both the South and the North shores; ordinarily, the depth in the middle of the Strait is 120 Fathoms, white Sand: A certain Tide runs in it, and no Current: The North Shore is the straightest, and the clearest from Ice too. Along the North Shore, you have many low small Islands which cannot be seen far off from the Land; and in many places, the Land makes as if it had small Sounds into it. The Main-land on both sides is indifferent high Land. And so much for Discourse may suffice, referring you to the *Plot* for the particulars.

The 16th, Being now resolv'd of the Impossibility to do any thing to the North Westward, for the Reasons aforesaid, I gave order to the Master of my Ship to Steer away, W. S. W. to have a sight of *Mansfield's* Island, which the next day by three a Clock in the Afternoon, we had; having had so much dangerous foul Weather amongst the Ice, that we strooke more fearful blows against it than we had ever yet done. This was the first day that we went to half Allowance of Bread Flesh days, and I order'd things as sparingly as I could. Two of our Men complain likewise of Sickness; but soon afterward recovered. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and I sent the Boat ashore to try the Tides. They brought me word, that whilst the Boat was ashore, it flowed about some three foot; and as we found by the Ship, and by the Ice, the Water at that time came from the W. S. W. and that at the highest Tides (so far as they could perceive) it had not high'd above two Fathom: They found that the Savages had been upon it, by certain Fires which they found, and heaps of Stones, Tracks of other Beasts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was so contrary, and the Weather so Foggy, that we were fain to spend some Powder to recover our Boat again.

Next Morning, being the 17th, the Wind came something favourable, and we Weighed. The Shore being something clear of Ice, (though very thick all to the Offing,) we stood alongst it S. and S. by W. some 10 Leagues. In the Afternoon, the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor, within a Mile of the Shore; for to Sea-board, was all thick Ice, and unpassable. I went ashore my self, to be resolv'd of the Tide, and found whilst I was ashore, that it did Flow two Foot; and at that time the Flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was an half Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Island; but could see little or no drift-Wood on the Shore, no Beaks on the Island, nor Fishes in the Sea. It Flows on the Change Day about a 11 a Clock. We saw some Fowl on it; of which we killed one, and returned on Board. This Island is very low Land, little higher than a dry Sand-Bank. It hath Ponds upon it of fresh Water, but no Grass; and is utterly Barren of all Goodness.

The 18th in the Morning, the Wind came something favourable, and we Weighed and came to Sail; for thence was all come about us. We endeavour'd to proceed to the Westward, intending to fall with the Western-Land about the Latitude 63. 00. By 12 a Clock (having been much pester'd) we were come to a firm range of Ice; but it pleas'd God that the Wind larg'd, and we Stowed away S. S. W. at Noon in Latitude 62. 00. By four in the Evening (having escap'd dangerous Blows) we were come (as we thought) into an open Sea, and joyfully steer'd away W. and W. by N. although that Joy was soon quail'd. By 10 at Night we heard the Rut of the Ice; and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it: nevertheless we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it, the more hideous noise it made.

The 19th, by three in the Morning, we were come to it, and as it did clear a little, we could see the Ice; which were as thick rands of Ice, as any we had yet seen. These being unpassable, and moreover the Wind at N. W. we Stowed alongst it, hoping to Weather it to the Southward; but at last, we became so blinded with Fog, and so incompass'd with Ice, that we could go no further.

The 20th in the Morning (notwithstanding the Fog) we endeavour'd to

get to the Westward; our Ship beating and knocking all this while most fearfully.

In this Witfulness we continued till the 21st. when being fast amongst the Ice, I observed we were in Latitude 60. 33. and then looking what Damage our Ship might have received, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron, which was before her Cut-Water, she was all bruised and broken; the two Knees she had before, to strengthen her, spoil'd and torn; and many other Defects, which we could not by any means come to mend. Notwithstanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, (that we could not see a Pistol shot about us) we proceeded with the hazard of all.

Till the 27th; which was the first time we had clear Weather to look about us: The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice did open something; so that we made some way thorow it to the Westward. In the Evening, we were fast again, and could go no further; the Wind veering from the South to the East, and blowing a fresh Gale. This occasion'd our Grievs the more, that with a good Wind we could not go forward; putting therefore a Hawser upon a piece of great Ice, to keep the Ship close to it, we patiently expected for better Fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield's* Island, our depth was commonly 110 and 100 Fathom Oozie ground. Now the Water begins to Showld; for this present 27th, driving fast to and again in the Ice, we have but 80 Fathom ground as before.

The 28th and 29th, we were so fast inclos'd in the Ice, that notwithstanding we put abroad all the Sail that was at our Yards, and that it blew a very hard gale of Wind, the Ship stirr'd no more than if she had been in a Dry-Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice, to sport and recreate our selves, letting her stand still, under all her Sails. It was flat, extraordinary large Ice, the worst to deal withall that we had yet found. I measur'd some pieces, which I found to be 1000 of my Paes long. This was the first day that our Men began to Murmur, thinking it impossible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of the Opinion, that it was all such Ice betwixt us and the Shore. Others, that the Bay was all covered over; and that it was a doubt whether we could get any way, or to any Land, to Winter in. The Nights were long; and every Night it did so freeze, that we could

could not Sail amongst the Ice by Night, nor in thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encouraged them the best I could; and to put away these Cogitations, we drank a Health to His Majesty on the Ice; not one Man in the Ship, and the still under all her Sails. I most ingeniously confess, that all their Murmuring was not without reason: Wherefore doubting that we should be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire should be made but once a day; and that with a certain number of Shides, that the Steward should deliver to the Cook by tail, the better to prolong our Fuel whatsoever should happen.

The 30th, we made some way thorow the Ice; we heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mawls and Croes of Iron, breaking the corners of the Ice, to make way. As we got forwards, the Water shoalded apace; so that I believe it to be some Island. At Noon we Observed thorow the Fog, with the Quadrant, upon a piece of Ice, and were in Latitude 58. 54. our Depth 30 Fathom. Went out Hooks, to try to catch some Fish, but to no purpose, for there is not any in this Bay.

The 31st, we laboured as aforesaid, and got something forward. At Noon we were in Latitude 58. 40. our Depth 23 Fathom. It was very thick hazie Weather, or else I think we should have seen the Land.

The first of *August*, the Wind came up at West, which drove us to the Eastward, where our Depth increased to 35 Fathom. At Noon, (by Observation with the Quadrant, on the Ice) we were in Latitude 58. 45. At six a Clock this Evening, we might perceive the Ice to heave and set a little; which was occasioned by a swelling Sea that came out of the South-West. This did comfort us very much; hoping shortly we should get out of the Ice.

The 2d, it did blow hard at S. W. and yet we could not feel the forementioned swelling Sea; which did again quench the hopes we had formerly conceived.

The 3d, we did see a little open Water to the North-westward; and did feel a swelling Sea from the West; which doth assure us, that there is an open Sea to the Westward.

The 5th, we saw the Ice clear; but could by no means work ourselves to it with our Sails; wherefore about six in the Evening, we lay to anchor in 50 Fathom Water; with Poles

and Oars to fend off the Ice, and let it pass to Leewards. We continued this continued this Labour all Night.

The 6th, in the Morning, the Wind came up at N. W. and we Weighed with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done, and were in Latitude 58. 28. very free of Ice. The Wind did large upon us, so that we stood away N. W. to get up as high to the Northward as we could; and so to come Coasting to the Southward. We went to Prayer, and to give God thanks for our delivery out of the Ice.

The 9th, (being in Latitude 59. 40.) we came again to the Ice, which lie very thick to the North: Since we came out of the Ice, our Depth increased to 110 Fathom, and now decreaseth again: So that I think we approached towards the Shore.

The 10th proved very thick foggy Weather; the Wind contrary, and the Water shoalding apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fathom.

The 11th, in the Morning, we Weighed, and made in for the Shore, and about Noon saw the Land, our Depth being 16 Fathom, in Latitude 59. 40. The Land to the N. of us did trend N. by E. and so made a point to the Southward, and trended away W. by S. which we followed; making it for that place, which was formerly called *Hubbert's Hope*. And so it proved indeed, but it is now hopeles.

Two or three Words now, concerning the Bay that we have past over. It is from *Digge's* Island, to the Western-Land (in Latitude aforesaid) about 160 Leagues, the Course W. S. W. the Variation.

The Tides do set in the middle of the Bay, East and West, as we have often tryed by our Lead a-ground: But nearer the Shores, as they are forced by the Land, I am of the opinion that in the Ocean, or in large Bays, the Tides do naturally set E. and W. and that this doth give little hope of a Passage. The greatest Depth we had in the Bay was 110 Fathom, and so shoalding as you approach to Land, we Coasted round about this forementioned little Bay, which is some 18 Leagues deep in 8 and six Fathoms, and in the bottom of it, we were in two Fathom and a half Water, and saw the firm Land almost round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward six and seven Fathom Water, within sight of the breach of the Shore, keeping

ing the Lead continually going, and in the Night we would come to an Anchor. This Night here being little Wind, we came to an Anchor with our Kedger; but in VVeighing of him, we lost him, having no more aboard us.

The 12th, we were in Lat. 58. 46. some two Leagues from the Shore. The Variation is about 17 Deg.

The 13th in the Afternoon, (it being something Hazy) we saw some Breaches a-head us: our Depth was 9 and 10 Fathom; and Luffing to clear our selves of them, we suddenly struck upon the Rocks; the Ship then being under our two Topails, Foreail, and Spritsail, with a fresh gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we struck all our Sails amain; and it did please God to send two or three good swelling Seas, which did heave us over the Rocks, into three Fathom and presently into three Fathom and a half, where we Chopt to an Anchor; and assayed the Pumps; but we found she made no Water, although she had three such terrible Blows, that we thought her Mast would have shivered to pieces, and that she had been assuredly Bulged. We hoisted the Boat overboard, and double Mann'd her, to go seek and found a way out of this perilous place. She was no sooner gone, but there rose a Fog; so that we were fain to spend some Powder that she might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd something, otherwise it had doubtful whether she could ever have recovered to us again. After she had been absent about two hours, she brought us word, that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us; and that withal, she had found a way, where there was not less than two Fathom and a half, and that afterwards the Water did deepen. We did presently Weigh, and follow the Boat, and past over two Ledges of Rocks, on which there was scarce 14 foot Water: then it did deepen to three, four, and so to 14 Fathom; then it shoalded again to nine. It being now Night, we came to an Anchor; where we rid indifferent well all the Night. In the Morning, the Wind came contrary, so that we could not go that way we intended to clear our selves, and therefore we went to Work, to fit our Holds, to Splice our Cables; and made ready two Shot, and so placed them in the Hold, that they might upon all Occasions run clear; the ends of them being fastned to the Main-Mast. We likewise lookt to our Anchors, and fitted our spare ones. We got out our long

Boat from betwixt the Decks; which was very much broken and bruised. The Carpenter went to work to fit her, (for I intended to Tow the Shallop at Stern) and so to have the Boats ready at an instant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be servicable to what God should be pleased to try our Faith and Patience withall; for in him was our only trust; and our hope upon his favour in our honest Endeavours. At Noon, in Latitude 57. 45. we could see the Land from the N. W. to the S. E. by E. with Rocks and Breaches; and the Rocks that we came over, dry above Water, whereby I knew it flows here two Fathoms at least. At Noon, I sent the Boat off to Sound to the Eastward; because the Water shoalded when we came to an Anchor. She brought us word, the shoaldest Water she had been in was seven Fathom. We intending thereupon to Weigh, the Wind came Easterly, so that we could not budge; but lay here the 14th all Night with a stiff gale of Wind.

The 15th in the Evening, our Cable galled off; by reason of which perilous and sudden Accident, in which we had not time to put a Buoy to it, we lost our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water, before we could fet our Sails. This when we had done, we stowed S. S. E. the Wind being at East, but the Water shoalded to three Fathom. Then we stowed N. N. E. and it did deepen by Degrees to 10 Fathom; and because it grew dark, we came to an Anchor, and rid a good stress all Night.

The 16th in the Morning, the Wind came up at N a fresh Gale; and we Weighed and came to Sail. By nine a Clock it grew to be a very Storm; and we turned to and again in 10 Fathom Water. In the Evening, the Wind dull'd; and we stood S. W. to have a sight of Port Nelson; which Course we stood all Night, by the Stars, being in Lat. 57. 25. the Variation about 17 Degrees.

The 17th in the Morning, we stood South; and our Depth decreased by Degrees to eight Fathoms. At Noon we had good Observation, being in Latitude 57. 25. and we make Account, that we are some six or seven Leagues of the Southern side of Port Nelson. Here the colour of the Water changed; and was of a puddling and sandy-red colour. We had here six Fathoms, and could not find more from Top-Mast-head; so we stood on, and it beginning to blow from the East by south, we stood off twelve Fathoms, where

where the Water was again of the colour of the Sea.

The 18th, as the Wind and Weather favoured us, and the Storm was broken up, we stood in again South, and came again into thick puddlish Water, into eight, seven, and six Fathom, and then off again, for that it grew thick foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going, Night and Day.

The 19th, being fine clear Sun-shine Weather, we stood in again into the thick puddlish Water, into eight Fathom, where we came to an Anchor to try the Tides; for that from Top-Mast-head we could not now see the Land. We were at Noon (by good Observation) in Latitude 57. 20. and the Tide did set N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. It did run two Knots and a half in two Glasses: I resolved that this was nothing but Shoals to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to Snuffle and Blow, so that we had much ado to get up our Anchor. This being done, we stood E. S. E. but the Water shoalded apace. Then we stood E. and it deepened a little. In the Evening the Wind came up at W. and then we stood E. S. E. into 10 and eight, and afterwards S. E. as our Depth did guide us by our Lead and the colour of the Water, into seven and six Fathoms.

The 20th, at six in the Morning, we saw the Land, it being a very low flat Land. We stood into five Fathoms, to make it the better, and so stood alongst it. At Noon we were in Latitude 57.00. We named it, *The New Principality of South Wales*, and drank a Health in the best Liquor we had to Prince Charles his Highness, whom God preserve. We stood alongst it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward; near to which Point, there are two small Islands. In the Evening it was Calm, and we came to an Anchor. The Tide set as aforesaid. There we rid all that Night, and the next day, by reason the Wind was contrary. There went a chopping short Sea; and the Ship did labour at it exceedingly leaping in Spreetfail-yard, Fore-castle, and all; for as yet we had not trimmed her well, to ride. About nine at Night, it was very dark, and it did blow hard. We did perceive by the Lead, the Ship did drive; wherefore bringing the Cable to Capstang, to heave in our Cable, (for we did think we had lost our Anchor) the Anchor hitcht again, and upon the chopping of a Sea, threw the Men from the Capstang. A small Rope in the ... had gotten foul

about the Cable, and about the Masters Leg too; but with the help of God he did clear himself, though not without sore bruising. The two Mates were Hurt; the one in the Head, the other in the Arm. One of our lustiest Men was stricken on the Breaft with a Bar, that he lay sprawling for life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly escaped. The rest were flung where they were sore bruised; But our Gunner (an honest and a diligent Man) had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capstang, which wrung off his Foot, and tare all the flesh off his Leg, and crushed the Bone to pieces, and sorely withall bruised all his whole Body; in which miserable manner he remained crying till we had recovered our selves, our memory and strengths to clear him. Whilst we were putting him and the rest down to the Chirurgeon; the Ship drove into shoalde Water, which put us all in fear; we being so sorely weakened by this blow, which had hurt eight of our Men. It pleased God, that the Anchor held again; and she rid it out all Night. By Midnight, the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the Gartering place, and dressed the others that were hurt and bruised; after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

The 22th, we Weighed, and stood a little off into deeper Water, expecting a better Wind; which in the Afternoon favoured us. We stood in again for the Shore, and alongst it we proceeded. It is very shoald about four Leagues off, and full of Breaches.

The 23th, at Noon, we were in Latitude 56. 28. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary, and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month, the Wind hath been very variable, and continued not long upon one Point; yet it happened so, that we can get but little forward.

The 26th, there sprung up a fine gale at West, but very thick Weather; nevertheless we stood into seven and six Fathom, the Water very thick and puddlish. At Noon it cleared; and we could see that we were imbayed in a little Bay, the Land being almost round about us.

We stood out of it, and so alongst it, in sight, till the 27th in the Morning; when we came to higher Land than any we had yet seen since we came from Nottingham Island. We stood into it, and came to an Anchor in five Fathom. I sent off the Boat, well-mann'd and arm'd, with order in Writing what they were to

I saluted him according to the manner of the Sea, and received the like of him.

Shore, and the boat into shoal water; the weather being foul, threatening storm, we were not deceived for the boat was wrecked a violent

By Midnight it broke up, and the 3d in the Morning we stood in again; and by a eleven we saw it. Here we found the Land to trend S. S. E. and S. so that we knew we were at a Cape Land; and named it *Cape Henrietta Maria*, by her Majesty's Name, who had before named our Ship. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 05. and that is the height of the Cape.

From Port Nelson to this Cape, the Land trends (generally) E. S. E. but makes with Points and Bays; which in the particulars doth alter it a Point, two or three. The Distance is about 130 Leagues; the Variation at this Cape taken by Amplitude, is about 16 Degrees. A most shoald and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found.

The 3d Day in the Afternoon, we had a tearing Storm at N. which continued till midnight in extrem violence.

The 4th in the Morning (the Storm being broke up) we stood in again S. W. The Weather was very thick, and we Sounded continually; but by Noon it cleared, and we saw the Land. Here it did trend S. by E. and the Tides did set along it, with a quick Motion. In the Evening there came a great rowling Sea out of the N. N. E. and by eight a Clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by reason of the incounter of the Wind and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so lighten, Snow, Rain and Blow, all the Night long, that I was never in the like: We shipt many Seas, but one most dangerous, which rackt us fore and aft, that I verily thought it had sunk the Ship, it strook her with such a violence. The Ship did labour most terribly in this distraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all things fast in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5th in the Morning, the Wind shifted S. W. but changed not his Condition; but continued in his old anger and fury. In the Afternoon, it shifted again to the N. W. and there showed his uttermost Malice; and in that tearing violence, that nor I, nor any that were then with me, ever saw the Sea in such a Breach. Our Ship was so tormented, and did so labour, with taking it in on both sides, and at both ends, that we were in a most miserable Distress in this so unknown place. At eight a Clock in the Evening the Storm brake up, and we had for quietness in

the Night following, not one having slept one wink in 30 hours before. If this Storm had continued Easterly, as it was at first, without God's Goodness we had all perished.

The 6th, the Wind was at S. W. so that we could do no good to the Westward. We spent the time therefore in trimming of our Ship: We brought all our Coals (which for the most part was great Coal) aft; as we also did some other Things, and all to lighten her afore. Others did pick our Bread, whereof there was much wet; for do what we could, we shipt abundance of Water betwixt Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea, indeed, so continually over-rackt us, that we were like *Jonas* in the Whales-Belly. We over-looked our Tacks and Shoots, with other Riggings of Strefs; because that henceforward we were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatwain (a painful Man, and one that had laboured extremly these two or three days) was very Sick, Swouning away three or four times; in-fomuch that we thought verily he would presently have died.

The 7th in the Morning, the Wind came up at S. E. and we stood away S. W. under all the Sail we could make. In this Course, we saw an Island, and came close aboard it, and had 20 Fathom Water, which was some comfort to us; for hitherto we could not come within four or five Leagues of the Shore, at that depth. This Island stands in Latitude 54. 10. In the Afternoon we stood away S. W. and in the Evening had the Shoalding of the Western Shore, in ten, eight, and seven Fathom, but it was so thick, that we could not see the Land. It is about 14 Leagues betwixt this Island and the Main.

The 8th was thick, foggy, and Calm; which so continued till the 9th about six in the Morning; The Wind then coming up at S. S. W. (though very foggy) we stood to the Eastward, keeping our Lead going continually. In the Evening the Water shoalded to ten and nine Fathom, wherefore we stood off and on all Night.

The 10th we made it; finding it an Island of about eight or nine Leagues long. It stands in Latitude 53. 5. and about 15 Leagues from the Western-Shore. The part of it that we Coasted, trends W. N. W. I named it my Lord *Weston's* Island: We stood still away to the Eastward, it being broken foggy Weather.

Weather. In the Afternoon, we discovered Land to the Eastward of us; which made like three Hills or Hummocks: Towards them we Sail, keeping our Lead still going, and very circumspect. At length we also saw Land to the Southward of us; whereupon we Loof up, and now make for that; by Course as we had set it in the thick dark Fog. We came in amongst such low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which way to turn us; but God be thanked it was but little Wind, and so we came to an Anchor: Soon after it cleared, at which time we could see nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us; that way only excepted which we came in. I sent presently the Boat to Sound amongst the Shoals and Rocks, that if we should be put to extremity, we might have some knowledge which way to go. This Night proved Calm and fair Weather, and we rid quietly.

The 11th in the Morning, I went in the Boat ashore my self; and whilst I was a Land, I sent the Boat about amongst the broken Grounds, to Sound. I found this Island utterly barren of all Goodness; yea, of that which I thought easily to have found; which was Scurvy-Grass, Sorrel, or some Herb or other, to have refreshed our sick People. I could not perceive that the Tide did flow here (ordinarily) above two foot. There was much drift Wood on the Shore; and some of it drove up very high, on the North-side of the Island; whereby I judged that the Storms were very great at North in the Winter. Thus I returned aboard; and sent many of our sick Men to another part of the Island, to see if they themselves could fortunately find any relief for their Grievs. At Noon, by good Observation, we were in Latitude 52. 45. In the Evening, our Men returned comfortless; and then we Weighed and stood to the Westward, coming to an Anchor under another Island, in 20 Fathoms.

The 12th in the Morning, it began to blow hard at S. E. which was partly of the Shore; and the Ship began to drive; it being soft ooze ground. We heaved in our Anchor thereupon, and came to Sail under two Courses. Whilst the most were busie in heaving out of Top-sails; some, that should have had special Care of the Ship ran her ashore upon the Rocks; out of meer carelessness, in looking out and about or heaving of the Lead after they had seen the Land all Night

long, and might even then have seen it, if they had not been blinded with self conceit, and been enviously opposite in Opinions. The first blow, struck me out of a deep Sleep, and I running out of my Cabin, thought no other at first, but I had been awakened (when I saw our danger) to provide my self for another World.

After I had controul'd a little Passion in my self, and had checkt some bad Counsel that was given me, to revenge my self upon those that had committed this Error: I ordered what should be done to get off these Rocks and Stones. First, we hal'd all our Sail aback-flays; but that did no good, but make her beat the harder: whereupon we struck all our Sails amain; and furdel'd them up close, tearing down our Stern, to bring the Cable thorow the Cabin to the Capstang, and so laid out an Anchor to heave her astern. I made all the Water in hold to be stav'd, and set some to the Pumps to Pump it out, and did intend to do the like with our Beer; Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was soon and readily done. We quailed out our Cables into our long Boat; all this while, the Ship beating so fearfully that we saw some of the Sheathing swim by us. Then stood we, as many as we could, to the Capstang; and heaved with such a good will, that the Cable brake, and we lost our Anchor. Out, with all speed, therefore, we put another: We could not now perceive whether she did Leak or no; and that by reason we were employed in pumping out the Water, which we had Bulged in Hold; though we much doubted, that she had received her Death's wound; wherefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, six Muskets, with some Match; and a Tinder-Box, Fish, Hooks and Lines, Pitch and Okum; and to be brief, whatever could be thought on in such an extremity. All this we sent ashore, to prolong a miserable life for a few days. We were five hours thus beating, in which time she struck 100 blows; infomuch, that we thought every stroke had been the last that it was possible she could have endured. The Water, we could not perceive in all this time to flow any thing at all: at length, it pleased God, she beat over all the Rocks, though yet we knew not whether she was ashore. Whereupon, to pump out the Water, till we saw her

how much Water she did make in a Glass. We found her to be very leaky; but we went to Prayer and gave God thanks it was no worse; and so fitted all things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening, it began to blow very hard at W. S. W. which if it had done whilst we were on the Rocks, we had lost our Ship without any Redemption. With much ado, we Weigh'd our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eastward amongst the broken Grounds and Rocks, the Boat going before, sounding. At length, we came amongst Breaches, and the Boat made signs to us that there was no going further. Amongst the Rocks therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we did ride all Night, and where our Men which were tired out with extream Labour, were indifferent well refreshed. Here I first noted, that when the Wind was at S. it flowed very little or no Water at all, so that we could not bring our Ship aground to look to her; for we did Pump almost continually.

The 13th at Noon we Weighed, and stood to the Westward; but in that Course, it was all broken Grounds, Shoals and sunken Rocks; so that we wavered with our selves, how we came in amongst them in a thick Fog. Then we shap'd our Course to the Northward, and after some Consultation with my Associates, I resolv'd to get about this Land, and so to go down into the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*, and see if I could discover a way into the River of *Canada*; and if I failed of that, then to Winter on the Main Land; where there is more comfort to be expected, then among Rocks or Islands. We stood alongst the Shore, in sight of many Breaches. When it was Night, we stood under our Forefall, the Lead still going. At last, the Water shoalded upon us, to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We Tack't about, and it did deepen to 12 and 14 Fathom, but by and by, it shoalded again to eight Fathom. Then we Tack't about again, and suddenly it shoalded to six and five Fathom, so we struck our Sail again, and chopt to an Anchor, resolving to ride it out for Life and Death. We rid all Night a great stress; so that our bits did rise, and we thought they would have been torn to pieces.

At break of day the 14th, we were joyful Men; and when we could look about, we descried an Island some two Leagues off, at W. by N. and this was the shoald that lay before us. Here did

run a distracted, but yet a very quick Tide; of which we taking the opportunity, got up our Anchor, and stood N. W. to clear our selves of this Shoald. In the Afternoon, the Wind came up at N. E. and we stood alongst the Eastern shore in sight of a multitude of Breaches. In the Evening it began to blow a Storm not Sail-worthy, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we did now Tow at Stern, being Moor'd with two Hawfers, was sunk; and did spin by her Moorings, with her Keel up, 20 times in an hour. This made our Ship to Hull very broad, so that the Sea did continually over-rake us; yet we endured it, and thought to recover her. All Night, the Storm continued with violence, and with some Rain in the morning, it then being very thick Weather. The Water shoalded apace, with such an over-grown Sea withal, that a Sail was not to be endured; and what was as ill, there was no trusting to an Anchor. Now therefore began we to prepare our selves, how to make a good end of a miserable tormented life. About Noon, as it cleared up, we saw two Islands under our Lee, whereupon we bare up to them; and seeing an opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before Night; for that there was no hope of us, if we continued out at Sea that Night. Therefore come Life, come Death, we must run this hazard. We found it to be a good Sound; where we rid all Night safely, and recovered our Strengths again, which were much impaired with continual Labour. But before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, (being Moor'd with two Hawfers) and we lost her to our great Grief. Thus now had we but the Ship-Boat, and she was all torn and bruised too. This Island was the same that we had formerly Coasted the Western side of, and had named my Lord *Weston's Island*. Here we remained till the 19th, in which time it did nothing but Snow and blow extreemly, inso-much that we durst not put our Boat over-board.

The 19th, the Wind shifted N. N. E. and we Weigh'd and stood to the Southward; but by Noon the Wind came up at S. and so we came to an Anchor under another Island, on which I went ashore, and named it, *The Earl of Bristol's Island*. The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat: Whilst I wandered up and down on this Desert Island, I could

could not perceive, that ever there had been any Salvages on it; and in brief, we could find neither Fish, Fowl, nor Herb upon it, so that I returned comfortable on Board again. The Tides do high about some six Foot, now that the Wind is Northerly. The Flood comes from the North, and it doth flow half Tide. The full Sea this Day was at one a Clock. Here, seeing the Winds continue so Northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudson's Bay*; we considered again what was best to do, to look out for a Wintering place. Some advised me to go for Port *Nelson*, because we were certain that there was a Cove, where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counsel; for that it is a most perilous place, and that it might be so long ere we could get thither, that we might be debar'd by the Ice. Moreover, seeing it was so cold here, as that every Night our Rigging did freeze; and that sometimes in the Morning, we did shovel away the Snow half a foot thick off our Decks, and in that Latitude too: I thought it far worse in the other place. I resolved thereupon, to stand again to the Southward, there to look for some little Creek or Cove for our Ship.

The 21th, the Wind came up at N. and we Weighed, although it was a very thick Fog, and stood away S. W. to clear our selves of the Shoals that were on the point of this Island. This Island is in Lat. 53. 10. When we were clear, we steer'd away S. At Noon the Fog turned into Rain, but very thick Weather, and it did thunder all the Afternoon, which made us doubt a Storm; for all which, we adventured to proceed. In the Evening, the Wind encreased, and blew hard; wherefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glasse. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was 30 Fathom, and it did encrease to 45. which was a great comfort to us in the dark: At Midnight, our Depth began suddenly to decrease; and as fast as the Lead could be heaved, it shoalded to 20 Fathom, wherefore we chopt to an Anchor and trimmed our Ship *ast*, to mount on the Sea, and fitted all things to ride it out. There was no need to bid our Men watch, not one of them putting his Eyes together all the Night long. We rid it out well all the Night, although the Sea went very lofty, and that it did blow very hard.

The 22^d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we saw an Island under our Lee some Leagues off, all being Shoals and Breaches betwixt us and it. At Noon (with the help of the Windward Tide) we attempted to heave up our Anchor, although the Sea still went very lofty. Joining all our Strengths therefore, with our best skills, God be thanked, we had it up; but before we could set our Sails we were driven into nine Fathom. Indavouring thereupon to Double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Island, the Water shoalded to seven, six, and five Fathom, but when we were about, it did deepen again, and we came to an Anchor in a very good place; and it was very good for us that we did, for the Wind increased to a very Storm. Here we rid well all the Night, took good rest, and recovered our spent Strengths again. The last Night and this Morning it did Snow and Hail, and was very cold: Nevertheless, I took the Boat and went ashore to look for some Creek or Cove to have in our Ship, for she was very leaky, and the Company become sickly and weak, with much Pumping and extream Labour. This Island, when we came to the Shore, it was nothing but ledges of Rocks, and Banks of Sand, and there went a very great Surf on them. Nevertheless, I made them row thorow it, and ashore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches; and there to come to an Anchor and to stay for me: I made what speed I could to the top of a Hill, to discover about, but could not see what we looked for: Thus because it began to blow hard, I made haste towards the Boat again. I found that it had Ebb'd so low, that the Boat could not by any means come near the Shore for me, so that we were fain to wade thorow the Surf and Breaches to her; in which, some took such a Cold, that they did complain of it to their Dying-Day. But now it began to blow hard, so that we could not get but little to Windward toward our Ship, for the Wind was shifted since we went ashore, and return to the Shore, we could not, by reason of the Surf. Well, we Row for life; they in the Ship, let out a Buoy by a long Warp, and by God's Assistance we got to it, and so haled up to the Ship, where we were well welcom'd, and we ~~was~~ This was a Pleasant how we was Winter Wea-

Weather already. I named this Island, *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*: It is full of small Wood; but in other Benefits not very rich, and stands in Latitude 52. 10. At Noon we Weighed, seeing an Island that bare S. S. E. of us, some four Leagues off, which was the highest Land we had yet seen in this Bay; but as we came near it, it suddenly shoalded to six, five, and four Fathom, wherefore we struck our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor; but it was very foul ground, and when the Ship was winded up, we had but three Fathom at her Stern. As it cleared, we could see the Breaches all alongst under our Lee, holding it safe therefore to stay long here, we settled every thing in order, for the Ship to fall the right way. We had up our Anchor, got into deep Water, and stood over again for *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*; which by Night we brought in the Wind of us, some two Leagues off, which did well shelter us. The Tides run very quick here amongst these Shoalds; and their times of running Ebb, or Flood, be very uncertain: Their Currants are likewise so distracted, that in the Night there is no Sailing by the Compaſs; wherefore we were fain to seek every Night some new place of Security to come to an Anchor.

The 24th in the Morning, it did lower, and threaten a Storm, which made us with the Windward Tide, Weigh to get nearer under the Island. It was very thick foggy Weather; and as we stood to the North Eastward, we came to very uncertain depths; at one caſt 20 Fathom, the next seven, then 10, five, eight, and three, and coming to the other Tack, we were worse than we were before, the Currants making a fool of our best Judgments in the thick Fog when we could see no Land-Marks. It pleased God that we got clear of them, and endeavoured to get under the Lee of the Island. This being not able to do, we were fain to come to an Anchor in 35 Fathom, some two Leagues off the Shore: All this Afternoon (and indeed all Night too) it did Snow and Hail, and was very Cold.

The 25th we Weighed, and thought to get to the Eastward; but as we Tack to and again, the Wind shifted so in our Teeths, that it put us within a quarter of a Mile of the very Shore; where we chopt to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miseries as these we endured amongst these Shoalds and

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broken Grounds, or rather more desperate than I have related, (very unpleasant perchance to be read) with Snow, Hail, and stormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt it in *England* in my life. Our Shoote-Anchor was down twice or thrice a day, which extream Pains made a great part of the Company sickly.

All this lasted with us, until the 30th of this Month of *September*, which we thought would have put an end to our Miseries; for now we were driven amongst Rocks, Shoalds, Over-falls, and Breaches round about us, that which way to turn we knew not; but there rid amongst them in extremity of distress. All these Perils, made a most hideous and terrible noise in the Night Season; and I hope it will not be accounted ridiculous, if I relate with what Meditations I was affected, now and then, amongst my ordinary Prayers; which I here afford the Reader, as I there conceived them in these few ragged and torn Rhimes.

O H, my poor soul, why dost thou grieve so fee,
So many Deaths must I to murder me?
Look to thy self, regard not me; for I
Must do, (for what I came) perform, or die.
So thou mayst free thy self from being in
A dung-hill dungeon; a mer sink of sin,
And happily be freed, if thou believe,
Truly in God through Christ, and ever live.
Be therefore glad yet: ere thou go from hence,
For our joint Sins, let's do some Penitence,
Unfeignedly together. When we part,
I'll wish the Angels Joy, with all my heart.
We have with confidence relied upon
A rusty Wire, toucht with a little Stone,
Incompast round with Paper, and alas!
To house it harmless, nothing but a Glass,
And thought to shun a thousand dangers, by
The blind direction of this senseless fly.
When the fierce Winds shatter'd black nights asunder,
Whose pitchy Clouds, spitting forth Fire and Thunder,
Hath shook the Earib, and made the Ocean roar;
And run to hide it, in the broken shore:
Now thou must Steer by faith; a better guide,
'Twill bring thee safe to Heaven against the Tide
Of Satans Malice. Now let quiet gales
Of saving Grace, inspire thy jealous Sails.

The first of *October* was indifferent fair Weather, and with a Windward Tide, out went our Boat, to Sound a Channel to help us out of this perilous Place. The Boat, within two hours returned; and told us, how he had been a way where there was no less than 12 Fathom. We presently thereupon Weighed, but found it otherwise, and came amongst many strange Races, and Over-falls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea: As we proceeded, the Water shoalded to six Fathom.

6 L.

Well!

Well! There was no remedy, we must go forward, happy be lucky, feeling there neither was any riding, and as little hope to turn any way with a Sail, but that there appeared present death in it. It pleased God so to direct us, that we got thorow it, having no less than five several, and all very uncertain depths. The Water, sometimes deepened to 20 Fathoms, then upon a sudden, it shoalded to seven, six, and five Fathoms; so we struck all our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight, for life and death, it blowing a merciless gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a breach: The Ground was foul Ground too, inso-much that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The 2d in the Morning was little Wind; wherefore taking the opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to Sound; which returning again in two hours, told us how they had Sounded about that shoald, and had found a place of some safety to ride in, and had been in no less Water than five Fathom. We Weighed, and found our Cable galled in two places; which had soon failed us, if the foul Weather had continued. We stood the same way that the Boat did direct us; but it proved so Calm, that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fathom. I took the Boat, and went ashore on an Island that was to the Southward of us, which I named, *The Earl of Danby's Island*. From the highest place in it, I could see it all broken Grounds and Shoalds to the Southward; and rather worse than any thing better than that which we had been in. I found that the Salvages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made haste to the Boat to sound the Bay for fear of Shoalds and sunken Rocks, but found it indifferent good. Toward the Evening it began to blow hard; wherefore we made towards the Ship. She put forth a Buoy and a Warp; and we rowing for life to recover her, were put to the Leeward of her; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hal'd up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water, our selves being as wet as drown'd Rats; and it made us the more rejoyce, that we had escap'd this great danger. All this Night, we had a very hard rode-steede, it blowing a most violent gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail.

The 3d about Noon, the Wind dull'd, and we had up our Anchor, standing in

further into the Bay into four Fathom and a half Water. Here we came again to an Anchor, with our second Anchor; for many of our Men are now sick, and the rest so weakened, that we can hardly weigh our Shoote-Anchor: I took the Boat, and went presently ashore to see what Comfort I could find: This was the first time that I put foot on this Island, which was the same that we did after Winter upon. I found the Tracks of Deer, and saw some Fowl; but that that did rejoyce me most, was, that I did see an opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we make with all speed, but found it to be Barr'd, and not two Foot Water at full Sea on the Bar; and yet within, a most excellent fine Harbour, having four Fathom Water. In the Evening, I return'd aboard, bringing little Comfort for our Sick Men more than Hopes.

The 4th, it did Snow and Blow very hard, yet I got ashore, and appointed the Boat to go to another place, (which made like a River) and to Sound it. In the mean time, I went with four more, some four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no relief all that way for our Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied our selves in the troublesome Woods, we return'd to the Place I had appointed the Boat to tarry for me; where at my coming I still found her, she having not been where I had ordered her, for it had blown such a fierce gale of Wind, that she could not row to Windward. Thus we return'd aboard with no good News. It continued foul Weather, with Snow and Hail, and extrem Cold, till the 6th, when with a favouring Wind, we stood in nearer to the Shore, and here Moor'd the Ship.

The 7th, it Snow'd all day, so that we were fain to clear it of the Decks with Shovels, and it blew a very Storm withal. It continued Snowing and very cold Weather, and it did so freeze, that all the Bows of the Ship, with her Beak-head, was all Ice; about the Cable also, was Ice as big as a Man's middle. The Bows of the Boat were likewise frozen half a Foot thick, so that we were fain to hew and beat it off. The Sun did shine very clear; and we tore the Top-sails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, into a lump; so that there they lay; a Sunning all day, in a very lump; the Sun not having power to Thaw or melt of them. After the

Boat

Boat was fitted, we Rowed towards the Shore, but could not come near the place where we were used to Land, for that it was all thickened Water with the Snow, that had fallen upon the Sands, that are dry at low Water. This made it so difficult to Row, that we could not set through it with four Oars, yet something higher to the Westward, we got ashore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely upon us, and that we had very little Wood aboard, I made them fill the Boat, and went aboard and sent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood, others to carry it to the Waterside, whilst the Boat brought it aboard, for I doubted that we were likely to be debar'd the Shore, and that we should not go to and again with the Boat. It was miserable and Cold already aboard the Ship; every thing did freeze in the Hold, and by the Fire side: Seeing therefore that we could no longer make use of our Sails, (which be the Wings of a Ship) it raised many Doubts in our Minds that here we must stay and Winter. After we had brought so much Wood aboard as we could conveniently stow, and enough as I thought would have lasted two or three Months, the sick Men desired that some little House or Hovel might be built ashore, whereby they might be the better sheltered, and recover their Healths. I took the Carpenter, (and others whom I thought fit for such a purpose) and choosing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean space, I my self, accompanied with some others, wandered up and down in the Woods, to see if we could discover any signs of Salvages, that so we might the better provide for our Safeties against them. We found no appearance that there was any on this Island nor near unto it: The Snow by this time was half-Leg high; and Stalking through it, we returned comfortless to our Companions, who had all this time wrought well upon our House. They aboard the Ship, took down our Top-sails in the mean while, and made a great Fire upon the Hearth in the Hatch-way; so that having well thaw'd them, they folded them up, and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any Weather, they might bring them again to Yard: Thus in the Evening we returned aboard.

The 12th, we took our Main-sail from the Yard, which was hard frozen to it, and carried it ashore to cover our House with all, being so fast to Thaw

it by a great fire: By Night they had covered it, and had almost hedged it about; and the six Builders did desire to lie in it ashore that Night, which I condescended unto, having first fitted them with Muskets and other Furniture, and a charge to keep good watch all Night. Moreover, they had ashore two Greyhounds, (a Dog and a Bitch) which I had brought out of England, to kill us some Deer, if happily we could find any.

By the 13th at Night, our House was ready; and our six Builders desired they might Travel up into the Country to see what they could discover.

The 14th, betimes in the Morning, being fitted with Munition, and their Order to keep together, (but especially to seek out some Creek or Cove for our Ship) they departed. We aboard, took down our two Top-Masts and their Rigging, making account if we did remove, to make use of our Forefall and Mizzen.

The 15th in the Evening, our Hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a small, lean Deer, in four quarters, which rejoiced us all, hoping we should have had more of them to refresh our Sick Men withal. They reported, that they had wandered above 20 miles, and had brought this Deer above 12 miles, and that they had seen nine or ten more. The last Night, they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods; and so it appeared, for they lookt all almost starved, nor could they recover themselves in three or four days after. They saw no sign of Salvages, nor of any ravening wild Beasts, nor yet any hope of Harbour.

The 17th, my Lieutenant, and five more, desired they might try their Fortunes in Travelling about the Island. But they had far worse luck than the others, although they endured out all Night, and had wandered very far in the Snow, (which was now very deep) and returned comfortless and miserably disabled with the Coldness. But what was worse than all this, they had lost one of their Company, *John Barton*, namely, our Gunner's Mate; who being very weary, merely to save the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a quarter of a Mile over; where when he was in the very midst, the Ice brake and closed upon him, and we never saw him more. Considering these Disasters, I resolved to fish no more with

with a golden Hook; for fear, I weakened my self more with one Hunting than twenty such dear Deers could do me good. Being now assured, that there was no Salvages upon the Island, nor yet about us on the other Islands; no, nor on the Main neither, as far as we could discover, (which we further proved by making of Fires) and that the cold Season was now in that extremity, that they could not come to us, if there were any; we comforted and refreshed our selves, by sleeping the more securely. We changed our Island Garison every week, and for other refreshing we were like to have none till the Spring.

From this 10th, to the 29th, it did (by *interims*) Snow and blow so hard, that the Boat could hardly adventure ashore, and but seldom Land, unless the Men did wade in the thick congealed Water, carrying one another. We did sensibly perceive withall, how we did daily sink into more Miseries. The Land was all deep covered with Snow, the Cold did multiply, and the thick Snow-Water did increase; and what would become of us, our most merciful God and Preserver knew only.

The 29th, I observed an Eclipse of the Moon, with what care possibly I could, both in the trial of the Exactness of our Instruments, as also in the Observation: I refer you to the Observation in the latter end of this Relation, where it is at large described. This Month of *October* ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather.

The first of *November* I cast up my Accounts with the Steward concerning our Victual, the third part of our time being this day out. I found him an honest Man; for he gave me an Account every Week what was spent, and what was still in the hold remaining under his Hand: I would take no Excuse of Leakage or other waste, unless he did daily show it me. Every Month, I made a new Survey; and every six Months, put what we had spared, by it self; which now was at least a Months Provision of Bread, and a Fortnights of Pease and Fish, &c.

The 3d, the Boat endeavoured to get ashore, but could not set thorow the thick congealed Water.

The 4th, they found a Place to get ashore, and so once in two or three days, till the 9th, bringing Beer to our Men ashore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the House in one Night. Other

Provision they had store. The Ice Beer being Thaw'd in a Kettle, was not good; and they did break the Ice of the Ponds of Water, to come by Water to drink. This Pond-Water had a most loathsome smell with it; so that doubting left it might be infectious, I caused a Well to be sunk near the House. There we had very good Water; which did taste (as we flattered our selves with it) even like Milk.

The 10th, (having store of Boards for such a purpose) I put the Carpenter to work, to make us a little Boat which we might carry (if occasion were) over the Ice and make use of her, where there was Water. At Noon I took the Latitude of this Island by two Quadrants, which I found to be 52. 00. I urged the Men to make traps to catch Foxes, for we did daily see many. Some of them were pied, black and white; whereby I gathered that there was some black Foxes, whose Skins, I told them, were of a great value; and I promised, that whosoever could taken one of them, should have the Skin for his Reward: Hereupon, they made divers Traps, and waded in the Snow (which was very deep) to place them in the Woods.

The 12th, our House took fire, but we soon quenched it. We were fain to keep an extraordinary fire Night and Day; and this Accident made me order a watch to look to it continually; seeing, that if our House and Clothing should be burnt, that all we were but in a woe-ful Condition. I lay ashore till the 17th, all which time our Miseries did increase. It did Snow and Freeze most extremely. At which time, we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, she did look like a piece of Ice in the fashion of a Ship, or a Ship resembling a piece of Ice. The Snow was all frozen about her, and all her fore-part firm Ice, and so was she on both sides also. Our Cables froze in the Hawse, wonderful to behold. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I spent, with tormenting Cogitations; and in the Day time, I could not see any hope of Saving the Ship. This I was assured of, that it was most impossible to endure these Extremities long. Every Day the Men must beat the Ice off the Cables; while some within board, with the Carpenters long Calking Iron, did dig the Ice out of the Hawses; in which work, the Water would freeze on their Clothes and Hands, and would so Benumb them, that they could hardly get into the Ship,

Ship, without being heav'd in with a Rope.

The 19th, our Gunner, (who as you may remember, had his Leg cut off) did languish irrecoverably, and now grew very weak; desiring, that for the little time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which I ordered he should do.

The 22th in the Morning he died. An honest and a strong-hearted Man. He had a close-boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, which was very close indeed; and as many Clothes on him as was convenient, (for we wanted no Clothes) and a Pan with Coals, and a Fire continually in his Cabin: For all which warmth, his Plaster would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head. We committed him at a good distance from the Ship unto the Sea.

The 23th, the Ice did increase extraordinarily, and the Snow lay on the Water in flakes, as it did fall; much Ice withal drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, after the watch was set, a great piece came athwart our Hawse, and four more followed after him, the least of them a quarter of a Mile broad; which in the dark did very much astonish us, thinking it would have carried us out of the Harbour, upon the shoalds Easter-point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congealed, a matter of two Inches thick, and we broke thorow it, the Cable and Anchor induring an incredible stress, sometimes stopping the whole Ice. We shot off three Muskets, signifying to our Men ashore, that we were in Distress; who answered us again, but could not help us. By ten a Clock it was all past; nevertheless, we watched carefully, and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this Month. In the Morning, at break of Day, I sent for our Men aboard, who made up the House, and arrived by ten, being driven by the way, to wade thorow the congealed Water, so that they recovered to the Boat with difficulty. There drove by the Ship many pieces of Ice, though not so large as the former, yet much thicker: One piece came foul of the Cable, and made the Ship drive.

As soon as we were clear of it, we joyned our Strengths together, and had up our Eastermost Anchor; and now I resolved to bring the Ship a-ground, for no Cables nor Anchors could hold her: But I will here show y^e the Reasons

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why I brought her no sooner a-ground. First, It was all Stony-ground, some Stones lying dry, three or four foot above Water; so that it was to be suspected, that it was the like all about us. Secondly, It did ordinarily flow but two Foot and a half here; and if she should bed deep in the Sands, we could not ever come to dig her out again; for that she would not be dry, by four or five Foot. Thirdly, It was a loose Sand, which might rise with the Surf, or so mount about her; that all our weak powers could not heave it away in the next Spring-time. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not high so much in the Summer as they did now. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tides way, which doth run something quick here; and the Ice, besides, might drive and mount up upon her, and so over-set her, or tear her, and carry away her Planks, Iron-works and all; so that we should have nothing left to finish our Pinnace with. Sixthly, If it did blow a Storm at N. W. or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Foot and upwards; and that Wind being off the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the shoald Easter-Point, which was occasioned by a deep Over-fall. Moreover, she would beat extremely; and if she were put up by the Sea, or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we should never have her off again. For these Reasons we endured all the extremity, still hoping upon some good and fortunate Accident. But now all our provident Designs we saw to become Foolishness; and that a great deal of miserable Labour had been spent in vain by us. With the Flood we Weighed our Westermost Anchor, perceiving God's Assistance manifestly, because it happened to be fine warm Weather, otherwise had not been able to work. The Wind was now South, which blew in upon the Shore, and made the lowest Tides. We brought the Ship into 12 Foot Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in shoald Water, to draw her a land at command. Our Hope also was, that some Stones that were to the Westward of us, would send off some of the Ice. We then being about a Mile from the Shore, about ten a Clock in the dark Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove some two Cables length; and the Wind blowing

on the Shore, by two a Clock she came i-ground, and stopt much Ice; yet she lay well all Night, and we took some rest.

The 25th, the Wind shifted Easterly, and put abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood was made, we encouraged one another, and to Work we go, drawing home our Anchors by main force, under great pieces of Ice, our endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore. But to our great Discomforts, when the half Tide was made, (which was two hours before High-Water) the Ship drove amongst the Ice to the Eastward, (do what we could) and so would have on the shoald Rocks. As I have formerly said, these two days, and this day, was very warm Weather, and it did Rain, which it had not yet but once done, since we came hither; otherwise, it had been impossible we could have wrought. Withall, the Wind shifted also to the South, and at the very instant, blew a hard puff; which so continued for half an hour. I caused our two Top-sails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoisted them up with Ropes in all haste, and we forced the Ship ashore, when she had not half a Cables length to drive on the Rocky Shoalds. In the Evening we broke way thorow the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in five Foot Water, to keep her to the Shore if possible it might be. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my Mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this manner, and so starved at Sea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine a Clock at Night, the Wind came up at North-West, and blew a very Storm. This Wind was off the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rowling Sea withall about the Point, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now were we left to the Mercy of the Sea on the Ground. By ten, she began to rowl in her Dock; and soon after, began to Beat against the Ground. We stood at the Capstang as many as could, others at the Pumps; for we thought that every fifth or sixth blow would have staved her to pieces. We heaved to the uttermost of our strengths to keep her as near the Ground as we could. By reason of this Wind, it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up so high, that it was doubtful if ever we should get her off again.

She continued thus Beating, till two a Clock the next Morning, and then she again settled. Whereupon we went to Sleep to restore Nature; seeing the new Tide we expected to be again tormented.

The 26th, in the Morning-Tide, Ship did not float, whereby we had so quietness. After Prayers, I called a Consultation of the Master, my Lieutenant, the Mates, Carpenter, and Boat-swain; to whom I proposed, that now we were put to our last Shifts, and therefore they should tell me what they thought of it: Namely, whether it were not best, to carry all our Provision ashore; and that when the Wind should come Northerly, it were not safest to draw her further off, and sink her. After many Reasonings they allowed of my purpose, and so I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it. And so we fell to getting up of our Provisions; first our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dry-Fats with a Hoghead of Beef; having much ado to set the Boat thorow the thick congealed Water. In the Evening, the Wind came up at N. E. and E. and fill'd the Bay choakfull of Ice.

The 27th, the Bay continued full of Ice, which I hoped would so continue and freeze, that we should not be put to sink our Ship. This Day we could Land nothing.

The 28th, at break of day, three of our Men went ashore over the Ice, unknown to me; and the Wind coming up at W. drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and most part out of the Bay also: And yet not so, that the Boat could go ashore for any thing. I made the Carpenter fit a place against all sudden Extremities, for that with the first N. W. or Northerly Wind, I meant to effect our last project. In the run of her, on the Starboard-side, he cut away the Sealing and the Plank to the Sheathing some four or five Inches square, some four Foot high from the Keel of her, that so it might be Boared out at an instant. We brought our Bread which was remaining in the Bread-room, up into the great Cabin, and likewise all our Powder, setting much of our light dry things betwixt Decks.

The 29th, at five a Clock in the Morning, the Wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to shift from the W. by the N. round about. So first

first I ordered the Cooper to go down in Hold, and look to all our Cask ; those that were full, to mawle in the Bungs of them ; those that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to Stave them. Then to quoil all our Cables upon our lower Tire ; and to lay on our spare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from rising. By seven a Clock, it blew a Storm at N. W. our bitter Enemy. The Ship was already Bedded some two Foot in the Sand, and whilst that was a flowing, she must Beat. This I before had in my Consideration ; for I thought she was so far driven up, that we should never get her off. Yet we had been so ferrited by her last beating, that I resolved to sink her right down, rather than run that hazard. By nine a Clock, she began to rowl in her Dock, with a most extraordinary great Sea that was come ; which I found to be occasioned by the forementioned Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits end. Wherefore I went down in Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Auger and bored a hole in the Ship, and let in the Water. Thus with all speed, we began to cut out other places, to bore thorow, but every place was full of Nails. By ten, notwithstanding, the lower Tire was covered with Water ; for all which, she began so to beat in her Dock, more and more, that we could not work, nor stand to do any thing in her : Nor would she sink so fast as we would have her, but continued beating double blows ; first abaft, and then before, that it was wonderful, how she could endure a quarter of an hour with it. By twelve a Clock, her lower Tire rose ; and that did so counter-beat on the inside, that it beat the bulk-heads of the Bread-Room, Powder-Room, and Fore-piece, all to pieces ; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Chefts fied wildly about, and the Water did flash and fly wonderfully ; so that now we expected every Minute when the Ship would open and break to pieces. At one a Clock she beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which way. Thus she continued beating till three a Clock ; and then the Sea came up on the Upper-Deck, and soon after, she began to settle. In her, we were fain to Sink the most part of our Bedding and Clothes ; and the Chirurgeons Chest with the rest. Our N. W. that were ashore, stood looking at us, almost

dead with Cold, and Sorrows to see our Misery and their own. We look'd upon them again ; and both upon each other with woeful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I bade the Boat to be baled up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her ; who, (in some refusing Compliments) expressed their faithful Affections to me, as loth to part from me. I told them, that my meaning was to go ashore with them. And thus, lastly, I forsook the Ship.

We were 17 poor Souls now in the Boat ; and we now imagined, That *we were leapt out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire* : The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick congealed with Snow ; so that we thought assuredly, it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double-Man'd four Oars, appointing four more to sit ready with Oars ; and so with the help of God we got to the Shore, halling up the Boat after us. One thing was most strange in this thick Water : Namely, That there went a great swelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land, we greeted our Fellows the best we could ; at which time they could not know us, nor we them by our Habits nor Voices, so frozen all over we were, Faces, Hair, and Apparel. And here I mean to take breath a-while, after all this long and unpleasant Relation of our miserable Endeavours ; craving leave first of all to speak a word or two in general.

The Winds, since we came hither, have been very variable and unconstant ; and till within this fortnight, the Southerly Wind was the coldest. The reason I conceive to be, for that it did blow from the Main-Land, which was all covered with Snow ; and for that the North Winds came out of the great Bay which hitherto was open. Add to that ; we were now under a South Bank which did shelter us, so that we were not so sensible of it.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and a N. N. W. Wind (if it blew a Storm) would raise the Tides extraordinarily : And in brief, from the W. N. W. to the N. N. E. would raise the Tides in proportion, as they did blow from the middle Point : The Wind being on the opposite Points (if it blew) it would flow very little at all. The harder it blew, the less Water it would flow. If it were little Wind, or Calm, it would flow indifferently. The Tides do high

ordinarily (without being forced) about three Foot; but being forced with the forementioned Winds, upwards of ten Foot. I could perceive no difference betwixt Neap and Spring-Tides: It

flows half Tide; that is, the Flood comes from the Northward; and thither returns again, two hours before it be high Water; and it is commonly so seen in most Bays or Inlets.

O U R W I N T E R I N G.

AFTER we had haled up the Boat, we went alongst the Breach-side in the dark, towards our House, where we made a good Fire, and with it, and Bread and Water, we Thawed and comforted our selves, beginning after that to reason one with another, concerning our Ship. I requir'd that every one should speak his Mind freely. The Carpenter (especially) was of the Opinion, that she was fonder'd, and would never be serviceable again. He alledged, that she had so beaten, that it was not possible, but that all her Joints were loose, and Seams open; and that by reason it flowed so little Water, and no Creek nor Cove being near, wherein to bring her a-ground, he could not Devise how he might come to mend it. Moreover, her Rudder was lost, and he had no Iron-work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up so high upon the Sands, that they thought we should never have her off again, and that they were assured she was already Docket three Foot. Others, that she lay in the Tides way, and that the Ice might tear her to pieces off the Ground; besides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice; which when the Ice brake (which would be of a great thicknes by the Spring) would break our Anchors to pieces, and then we should have no Anchors to bring us home withall, supposed we got off the Ship, and that she proved Sound also. I comforted them the best I could with such-like Words, My Masters and faithful Companions, be not dismayd for any of these Disasters, but let us put our whole trust in God; It is he that giveth and he that taketh away; he throws down with one hand, and raiseth up with another: His will be done. If it

be our Fortunes to end our days here, we are as near Heaven as in *England*; and we are much bound to God Almighty for giving us so large a time of Repentance, who as it were daily calls upon us, to prepare our selves for a better life in Heaven. I make no doubt, but he will be merciful to us both here on Earth, and in his blessed Kingdom; he doth not in the mean time deny, but that we may use all honest means to save and prolong our natural Lives withall; and in my Judgment, we are not yet so far past hope of returning into our Native Countries, but that I see a fair way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be foundered, (which God forbid, I hope the best) yet have those of our own Nation, and others, when they have been put to these Extremities, even out of the Wreck of their lost Ship, built then a Pinnace, and recovered to their Friends again. If it be objected, That they have happened into better Climates, both for temperateness of the Air, and for pacifick and open Seas; and provided withall, of abundance of fresh Victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for courageous Minds, which hitherto you have shown, and I doubt not will still do, to the uttermost.

They all protested to work to the uttermost of their Strength, and that they would refuse nothing that I should order them to do, to the uttermost hazard of their lives. I thank'd them all; And to the Carpenter for his cheerful-undertaking, I promised to give him so much Plate presently, as should be worth Ten Pound Sterling; and if so be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her him freely, and Fifty Pounds in Money over and above; and would moreover, gratifie all of them, that I should see,
painful

painful and industrious. Thus we then resolved, to build us a new Pinnacle with the Timber we should get upon the Island; that in the Spring, if we found not the Ship Serviceable, we might tear her up, and Plank her with the Ships Planks. And so for this Night we settled our selves close about the Fire, and took some rest till day-light.

The 30th betimes in the Morning, I caused the Chirurgurgeon to cut the Hair of my Head short, and to shave away all the Hair of my Face, for that it was become intolerable, and that it would be frozen so great with Ice-fickles: The like did all the rest.

The first of *November* we fitted our selves to work. The first thing we were to do, was to get our Clothes and Provisions ashore, and therefore I divided the Company. The Master and a convenient Company with him, were to go aboard, and to get things out of the Hold. The Cock-swain with his Gang, were to go in the Boat, to bring and carry things ashore. My self, with the rest, to carry it half a Mile thorow the Snow, unto the place where we intended to build a Store-House: As for the heavier Things, we purposed to lay them upon the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at South South West, and the Water veer'd to so low an Ebb, that we thought we might get something out of our Hold: We Launched our Boat therefore, and with Oars, set thorow the thick congealed Water: It did freeze extream hard, and I did stand on the Shore with a troubled Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and that then we were all lost Men. But by God's Assistance, they got safely to the Ship, and made a Fire there, to signify their arrival aboard. They fell presently to work, and got something out of the Hold, upon the Decks; but Night coming on, they durst not adventure to come ashore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabbins, being almost starved.

The first of *December* was so Cold, that I went the same way over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boat had gone yesterday. This day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles, 500 of our Fish, and much of our Bedding and Clothes, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice.

The 2d was mild Weather; and some of the Men going over the Ice,

fell in, and very hardly recovered; so that this day we could Land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back: I put them therefore to make us a Store-House ashore. In the Evening, the Wind came up at West; and the Ice did break and drive out of the Bay: It was very deep and large Ice, that we much doubted it would have spoiled the Ship.

The 3d day, there were divers great pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship; and she stopt them, yet not so, that we could go over them. We found a way for the Boat; but when she was laden; she drew four foot Water, and could not come within a flight-shot of the Shore. The Men therefore must wade thorow the thick congealed Water, and carry all things out of the Ship upon their Backs. Every time they waded in the Ice, it so gathered about them, that they did seem like a walking piece of Ice, most lamentable to behold. In this extream cold Evening, they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and pickt it with Hand-spikes out of her, and endeavouring to hoist her into the Ship: There being small hope that she could go to and again any more. But use what means they could, she was so heavy, that they could not hoist her in, but were fain there to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship's side.

The 4th, being Sunday, we rested; and performed the Sabbath-Duties of a Christian.

The 5th and 6th were extream Cold; and we made Bags of our Store-shirts, and in them carried our loofe Bread over the Ice ashore upon our Backs. We also digged our Clothes and new-Sails with Hand-spikes of Iron, out of the Ice, and carried them ashore, which we dried by a great Fire.

The 7th day was so extreamly Cold, that our Noses, Checks, and Hands, did freeze as white as Paper.

The 8th and 9th it was extream Cold, and it did Snow much, yet we continued our Labour, in carrying and rowling things ashore. In the Evening the Water raised the Ice very high, and it did break two Thoughts of our Boat, and break in the side of her; but for that time we could not help it.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel, and a Stern, for our Pinnacle; the rest wrought about our Provisions until the 13th day; and that we spent in digging our Boat out of the Ice;

Our Wintering at Winter's Forest.

Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel; and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice; in which doing, many had their Noses, Cheeks, and Fingers, frozen as white as Paper. The Cold now encreased most extreemly. By the 19th, we could get no more things out of our Hold; but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other things, which were all firm frozen in her.

The 21st was so Cold, that we could not go out of the House.

The 23th we went to have our Boat afloat, running her over our Oars, but by ten a Clock there came such a thick Fog, that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and make what haste we could to the Shore; which we had much ado to find, for the time, losing one another. At the last, we met all at the House, the miserablest frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers, the Cold had raised Blisters as big as Wall-Nuts. This we imagined to come, by reason that they came too hastily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up; so that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no Water. Melted Snow-Water is very unwholesome, either to Drink or to Dress our Victuals. It made us so short-breathed, that we were scarce able to speak. All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every thing else that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a piece of Wood, and we must cut it with a Hatchet. Our House was all frozen on the inside, and it froze hard within a yard of the fireside. When I landed first upon this Island, I found a Spring under a Hills side; which I then observing, had caused some Trees to be cut for Marks to know the Place again by. It was about three quarters of a Mile from our House. I sent three of our Men which had been formerly with me, thither upon the 24th. These wading thorow the Snow, at last found the place, and shoveling away the Snow, they made way to the very head of it. They found it spring very strongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continued all the year, and did not freeze, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We labour'd very hard these three or four days, to get Wood to the House, which we found to be very troublesome, through the deep Snow.

We then settled our Bedding and Provisions, providing to keep *Christmas Day Holy*, which we Solemnized in the joyfullest manner we could; So likewise did we *St. John's Day*; upon which we named the Wood we did Winter in, in Memory of that Honourable Knight, *Sir John Winter, Winter's Forest*. And now instead of a *Christmas Tail*, I will here describe the House that we did live in, with those adjoining.

When I first resolved to build a House, I chose the warmest and convenientest Place, and the nearest the Ship withall. It was amongst a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South-Bank, about a flight-shot from the Sea's side. True it is, That at that time we could not dig into the Ground, to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth, (which had been the best way) because we found Water within two Foot digging; and therefore that project fail'd. It was a white light Sand; so that we could by no means make up a Mud-Wall. As for Stones, there were none near us; which, moreover, were all now covered with the Snow. We had no Boards for such a purpose, and therefore we must do the best we could, with such Materials as we had about us.

The House was square, about 20 foot every way, as much namely, as our Main-Course could well cover: First we drove strong stakes into the Earth, round about, which we watted with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very close. This our first work was six Foot high on both sides; but at the ends, almost up to the very top, there we left two holes for the light to come in at; and the same way the Smoak did vent out also. Moreover, I caused at both ends, three rows of thick Bush-Trees, to be stuck up, as close together as might be possible. Then at a distance from the House, we cut down Trees, proportioning them into lengths of six Foot, with which we made a Pile on both sides, six Foot thick, and six Foot high; but at both ends, ten Foot high, and six Foot thick: We left a little low Door to creep into; and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next of all fastened a rough Tree aloft over all; upon which we laid our Rafter, and our Main-Course over those again; which lying thwart ways over all, did reach down

down to the very ground on either side. And this was the Fabrick of the out-side of it. On the inside, we made fast our Bonnet-sails, round about. Then we drove in Stakes and made us Bedstead frames, about three sides of the House; which Bedsteads were double one under another, the lowermost being a foot from the Ground: These, we first fill'd with Boughs, then we laid some spare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloths. We made a Hearth or Cause in the middle of the House, and on it, made our fire; some Boards we laid round about our Hearth to stand upon, that the cold damp should not strike up into us. With our Waft-clothes we made us Canopies and Curtains, others did the like with our small Sails.

Our second House was not past 20 foot distant from this, and made for the wattering much after the same manner, but it was less, and covered with our Fore-Course: It had no Piles on the South-side, but in lieu of that, we piled up all our Chests, on the inside; and indeed the reflex of the Heat of the Fire against them, did make it warmer than the Mansion-House. In this House, we drest our Victuals, and the subordinate Crue did refresh themselves all day in it.

A third House, (which was our Store-House) we likewise made, some 20 paces off from this, for fear of firing. This House was only a rough Tree fastened aloft, with Rafter laid from it to the Ground, and covered with our new Suit of Sails. On the inside, we had laid small Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, and so stor'd up our Bread and Fish in it, about two foot from the Ground, the better to preserve them. Other things lay more carelessly.

Long before Christmas, our Mansion-House was covered thick over with Snow, almost to the very Roof of it. And so likewise was our second House; but our Store-House all over, by reason we made no Fire in it. Thus we seem'd to live in a heap, and Wilderness of Snow; forth a-doors we could not go, but upon the Snow; in which we made us Paths middle-deep in some Places, and in one special place, the length of ten Steps. To do this, we must Shovel away the Snow first; and then by treading, make it something hard under foot: The Snow in this Path, was a full yard thick under us. And this was our best Gallery for the Sickmen, and for mine own ordinary Walkings, And both

Houses and Walks, we did daily accommodate more and more, and make fitter for our Uses.

The 27th we got our Boat ashore; and fetcht up some of our Provisions from the Beach-side into the Store-House; and so by degrees did we with the rest of our Provisions; with extremity of Cold and Labour, making way with Shovels thorow the deep Snow, even from the Sea-side unto our Store-House. And thus concluded we the old year 1631.

January, 1632.

THE first of January (and for the most part of all the Month) was extrem Cold.

The 6th, I observed the Latitude with what exactness I could, (it being very clear Sun-shine Weather) which I found to be 51. 52. This Difference is, by reason that here is a great Refraction.

The 21st, I observed the Sun to rise like an Oval, alongst the Horizon: I call'd three or four to see it, the better to confirm my Judgment; and we all agreed, that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withal, that by degrees, as it gate up higher, it also recovered its roundness.

The 26th, I Observed, when the Eastern-edge of the Moon did touch the Planet Mars, the Lion's Heart was then in the East-quarter 21. 45. above the Horizon; but all this was not done with that Exactness that I have done other Observations.

The 30th and 31st, there appeared in the beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament than ever I had before seen by two thirds. I could see the Cloud in Cancer full of small Stars, and all the *Via Lactea* nothing but small Stars; and amongst the *Pleiades*, a great many small Stars. About ten a Clock, the Moon did rise; and then a quarter of them was not to be seen. The Wind for the most part of this Month, hath been Northerly, and very cold; the warmest of which time we employed ourselves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnacle, and other things that happened. In the beginning of this month, the Sea was all firmly frozen over, so that we could see no Water any way: I hope it will not seem tedious to the Readers; if I here deliver mine own Opinion, how this abundance of Ice comes to be ingendered.

The

The Land that encircles this great Bay, (which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shoald Bays, and Guts, being moreover, full of I-lands and dry Sands) is for the most part low and flat, and hath flat Shoalds adjoyning to it, half a Mile or a Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you must know, that it flows half Tide (as I have often experienced) that is, from whence the Flood commeth, the Water thither returneth, two hours before it be high Water, or full Sea. It seldom Rains after the middle of *September*, but Snows; and that Snow will not melt on the Land nor Sands: At low Water, when it Snows, (which it doth very often) the Sands are all covered over with it; which the half Tide carries officiously (twice in 24 hours) into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every low Water are the Sands left clear, to gather more to the increase of it. Thus doth it daily gather together in this manner, till the latter end of *October*, and by that time hath it brought the Sea to that Coldness, that as it Snows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes without changing his colour; but with the Wind is wrought together; and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze on the Surface of it, two or three Inches or more in one Night; which being carried with the half Tyde, meets with some obstacle, (as it soon doth) and then it crumples, and so runs upon it self, that in a few hours it will be five or six foot thick. The half Tide still flowing, carries it so fast away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite multiplication of Ice. And thus by this storing of it up, the Cold gets the Predomination in the Sea, (which also furnisheth the Springs and Water in the low flat Lands) that it cools it like it self. This may appear by our Experience, though in all this, I freely submit my self unto the better Learned. Our Men found it more mortifying Cold to wade thorow the Water in the beginning of *June*, when the Sea was all full of Ice, than in *December*, when it was increasing. Our Well, moreover, out of which we had Water in *December*, we had none in *July*.

The Ground at ten foot deep, was frozen. The quantity of the Ice, may very easily be made appear, by *Mathematical Demonstration*; and yet I am not of the Opinion, that the Bay doth freeze

all over. For the 21st, the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to rise something in the Bay.

February, 1632.

The Cold was as extream this month as at any time we had felt it this year; and many of our Men complained of Infirmities. Some, of Sore-Mouths, all the Teeth in their Heads being loose, their Gums swoln, with black rotten Fleh, which must every day be cut away. The Pain was so Sore on them, that they could not Eat their ordinary Meat. Others complained of Pain in their Heads and their Breasts; some of Weakness in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees; and others, of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgeon's Hand. And yet nevertheless, they must work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber; notwithstanding the most of them had no Shooes to put on. Their Shooes, upon their coming to the Fire, out of the Snow, were burnt and scorcht upon their Feet; and our Store-Shooes were all sunk in the Ship. In this Necessity they would make this Shift; to bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavoured by that poor help, the best they could to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter likewise is by this time fallen Sick to our great Discomforts. I practised some Observations by the Rising and Setting of the Sun, Calculating the Time of his Rising and Setting, by very true running Glasses. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithstanding we still kept them by the Fires side, in a Chest wrapt in Clothes, yet were they so frozen, that they could not go. My Observations by these Glasses, I compared with the Stars coming to the *Meridian*. By this means we found the Sun to rise 20 Minutes before it should; and in the Evening to remain above the Horizon 20 Minutes (or thereabouts) longer then it should do. And all this by reason of the Refraction.

Since now I have spoken so much of the Cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I in a few Words make it some way to appear unto our Readers.

We made three differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our House; in the Woods; and in the open Air, upon the Ice, in our going to the Ship.

For the last, it would be sometimes so extream, that it was not indurable; no Cloathes were proof against it; no motion could resist it. It would, moreover, so freeze the Hair on our Eye-lids, that we could not see; and I verily believe, that it would have stifled a Man in a very few hours: We did daily find by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any part of our Flesh that was bare; but it was yet not so mortifying as the other. Our House on the out-side was covered two third parts with Snow; and on the inside frozen, and hang'd with Ice-sickles. The Cloathes on our Beds would be covered with Hoar-Frost, which in this little habitacle, was not far from the Fire. But let us come a little nearer to it. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he did Water his Meat, standing about a yard from the Fire, and which he did all day ply with melted Snow-Water; yet in the Night-Season, whilst he slept but one watch, would they be firm frozen to the very bottom. And therefore was he fain to Water his Meat in a Brass-Kettle close adjoyning to the Fire; and I have many times both seen and felt by putting my Hand into it, that side which was next the Fire, was very warm, and the other side an Inch frozen: I leave the rest to our Cook, who will almost speak Miracles of the Cold. The Surgeon, who had hung his Bottles of Syrups, and other Liquid things, as conveniently as he could to preserve them, had them all frozen: Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in small Cask in the House, was all firm frozen. It may further in general be conceived, that in the beginning of *June*, the Sea was not broken up; and the ground was yet frozen, and thus much we found by Experience, in the burying of our Men; in setting up the King's Standard towards the latter end of *June*; and by our Well, at our coming away in the beginning of *July*; at which time upon the Land, for some other Reasons, it was very, hot Weather.

March, 1632.

The first of this Month being *St. David's Day*, we kept Holiday, and solemnized it in the manner of the Antient Britains, praying for his Highness Happiness *Charles Prince of Wales*.

The 15th, one of our Men thought
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he had seen a Deer; whereupon he with two or three more desired that they might go to see if they could take it; I gave them leave; but in the Evening they returned so disabled with Cold, which did rise up in Blisters under the Soles of their Feet and upon their Legs, to the bigness of Walnuts, that they could not recover their former Estate (which was not very well) in a fortnight after.

The 26th, three more desired that they also might go out to try their Fortunes; but they returned worse disabled, and even almost stifled with the Cold.

This Evening, the Moon rose in a very long Oval alongst the Horizon.

By the last of this Month, the Carpenter had set up 17 Ground Timbers, and 34 Staddles, and (poor Man) he proceedeth the best he can, though he be fain to be led unto his Labour.

In brief, all this Month hath been very Cold. The Wind about the N. W. The Snow as deep as it hath been all this Winter: But to Answer an Objection that may be made; You were in a Wood (may some Men say unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold. It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South-Bank too, or otherwise we had all starved. But I must tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood: And first, I will make a Muster of the Tools we had. The Carpenter in his Chest had two Axes indeed; but one of them was spoil'd in cutting down Wood to pile about our House before *Christmas*: When we came first a-Land, we had but two whole Hatchets, which in a few days broke two Inches below the Sockets. I called for three of the Coopers Hatchets: The Carpenters Axe and the Coopers best Hatchet I caused to be lockt up: The other two Hatchets to be new Helv'd, and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets, to be put into a cleft piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope-Yarn as fast as might be, which must be repaired every day. And these where all the Cutting-Tools we had: Moreover, the 6th of *February* the Carpenter had out his best Axe about something, and one of the Company in his absence, by his undiscreeet handling of it, brake that too, two Inches below the Socket; we must henceforth order these pieces of Tools the best we could; where

wherefore I gave order, that the Carpenter should have one of the Cooper's Hatchets: They that lookt for Timber in the Woods, the other: And they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two pieces. And this was before *Christmas*.

The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, must Stalk and Wade, (sometimes on all four) thorow the Snow; and where they saw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they must first heave away the Snow, and then see if it would fit the Mould; If not, they must seek further: If it did fit the Mould, then they must make a Fire to it, to Thaw it; otherwise it could not be cut. Then cut it down, and fit it to the length of the Mould; and then with other help, get it home, a Mile thorow the Snow.

Now for our Firing. We could not burn green Wood, it would so Smoke, that it was not indurable; yea, the Men had rather Starve without in the Cold, than sit by it. As for the dry Wood, that also was bad enough in that kind; for it was full of Turpentine, and would send forth such a thick Smoke, that would make abundance of Sore; which made us all look, as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers. Our Cloathes were quite burnt in pieces about us; and for the most part, we were all without Shoes: But to our Fuellers again. They must first (as the former) go up and down in the Snow, till they saw a standing dry Tree; for that the Snow covered any that were fallen. Then they must hack it down with their pieces of Hatchets, and then others must carry it home thorow the Snow. The Boys with Cutlasses, must cut Boughs for the Carpenter; for every piece of Timber that he did work, must first be Thaw'd in the Fire; and he must have a Fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual labour throughout the forementioned Cold; besides our tending of the Sick, and other necessary Employments.

April, 1632.

The first of this Month, being *Easter-Day*, we solemnized as religiously as God did give us grace. Both this day, and the two following Holy-days were extreme Cold: And now sitting all about the Fire, we reasoned and considered together upon our Estate: We had five

Men (whereof the Carpenter was one) not able to do any thing. The Boat-swain, and many more, were very infirm; and of all the rest, we had but five that could Eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Season of the year came forwards apace, and the Cold did very little mitigate. Our Pin-nace was in an indifferent forwardness; but the Carpenter grew worse and worse. The Ship (as we then thought) lay all full of solid Ice; which was weight enough to open the Seams of any new and sound Vessel; especially of one that had lain so long upon the Ground as she had done. In brief, after my Disputations, and laying open of our miserable and hopeless Estates, I resolved upon this Course: That notwithstanding it was more Labour, and though we declined, weaker still and weaker; yet that with the first warm Weather, we would begin to clear the Ship, that so we might have the time before us, to think of some other Course. This being ordered, we lookt to those Tools we had, to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron-Bars ashore, the rest were sunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too. Well! we fell to fitting of those Bars, and of four broken Shovels that we had; with which we intended (as after we did) to dig the Ice out of her; and to lay that Ice on a heap, upon the Larboard-Bow, and to sink down that Ice to the ground so fast, that it should be a Barricado to us, when the Ice brake up, which we feared would tear us all to pieces.

The 6th was the deepest Snow we had all this year; which fill'd up all our Paths and ways, by which we were used to go unto the Wood: This Snow was something moister and greater than any we had all this year; for formerly it was as dry as Dust, and as small as Sand, and would drive like Dust with the Wind.

The Weather continued with this Extremity, until the 15th; at which time our Spring was harder frozen, then it had been all the year before. I had often observed the Difference betwixt clear Weather and misty Refractory Weather, in this manner. From a little Hill which was near adjoining to our House; in the clearest Weather, when the Sun shone with all the purity of Air that I could conceive, we could not see a little Island, which bare off us S. S. E. some four Leagues off: but if the Weather

Our Wintering at Winter's Forej.

er were misty, (as aforesaid) then should often see it, from the lowest place. This little Island I had seen the first year, when I was on *Danby* Island.

The 13th, I took the Height of it instrumentally, standing near the Sea's edge; which I found to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 degrees high. This shows, how great a Refraction here is. Yet may this be noted by the way; That I have seen the Land elevated, by reason of the Refractive Air; and nevertheless, the Sun hath risen perfect round.

The 16th was the most comfortable Sun-shine day that came this year; and I put some to clear of the Snow from the upper Decks of the Ship; and to clear and dry the great Cabin, by making Fire in it. Others I put to dig down thorow the Ice, to come by our Anchor, that was in shoal Water; which the 17th in the Afternoon we got up and carried aboard.

The 18th, I put them to dig down thorow the Ice, near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be. They digged down, and came to Water; but no hope of finding of it: We had many Doubts, that it might be Sanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away already the last year; or if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice brake up, and drove, there was little hope of it.

The 19th, we continued our Mining Work aboard the Ship, and returned in the Evening to Supper ashore. This day, the Master, and two others, desired that they might lie aboard, which I condescended to; for indeed they had lain very discommodiously all the Winter, and with sick Bed-Fellows; as I myself had done, every one in that kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing of the miserable groanings; and lamenting of the sick Men all Night long, enduring (poor Souls) intolerable Torments.

By the 21st, we had laboured so hard, that we came to see a Cask, and could likewise perceive that there was some Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be Thawed Water; because it did still freeze Night and Day very hard aboard the Ship, and on the Land also.

By the 23th in the Evening, we came to pierce the forementioned Cask, and found it was full of very good Beer, which did much rejoyce us all, especi-

ally the Sickmen, notwithstanding that it did taste a little of Bulge-Water. By this we at that time thought that the holes we had cut to sink the Ship, were frozen, and that this Water had stood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work; but found that the Water was risen above the Ice where we had left work, about two Foot; for that the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning, the Wind came about South, and blew hard, and although we had little reason for it, we yet expected a lower veer of the Water. I thereupon put them to work on the outside of the Ship; that we might come to the lower hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shootes. With much labour by Night, we digged down thorow the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen, (as it had been all the Winter) and to our great Comforts, we found that on the inside, the Water was Ebb'd even with the hole; and that on the outside, it was Ebb'd a Foot lower. Hereupon I made a shot-board to be nail'd on it; and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other way. As to the other two holes, we had digged on the inside, we found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship foundered, we might resolve of some Course to save, or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice were broken up; for, as for our Boat, it was too little, and bulged, besides that, our Carpenter was by this time past hope; and therefore little hope had we of our Pinnacle. But which was worst of all, we had not four Men able to Travel through the Snow over the Ice, and in this miserable estate were we at this present.

The 25th, we satisfied our Longing; for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water rose by the Ships side (where we had digged down) a foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not rise within board. This did so encourage us, that we fell very lustily to digging, and to heave out the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook, and some others, to Thaw the Pumps; who by continual pouring of hot Water into them, by the 27th in the Morning they had cleared one of them; which we assaying, found that it did deliver Water very sufficiently. Thus we fell to Pumping; and having cleared two foot Water, we

tired

then left to have a second trial. Continuing our Work thus, in digging the Ice, by the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we also found to deliver Water very well: We found likewise, that the Water did not rise any thing in Hold.

The 29th, it Rained all day long, a sure sign to us, that Winter was broken up.

The 30th, we were betimes aboard at work; which day, and the 31st, were very Cold, with Snow and Hail; which did pinch our sick Men more than any time this year. This Evening being *May* Even, we returned late from our Work to our House, and made a good Fire, and chose Ladies, and did ceremoniously wear their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive our selves by any means. And because you hear us in this Merry Humour, I will make known to you what good Cheer we kept at *Christmas* and *Easter*; and how we had Dieted our selves all the Winter.

At our coming forth of *England*, we were stored with all sort of Sea Provisions; as Beef, Pork, Fish, &c. but now that we had little hope of refreshing, our Cook did order it in this manner.

The Beef which was to serve on *Sunday* Night to Supper, he did Boil on *Saturday* Night, in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oat-Meal, about an Hour: Then taking the Beef out, he Boiled the rest till it came to half the quantity; and this we called Porridge; which with Bread we did Eat, as hot as we could; and after this we had our ordinary of Fish. *Sunday* Dinner, we had Pork and Pease; and at Night the former Boiled Beef made more Porridge. In this manner, our *Tuesday's* Beef was Boiled on the *Monday* Nights; and the *Thursday's* upon the *Wednesday*. And thus all the Week (except *Friday* night) we had some warm thing in our Bellies every Supper. And (surely) this did us a great deal of good. But soon after *Christmas*, many of us fell sick, and had sore Mouths, and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fish, nor Porridge. Their Diet was only this: They would Pound Bread, or Oatmeal in a Mortar, to Meal; then fry it in a Frying-Pan, with a little Oil, and so Eat it. Some would Boil Pease to a soft pottage, and feed as well as they could upon that. For the most part of the Winter, Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter, we took not above a dozen Foxes, many of which

would be dead in the Traps, two or three days, oftentimes; and then when the Blood was settled, they would be unwholesome. But if we took one alive, that had not been long in the Trap, him we Boiled, and made Broth for the weakest sick Men of him; the Flesh of it being soft Boiled they did Eat also.

Some White Partridges we kill'd; but not worth the mentioning towards any refreshing.

We had three sorts of sick Men. Those that could not move nor turn themselves in their Beds, who must be tended like an Infant. Others that were as it were Crippled with Scurvy Aches. And others lastly, that were something better: Most of all had Sore Mouths. You may now ask me, How these infirm Men could work? I will tell you. Our Surgeon (who was diligent, and a sweet-conditioned Man as ever I saw) would be up betimes in the Mornings; and whilst he did pick their Teeth, and cut away the dead Flesh from their Gums, they would Bathe their own Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The manner whereof was this: There was no Trees, Buds, nor Herb, but we made trial of it; And this being first boiled in a Kettle, and then put in a small Tub, and Bason, they put it under them, and covered themselves with Cloathes upon it: This would so mollifie the griev'd Parts, that although, when they did rise out of their Beds, they would be so Crippled, that they could scarce stand it; yet after this done half an hour, they would be able to go, (and must go) to Wood, thorow the Snow, to the Ship, and about their other Business. By Night, they would be as bad again; and then they must be Bathed, Anointed, and their Mouthes again drest, before they went to Bed. And with this Diet, and in this manner, did we go thorow our Miseries.

I ever doubted, that we should be weakest in the Spring; and therefore had I reserved a Tun of Alegant Wine unto this time. Of this, by putting seven Parts of Water, to one of Wine, we made some weak Beverage; which (by reason that the Wine by being frozen, had lost his Virtue) was little better than Water. The Sicker sort had a Pint of Alegant a day, by it self; and of such poor *Aqua Vita* too, as we had, they had a little Dram allowed them next their Hearts every Morning; and thus

thus we made the best use of what we had, according to the Seasons.

May, 1632.

The 1st of this Month, we went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice.

The 2d, it did Snow and Blow, and was so Cold, that we were fain to keep House all day. This unexpected Cold at this time of the year did so vex our sick Men, that they grew worse and worse; we cannot now take them out of their Beds, but they would swoond, and we had much ado to fetch life in them.

The 3d, those that were able, went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and stood in Patches; and now there came some Cranes and Geese to it.

The 4th, while the rest wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a couple of pieces, to see if we could kill any of these Fowl for our sick Men, but never did I see such wild-Fowl; they would not indure to see any thing move. Wherefore we returned within two hours, not being able to indure any longer stalking thorow the Snow, and the wet Patches. I verily thought that my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they did so torment me with Aching.

The 6th, *John Warden*, the Master of my Ship's chief Mate, died; whom we buried in the Evening (in the most Christian-like manner we could) upon the top of a bare Hill of Sand, which we called *Brandon-Hill*.

The Weather continued very Cold; freezing so hard in a night that it would bear a Man.

By the 9th, we were come to, and got up our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Buts of Beer, and one of Cydar, which God had preserved for us: It had lain under Water all the Winter; yet we could not perceive that it was any thing the worse. God make us ever thankful for the Comfort it gave us.

The 10th, it did Snow and Blow so Cold, that we could not stir out of the House; yet nevertheless, by Day, the Snow vanisheth away apace on the Land.

The 11th, we were aboard betimes, to heave out Ice.

The 12th at Night, we had cleared out all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewise our Store-Shoes which had lain

soakt in the Water all the Winter; but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted our selves with them. We struck again our Cables into the Hold; there Stow'd we a Butt of Wine also, which had been all the Winter on the upper-Deck, and continued as yet, all firm frozen. We fitted the Ship also, making her ready to sink her again, when the Ice brake up. We could hitherto find no defect in her; and therefore well hoped that she was staunch. The Carpenter, nevertheless, did earnestly argue to the contrary; alledging, that now she lay on the ground, in her Dock; and that the Ice had fill'd her Defects; and that the Ice was the thing that kept out the Water; but when she should come to labour in the Sea, then doubtless, she would open. And indeed we could now see quite through her Seams, betwixt Wind and Water. But that which did trouble us as ill as all this, was the loss of her Rudder; and that she now lay in the very strength of the Tide, which, whenever the Ice drove, might tear her to pieces. But we still hoped the best.

The 13th, being the Sabbath-Day, we solemnized, giving God thanks for those Hopes and Comforts we daily had; The Weather by day-time was pretty and warm, but it did freeze by Night; yet now we could see some bare Patches of Land.

The 14th, we began a new sort of work. The Boatwain and a convenient number sought ashore the rest of our Rigging, which was much spoiled by pecking of it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting, and to serving of it. I set the Cooper to fit our Cask, although (poor Man) he was very infirm; my intent being to pass some Cables under the Ship, and so to Buoy her up with these Cask, if otherwise we could not get her off. Some others, I ordered to go see, if they could kill some Wild-Fowl for our sick Men, who grew worse and worse. And this is to be remembered, that we had no shot, but what we did make of the Aprons of our Guns, and some old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenter's Sheet-Lead we durst not use.

The 15th, I Manured a little patch of Ground, that was bare of Snow, and Sowed it with Peason, hoping to have some of the Herbs of them shortly to Eat; for as yet we can find no green thing to Comfort us.

The 18th, our Carpenter, *William Cole* Died, a Man generally bemoaned of us all; as much for his innate Goodness, as for the present necessity we had of a Man of his Quality. He had endured a long Sickness, with much Patience, and made a godly end. In the Evening, we Buried him by Mr. *Warden*, accompanied with as many as could go; for three more of our principal Men, lay then expecting a good hour. And now were we in the most miserable Estate that we were in all the Voyage. Before his extreme weakness, he had brought the Pinnace to that pass, that she was ready to be Boulted and Trennel'd; and to be joynd together to receive the Plank; so that we were not so discouraged by his Death, but that we did hope of our selves to finish her, if the Ship proved unserviceable.

This our Pinnace was 27 Foot by the Keel, 10 Foot by the Beam, and five Foot in Hold; she had 17 ground Timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and eight short Staddles. He had contrived her with a round Stern, to save Labour; and indeed, she was a well proportioned Vessel. Her Burthen was 12 or 14 Tun.

In the Evening, the Master of our Ship, after Burial returning aboard Ship, and looking about her, discovered some part of our Gunner, under the Gun-Room Ports. This Man, we had committed to the Sea at a good distance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near six Months before.

The 19th in the Morning, I sent Men to dig him out; he was fast in the Ice, his Head downward, and his Heel upward, for he had but one Leg, and the Plaster was yet at his Wound: In the Afternoon, they had digg'd him clear out; after all which time, he was as free from noisomeness as when we first committed him to the Sea. This alteration had the Ice and Water, and time only wrought on him, that his Flesh would slip up and down upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening we Buried him by the others. This day, one *George Ugganes* (who could handle a Tool best of us all) had indifferent well repaired our Boat, and so we ended this mournful Week. The Snow was by this time prettily well wasted in the Woods; and we having a high Tree, on the highest place of the Island, which we called our Watch-Tree; from the top of it we might see into the Sea, but found no appearance of breaking up yet.

The 20th, being *Whit-Sunday*, we sadly solemnized, and had some taste of the Wild-Fowl, but not worth the Writing.

The 21st, was the warmest Sun-shine day that came this year. I sent two a Fowling; and my self taking the Master, the Surgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and our Dogs, we went into the Woods to see what Comfort we could find. We wandred from the House eight Miles, and searcht with all diligence; but returned Comfortless, not an Herb nor Leaf Eatable, that we could find. Our Fowlers had as bad Success. In the Woods, we found the Snow partly wasted away, so that it was passable. The Ponds were almost Unthaw'd; but the Sea from any place we could see all firm frozen.

The Snow doth not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and so make any Land-Floods, as in *England*; but it is Exhaled up by the Sun, and suckt full of holes, like Honey-Combs; so that the Sand whereon it lies, will not be at all wetted. The like Observation we also had; that let it Rain ever so much, you shall see no Land-Floods after it.

The 22th, we went aboard the Ship, and found that she had made so much Water, that it was now risen above the Ballast, which made us doubt again of her Soundness. We fell to Pumping, and pumpt her quite dry. And now by day sometimes, we have such hot Glooms, that we cannot endure in the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This unnaturalness of the Season, did torment our Men, that they now grew worse and worse daily.

The 23th, our Boatwain (a painful Man) having been long Sick, which he had heartily resisted, was taken with such a painful Ach in one of his Thighs, that we verily thought he would have presently died. He kept his Bed all day in great extremity; and it was a Maxim amongst us, that if any one kept his Bed two days, he could rise no more. This made every Man to strive to keep up for life.

The 24th was very warm Sun-shine; and the Ice did consume by the Shore's side, and crackt all over the Bay, with a fearful noise. About three in the Afternoon, we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship: Whereupon I sent two with all speed unto the Master, to beat out the hole, and to sink the Ship; as likewise to look for the Rudder

Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he presently performed ; and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon*, pecking betwixt the Ice, struck upon it, and it came up with his Lance ; who crying that he had found it, the rest came and got it up on the Ice, and so into the Ship. In the mean space, with the little drift that the Ice had, it began to rise and mount into high heaps against the shoald Shores, and Rocks ; and likewise against the heap of Ice, which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship, but with little harm to us. Yet we were fain to cut away 20 Fathom of Cable which was frozen in the Ice. After an hour, the Ice settled again, as not having any vent outwards. Oh ! This was a joyful day to us all ; and we gave God thanks for the hopes we had of it.

The 25th was a fine warm day, and with the Ebb, the Ice did drive against the Ship, and shake her shrewdly.

The 26th, I took the Chirurgeon with me, and went again to wander the Woods ; and went to that Bay, where last year we had lost our Man *John Barton*. But we could find no sign of him, nor of other Relief.

By the 28th it was pritty and clear betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hoped the Ice would no more dangerously oppress us ; wherefore I caused the lower hole to be firmly stoppt, the Water then remaining three foot above the Bal-last.

The 29th, being Prince *Charles* his Birth-Day, we kept Holy-day, and display'd his Majesty's Colours, both a-land and aboard ; and named our Habitation, *Charles Town*, by Contraction *Charlton* ; and the Island, *Charlton Island*.

The 30th, we Launched our Boat, and had intercourse sometimes betwixt the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was News to us.

The last of this Month, we found on the Beach some Vetches to appear out of the Ground, which I made the Men to pick up, and to Boil for our sick Men.

This day, we made an end of fitting all our Rigging and Sails ; and it being a very hot day, we did dry and new make our Fish in the Sun, and aired all our other Provisions. There was not a Man of us at present, able to Eat of our Salt Provisions, but my self and the Master of my Ship. It may be here remembred, that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rhumes, nor

flegmatical Diseases. All this month the Wind hath been variable, but for the most part Northerly.

June, 1632.

The four first days it did Snow, Hail, and blow very hard ; and was so Cold, that the Ponds of Water did freeze over ; and the Water in our Cans did freeze in the very House ; our Clothes also that had been washed and hung out to dry, did not thaw all day.

The 5th, it continued blowing very hard in the broad-side of the Ship, which did make her swag and wallow in her Dock for all she was funken, which did much shake her. The Ice withall did drive against her, and gave her many fearful blows. I resolved to endeavour to hang the Rudder ; and when God sent us Water, (notwithstanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us) to have her further off : In the Afternoon, we under-run our small Cable to our Anchor, which lay a-Stern in deep Water, and so with some difficulty gate up our Anchor : This Cable had lain slack under-foot, and under the Ice, all the Winter, and we could never have a clear Slatch from Ice, to have it up before now ; we found it not a jot the worse. I put some to make Colrakes, that they might go into the Water, and rake a hole in the Sands to let down our Rudder.

The 6th, we went about to hang it. And our young lustiest Men took turns to go into the Water, and to rake away the Sand ; but they were not able to indure the Cold of it half a quarter of an hour it was so mortifying ; yea, use what Comforts we could, it would make them Swoound and Die away. We brought it to the Stern-post, but were then fain to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we Plugg'd up the upper holes, within board, and fell to Pumping the Water again out of her.

The 7th, we wrought something about our Rudder, but were again forced to give over, and to put out our Cables over-board, with Messengers up to them ; the Anchors lying to that pass, that we might keep her right in her Dock, when we should have brought her light.

By the 8th at Night, we had pumpt all the Water out of her ; and she at a high Water would fleet in her Dock, though

though she were still Dock'd in the Sands, almost four Foot. This made us to consider what was to be done. I resolv'd to heave out all the Ballast, for that the bottom of her being so soakt all the Winter, I hoped was so heavy, that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Masts; and so with our Cask to Buoy her off.

The 9th, betimes in the Morning, we fell to work; we hoist out our Beer and Cydar, and made a Raft of it, fastning it to our Shore-Anchor: The Beer and Cydar sunk presently to the Ground, which was nothing strange to us; for that any Wood or Pipe-Staves that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would also sink down, so soon as ever it was heaved over-board: This day we heaved out ten Tun of Ballast. And here I am to remember God's goodness towards us, in sending those forementioned green Vetches. For now, our feeble sick Men, that could not for their lives stir these two or three Months, can indure the Air and Walk about the House; our other sick Men gather strength also, and it is wonderful to see how soon they were recovered. We used them in this manner: Twice a day, we went to gather the Herb or Leaf of these Vetches, as they first appeared out of the Ground; then did we wash and Boil them, and so with Oil and Vinegar that had been frozen, we did Eat them: It was an excellent Sustenance and refreshing; the most part of us Eat nothing else: We would likewise bruise them, and take the Juice of them, and mix that with our Drink: We would Eat them raw also with our Bread.

The 11th was very warm Weather, and we did hang our Rudder. The Tides did now very much deceive us; for a Northerly Wind would very little raise the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship.

The 13th, I resolv'd of the Latitude of this Place; so that having examined the Instruments, and practised about it this fortnight, I now found it to be in 52 Deg. and 3 Min.

The 14th, we had heaved out all the Ballast, and carried all our Yards, and every thing else of weight ashore, so that we now had the Ship as light as possible it could be.

The 15th, we did little but exercise our selves; seeing that by this time, our Men that were most feeble, are now grown strong, and can run about. The Flesh of their Gums became settled again, and their Teeth fastened; so that they can Eat Beef with their Vetches.

This day I went to our *Watch-Tree*; but the Sea (for any thing I could perceive to the contrary) was still firm frozen; and the Bay we were in, all full of Ice, having no way to vent it.

The 16th, was wondrous hot, with some Thunder and Lightning, so that our Men did go into the Ponds ashore, to Swim and Cool themselves; yet was the Water very Cold still. Here had lately appeared divers sorts of Flies; as Butter-Flies, Butchers-Flies, Horse-Flies; and such an infinite abundance of blood-thirsty Muskitoes, that we were more tormented with them then ever we were with the Cold Weather. These (I think) lie dead, in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here be likewise infinite company of Ants, and Frogs in the Ponds upon the Land; but we durst not Eat of them, they lookt so speckled like Toads. By this time were there neither Bears, Foxes, nor Fowl to be seen: They are all gone.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly, and we expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes, put out our small Cable a-stern out at the Gun-Room-Port; but the Morning Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks, by Stones, &c. and me thoughts the Water did flow apace. Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come ashore, I took all that were able to do any thing with me aboard; and at high Water, (although she wanted something to rise clear out of her Dock) yet we heav'd with such a good Will, that we heaved her thorow the Sand into a foot and a half deeper Water. Further then so, we durst not yet bring her, for that the Ice was all thick about us. After we had Moor'd her, we went all to Prayers; and gave God thanks that had given us our Ship again.

The 18th, we were up betimes; the Cooper, and some with him, to fill fresh Water: my self with some others, to gather Stones at low Water; which we piling up in a heap, at high Water

ter the Cock-swain and his Gang, fetcht them aboard ; where the Master with the rest stowed them. The Ship at low Water had a great Lust to the Offing ; by which means we could the better come and stop the two upper holes firmly ; after which, we fitted other convenient Places, to make others to sink her, if occasion were.

The 19th, we were all up betimes to work, as afore specified: These twodays, our Ship did not Fleet, and it was a happy Hour, when we got her off, for that we never had such a high Tide all the time we were here. In the Evening, I went up to our *Watch-Tree* ; and this was the first time I could see any open Water, any way, except that little by the Shore-side, where we were. This put us in some Comfort, that the Sea would shortly break up, which we knew must be to the Northward, seeing that way we were certain, there was above two hundred Leagues of Sea.

The 20th, we laboured as afore-said. The Wind at North North West. The Tide rose so high, that our Ship fleeted, and we drew her further off, into a foot and a half deep Water. Thus we did it by little and little ; for that the Ice was still wonderful thick about us.

The 21th, there drove much Ice about us, and within us, and brought home our Stern Anchor. At high Water (notwithstanding all the Ice) we heav'd our Ship further off ; that so she might lie a float at low Water.

The next low Water, we Sounded all about the Ship, and found it very foul ground ; wediscovered Stones three Foot high above the ground, and two of them within a Ships breadth of the Ship ; whereby did more manifestly appear God's Mercies to us ; for if when we forced her ashore, she had stricken one blow against those Stones, it had Bulged her. Many such Dangers were there in this Bay, which we now first perceived, by the Ice's grounding and rising against them. In the Evening, we Tow'd off the Ship, unto the place where she rid the last year, and there Moor'd her, sheering the Ship, Night and Day, Flood and Ebb, amongst the disperst Ice that came athwart of us.

The 23th, we laboured in fetching our Provisions aboard ; which to do, we were fain to wade to carry it to the Boat

a full flight shot ; and all by reason the Wind was Southerly. This Morning, I took an Observation of the *Moon's* coming to the South, by a Meridian-Line of one hundred and twenty yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks before-hand.

The 24th, I took another Observation of the *Moon's* coming to the Meridian ; for which I refer you to the Observations in the latter end of this Journal.

Whereas I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Cross of it, to it I now fastened (uppermoft) the King's and Queen's Majesties Pictures, drawn to the Life, and doubly wrapt in Lead, and so close, that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both these I affixed his Majesties Royal Titles ; viz. Charles the First, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland ; *As also* of New-found-land, and of these Territories : And to the Westward, as far as Nova Albion ; And to the Northward, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees, &c.

On the out-side of the Lead, I fastened a Shilling and a Six-Pence of his Majesty's Coin ; under that, we fastened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead ; and under that, the Arms of the City of Bristol. And this being *Midsummer-Day*, we raised it on the top of the bare Hill, where we had Buried our dead Fellows ; formally by this Ceremony taking possession of these Territories to his Majesties Use.

The Wind continuing Southerly and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us ; so that the Ship now rid amongst it, in such apparent Danger, that I thought verily we should have lost her. We laboured, Flood and Ebb, both with Poles and Oars, to heave away and part the Ice from her. But it was God that did protect and preserve us ; for it was past any Man's Understanding, how the Ship could indure it, or we by our Labour save her. In the Night, the Wind shifted to the Westward, and blew the Ice from us, whereby we had some rest.

The 25th in the Morning, the Boat-swain, with a convenient Crue with him, began to rig the Ship, the rest fetching our Provisions aboard. About 10 a Clock, when it was something dark, I took a Launce in my hand, and one with me with a Musket and some Fire, and went to our *Watch-Tree*, to make

make a Fire on the eminentest Place of the Illand, to see if it would be answered: Such Fires I had formerly made, to have knowledge if there were any Salvages on the Main or the Islands about us. Had there been any, my purpose was to have gone to them, to get some Intelligence of some *Christians*, or some Ocean Sea thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree, I laid down my Lance, and so did my Confort his Musket; and whilst my self climed up to the top of the Tree, I ordered him to put Fire unto some low Tree thereabouts. He (unadvisedly) put Fire to some Trees that were to Windward; so that they (and all the rest too, by reason it had been very hot Weather) being feare and dry, took Fire like Flax or Hemp; and the Wind blowing the Fire towards me, I made haste down the Tree. But before I was half way down, the Fire took in the bottom of it, and blazed so fiercely upwards, that I was fain to leap off the Tree, and down a steep Hill, and in brief, with much ado, escap'd Burning. The Moss on the ground was as dry as Flax; and it would run most strangely, and like a Train along the Earth. The Musket and the Lance were both burnt. My Confort at last came to me, and was joyful to see me; for he thought verily I had been burned. And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire increasing, and still burning most furiously. We could see no answer of it. I slept but little all Night after: and at break of day, I made all our Powder and Beef to be carried aboard. This day, I went to the Hills, to look to the Fire; where I saw how it did still burn most furiously, both to the Westward and Northward; leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came home immediately, and made them take down our new Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea-side, ready to be cast in, if occasion were, and to make haste to take down our Houses. About Noon, the Wind shifted Northerly; and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word, that the Fire did follow him hard at his Heels, like a Train of Powder. It was no need to bid us take down and carry all away to the Sea-side. The Fire came towards us with a most terrible rattling noise; bearing a full Mile in breadth: And by that time we had uncovered our Houses and laid hand on, to carry away our

last things, the Fire was come to our Town and seized on it, and (in a trice) burn it down to the Ground. We lost nothing of any value in it; for we had brought it all away into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Combustion, would sit down on their Tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, on the Shoals, and there stay. The Wind shifted Easterly; and the Fire ranged to the Westward, seeking what it might devour. This Night, we lay all together aboard the Ship, and gave God thanks, that he had Shipt us in her again.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in fetching our Things aboard, as likewise our Water, which we must Tow off with the Ebb, and bring it to the Ship with the Flood. Moreover, we must go about the Easter-Point for Drift-Wood; for our Tools were all so spent, that we could cut none: Wherefore, about some three days ago, I had caused our Pinnace to be Sawed to pieces, and with that we Stowed our Cask, intending to burn it at low Waters, and such other times, as we could not work in carrying things aboard. I employed the Men in fetching Stones; and we did build three Tombs over our three Dead Fellows, filling them up with Sand in a decent and handsome fashion. The least Tomb had two Tuns of Stones about it.

The 30th, we most earnestly continued our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by 11 a Clock at Night had made a priddy Ship; meaning to have finished our Business with the Week and the Month, that so we might the better solemnize the Sabbath ashore to morrow, and so take leave of our Wintering Island.

The Wind hath been variable a great while; and the Bays are now so clear of Ice, that we cannot see a piece of it, for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping therefore that it give content to some Readers, I will relate the manner of the breaking of it up. It is first to be noted, that it doth not freeze (naturally) above six Foot, the rest is by accident. Such is that Ice that you may see here, six Fathom thick. This we had manifest proof of, by our digging the Ice out of the Ship, and by digging to our Anchors before the Ice broke up.

In *May*, when the Heat increaseth, it Thaws first on the Shoald by the Shore side; which when it hath done round about, then the Courfes of the Tides (as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their rising and falling) do fo shake the Main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath gotten room for motion; then runs one piece of it upon another; and fo bruifes and grinds it self against the Shoalds and Rocks, that it becomes abbreviated, infomuch that a Ship may have well passage thorow it. Besides this; much of it is thrust upon the Shoalds, where it is much consumed by the heat of the Sun. The Season here in this Climate, is most unnatural; for in the day time, it will be extream Hot, yea, not indurable in the Sun, which is, by reason that it is a sandy Country. In the Night again, it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tub about and in our House: And all this, towards the latter end of *June*.

The *Muskitoes*, upon our coming away, were most intolerable. We tore an old Auncient in pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in; but it was no Fortification against them. They would find ways and means to sting us, that our Faces were swoln hard out in Pimples, which would fo Itch and Smart, that we must needs rub and tear them. And these Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had heretofore indured.

July, 1632.

The first of this Month being *Sunday*, we were up betimes. And I caused our Ship to be adorned the best we could; our Auncient on the Poop, and the King's Colours in the Main-Top. I had provided a short Brief of all the Passages of our Voyage to this day: I likewise wrote in what state we were at present, and how I did intend to prosecute the Discovery, both to the Westward, and to the Southward, about this Island. This Brief Discourse I had concluded, with a Request to any noble Minded Traveller, that should take it down, or come to the notice of it; that if we should perish in the Action, then to make our Endeavours, known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus with our Arms, Drum and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went ashore, and first we

marcht up to our eminent Cross, adjoining to which we had Buried our Dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayer, and then walked up and down till Dinner time. After Dinner we walkt to the highest Hills, to see which way the Fire had waisted. We defcried that it had consumed to the Westward, sixteen Miles at least, and the whole breadth of the Island: Near about our Cross and Dead, it could not come, by reason it was a bare sandy Hill. After Evening Prayer, I happened to Walk alongst the Beach-side; where I found an Herb resembling Scurvy-Grafs. I made some to be gathered, which we Boiled with our Meat to Supper: It was most excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we went all to seek and gather more of it; which we did, to the quantity of two Bushels, which did afterwards much refresh us: And now the Sun was set, and the Boat come ashore for us; whereupon we assembled our selves together, and went up to take the last view of our Dead, and to look unto their Tombs, and other Things. Here leaning upon mine Arm, on one of their Tombs, I uttered these Lines, which though perchance they may procure Laughter in the Wifer sort, (which I shall be glad of) they yet moved my young and tender-hearted Companions at that time with some Compassion. And these they were.

I Were unkind, unless that I did shed,
Before I part, some Tears upon our Dead:
And when my Eyes be dry, I will not cease
In heart to pray, their Bones may rest in peace:
Their better parts, (good Souls) I know
were given,
With an intent they should return to Heaven.
Their Lives they spent, to the last drop of
Blood,
Seeking God's glory, and their Countries
good;
And as a valiant Soldier, rather Dies,
Than yields his Courage to his Enemies:
And stops their way, with his hew'd Flesh,
when Death
Hath quite depriv'd him of his Strength
and Breath:
So have they spent themselves; and here
they lie,
A famous Mark of our Discovery.
We that survive, perchance may end our
days
In some Employment meriting no praise:
An

*And in a Dunghill Rot ; when no Man
 Names
 The Memory of us, but to our shames.
 They have out-liv'd this fear, and their
 brave ends,
 Will ever be an honour to their Friends.
 Why drop you so, mine Eyes ? Nay rather
 pour
 My sad departure in a solemn shower.
 The Winters Cold, that lately froze our
 Blood,
 Now were it so extream, might do this
 good,
 As make these Tears, bright Pearls : which
 I would lay,
 Tomb'd safely with you, till Doomes fatal
 day.
 That in this Solitary place, where none
 Will ever come to breathe a Sigh or Groan,
 Some Remnant might be extant, of the true
 And faithful Love, I ever tender'd you.
 Oh, rest in peace, dear Friends, and let it be
 No Pride to say the sometime part of me.
 What Pain and Anguish doth afflict the
 Head,
 The Heart and Stomach, when the Limbs
 are dead.
 So griev'd, I kiss your Graves : And Vow
 to Die,
 A Foster-father to your Memory.*

FAREWELL.

So fastning my Brief to the Cross,
 which was securely wrapt up in Lead,
 we presently took Boat and departed,
 and never put foot more on that Island.
 This Island and all the rest, (as like-
 wise the Main) is a light white Sand,
 covered over with a white Moss, and
 full of Shrubs and low Bushes ; except-
 ing some bare Hills, and other Patches.
 In these bare Places, the Sand will
 drive with the Wind like Dust. It is
 very full of Trees, as Spruce and Ju-
 niper ; but the biggest Tree I saw,
 was but a foot and a half over. At
 our first coming hither, we saw some
 Deer, and kill'd one ; but never any
 since. Foxes, all the Winter we saw
 many, and kill'd some Dozen of them ;
 but they went all away in May.
 Bears, we saw but few, but kill'd none ;
 we saw some other little Beasts. In
 May, there came some Fowl, as Ducks
 and Geese ; of which we kill'd very
 few. White Partridges we saw ; but
 in small quantities ; nor had we any
 Shot, to shoot at them. Fish we could
 never see any in the Sea ; nor no Bones
 of Fish on the Shore-side, excepting a
 few Cockle-shells, and yet nothing in
 them neither. Other things remarkable
 I have before mentioned.

O U R DISCOVERY A N D Coming Home.

July, 1632.

Munday being the 2d of July, we were up betimes, about Stowing and Fitting our Ship, and Weighing of our Anchors, which when the last was a-Trip, we went to Prayer, beseeching God to continue his Mercies to us, and rendring him Thanks for having thus restored us. Our Ship we found no Defect in ; we had abundance of such Provisions as we brought out of *England* ; and we were in indifferent Health, and did gather Strength daily. This being done, we Weighed, and came cheerfully to Sail. The Wind at North West, bad to get away. Wherefore we stood over to *Danby* Island, to take in more Wood ; and there to be ready to take the opportunity of a fair Wind. I went ashore my self with the Boat ; for that some of the Company had told me, that they had seen Stakes the last year droven into the Ground. When we came ashore, whilst some gather'd Wood, I went to the Place ; where I found two Stakes droven into the Ground about a foot and a half, and Firebrands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pull'd up the Stakes, which were about the bigness of my Arm ; and they had been cut sharp at the ends, with a Hatchet, or some other good Iron tool, and driven in as it were with the head of it. They were distant about a Stones throw from the Water-side. I could not conceive, to what purpose they should be there set, unless it were for some Mark for Boats. This did augment my Desire to speak with the Salvages ; for without doubt

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they could have given notice of some Christians, with whom they had some Commerce. About four in the Evening, I returned aboard with a Boats lading of Wood ; and the Wind something favouring, we Weighed ; with our Lead seeking out a Channel amongst these perilous Shoalds. In the Evening, the Wind opposing it self, we came to Anchor betwixt *Charleton* Island, and that Island we named the last year, (in Memory of that Honourable Gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Carie*, one of the Bed-Chamber to the King.) *Carie's* Island ; where we rid all Night.

The 3d, at break of day, we Weighed with a bare Wind, and Sounding up and down for a Channel, we were many times in five and four Fathom Water. The Wind largeing upon us, we stood away West : By Noon, we saw all Ice to the Northward of us. Endeavouring therefore, to Compass about the Wester-point of *Charleton* Island, and so to seek to the Southward, we found it all Shoalds, Rocks, and Breaches. By four in the Afternoon, we saw the Western-land, but all full of Ice ; whereupon, as the Wind favoured us, we stood alongst it in sight to the Northward.

The 4th was Calm, but so very thick Fog with all, that we could not see a Pistol-shot about us. Wherefore we came to an Anchor, and there rid all this day and the next night.

The 5th, at three in the Morning, we Weigh'd ; but Ice being all about us, we knew not which way to turn us : Now to avoid telling the same thing 20 times, we were continually, till the 22th, so pestered and tormented with Ice, that it would seem incredible to relate it ;

some.

Sometimes we were so blinded with Fog, that we could not see about us ; and being now become willful in our Endeavours, we should so strike against the Ice, that the fore-part of the Ship would crack again ; and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to pieces. Indeed, we did hourly strike such unavoidable blows, that we did leave the Hatches open, and 20 times in a day, the Men would run down into the Hold, to see if she were Bulged.

Sometimes, when we had made her fast in the Night, to a great piece of Ice, we should have such violent Storms, that our fastning would break ; and then the Storm would beat us from piece to piece most fearfully ; otherwhile, we should be fast inclosed among great Ice, as high as our Poop. This was made (as I have formerly said) by one piece running upon another ; which made it draw eight or ten fathom Water. Besides which, the lowermost would rise from underneath, and strike us under the Bulge, with pieces of five, six, yea, of eight Tun, that many times we have pump'd clear Water for an hour together before we could make the Pump suck. Amongst these several and hourly Dangers, I over-heard the Men murmur, and say, that they were happy that I had buried ; and that if they had a thousand Pounds, they would give it, so they lay fairly by them ; for we (say they) are destined to Starve upon a piece of Ice. I was fain to indure all this with Patience ; and to comfort them up again, when I had them in a better Humour.

The 22th, having been vext with a Storm all last Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in 13 Fathom Water. About Noon, it clear'd, and we saw Land ; and at the instant, had a good Observation, whereby we knew it to be Cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the Master stand in with it ; and in the mean time, we fitted a Cross, and fastened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Bristol* to it ; we came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in six Fathom Water : so we hoisted out the Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went ashore. Upon the most eminent place, we erected the Cross ; and then seeking about, we soon saw some Deer, and by and by more and more. We stole to them with the best skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them ; but the Deer ran clear away from them

at their pleasure. We tired the Dogs, and wearied our selves, but to no purpose ; neither could we come to shoote at them. I saw in all, about a dozen (old and young) very goodly Beasts. We took half a dozen young Geese, on the Pools, by wading in to them ; and so returned to our Boat vext, that now we had found a place where there was refreshing, and we could get none of it. Whereas, therefore, we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of Inconvenience aboard the Ship all the Winter ; and had pardoned them many Misdemeanors, (for they would steal our Meat out of the Sleeping Tubs) in hope they might hereafter do us some Service ; and seeing they now did not ; and that there was no hope they could hereafter : I caused them to be left ashore. They were a Dog and a Bitch : Buck Dogs, of a very good Race. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which it may be hereafter, may come to light. I did see no sign at all, of any Salvages ; nor could we find any Herbs, or other Refreshing here.

In the Evening, (being returned aboard) and the Wind blowing fair at South ; I caused the Master to Weigh, and come to Sail, and to lose no time ; for we did hope for an open Sea to the N. W. This Cape hath a very Shoald-point, that lies off it ; which we endeavoured to compass about.

Sailing therefore amongst shattered Ice, we came to very Shoald-Water, (four and five Fathom deep) and could not avoid it. At length, standing N. the Water deepened ; but we came amongst great pieces of Ice ; which by reason of some open Water, there went a pretty Sea. These hard pieces of Ice made a most fearful noise. It proved a fair Moon-shine Night ; otherwife it had gone ill with us. We turned amongst this Ice, staying the Ship sometimes within her length, of great pieces, as bad as Rocks ; but by reason we were often forced to bear up, we did sag upon the Main-rand of Ice, and that we thought would be worse for us ; we let fall an Anchor, and stood all on the Decks to watch the Ice's sneering of the Ship, (to and again) to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend it, we could not keep our selves so clear, but many pieces came foul of us. We brake two of our great Poles with it ; which were made to be handled by four Men, besides some other Damages. At break of day, we Weighed ; and fought

sought all ways to clear our selves of Ice, but it was impossible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular days passages, which was much alike to us. Our Endeavours were sometimes with our Sails; giving and receiving 500 fearful Blows in a day. Sometimes, we would stop at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water, and so suffer the Ice to drive to Leeward; other whiles, we should be enclosed amongst it; and then it would so break, and rise, and leap up under us, that we expected to be beaten every hour to pieces.

Moreover, we should have such Storms in the dark Nights, that would break the Moorings we had made fast to some piece of Ice for security in the Night Season; and then we should beat most dangerously from piece to piece till Day-light, that we could see to make her fast again. I forbear to speak of thick Fogs which we had daily, which did freeze our Rigging day and night: Besides all which, we should come into most uncertain depths; sometimes 20 Fathom, next cast 10, next 15, then 9, Rocky foul Ground. The great deep Ice withall, driving on these uncertain depths, did so distract the Tides, and deceive us so much in our Accounts, that by the 30th, we were driven back so far, to the Eastward, and to the Southward of the Cape, that at five a Clock in the Evening it bare N. W. of us some three Leagues off, contrary to our Expectations. With all these Mischiefs, our Ship is now become very leaky, that we must Pump every half Watch. Here I called a Consultation; and after consideration of all our Experience, we were all of the same Opinion, that it was impossible to get to the Northward, or to the Eastward, by reason of the Ice. Wherefore I resolved upon this Course: When the Wind blew South, it would blow the Ice off the South-shore, then we would seek to get to the Westward, betwixt it and the shore. I must confess, that this was a desperate Resolution; for all the Coast we knew to be shoal and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; so that if the Wind should shift to the Northward, there would be (without God's mercies) little hope of us. But here we must not stay; the Nights grew long, the Cold so increased, that betwixt the pieces of Ice, the Sea would be frozen. I caused the Ship to be fitted, and Places convenient again prepared to sink her, the second time, if so be we were put to Extremi-

ties. We presently put our project in Execution (the Wind being at South) and got about the shoals of the Cape, standing then into the shoreward, to get betwixt it and the Ice; we came into four Fathom Water (very foul rocky ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Leeward. But still there was so much Ice betwixt us and the shore, that we were fain to bear up amongst it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive amongst it. The Wind increasing, we endured a most dangerous dark Night of it. In the Morning, we fell to work, to get the Ship again out of the Ice into some clear Water, which we saw W. by S. of us. Some of our Company went out upon the Ice, to heave her with their Shoulders, whilst others stood aboard with Poles. The rest stood to spill and fill the Sail. By nine in the Morning, we had gotten into some clear Water, and stood West and by South, and into four Fathom Water, foul Ground. But being not able to weather some sands of Ice which did drive, we were fain to stand off again, and (when the Evening grew dark) to come to an Anchor.

About Midnight, there came a great piece of Ice (which we could not avoid) athwart of our Cable, and made the Ship drive and drag her Anchor. This drove her into shoal Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground. We brought the Cable to Capstang, and heav'd with such a Courage, that we heav'd home our Anchor from under it. Thus we did endeavour (the best we could) to keep our selves in eight and ten Fathom Water. It then pleased God, that the Wind blew alongst the shore, otherwise it had gone far worse with us.

August, 1632.

The first of this month at break of day, when we could see a little about us, we fell to struggle and strive again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the shore. There, by reason the Wind was opposite to come to an Anchor, we let the Ice drive to Leeward, hoping that there was a clear Sea to the Westward. The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one piece came foul of us, which did touch our Sprit-Sail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we soon cleared our selves of it. Then we Weighed, and stood in nearer to the shore; but the Water shoaled, and there were so many great sands of Ice betwixt us and the shore, that

that there was no coming to an Anchor. So we turned betwixt the Ice; many pieces of it being a-ground in shoal Water; and few pieces distant one from the other a Cables length. This day we saw two Sea Monies on the Ice.

The 2d in the Morning, we were glad of the break of day, having most dangerously turn'd amongst the Ice all Night, and endured many a heavy blow. We stood in again to the shore-ward, to see if we could get some clear Water; for to the Northward it was all impassable Ice. We stood into five and four Fathom, but still all incompass with Ice. So we stood off again into deeper Water, and in the Evening we were inclosed amongst extraordinary great pieces: It was a very thick Fog withall; so that we made fast the Ship to a great flat piece, and went to Sleep and refresh our selves after our extream Pains-taking.

The 3d, 4th, and 5th, we were inclosed amongst very great Ice; and it blew such a Storm of Wind, that we sometimes endeavouring to get forward to the Westward, did strike such heavy blows, that made all the forepart of the Ship crack again. Then we would give over working and let her alone amongst it; but then the Ice would break and rise under us, that would endanger us as bad as the former. Our Ship doth make above a Tun of Water every Watch, which we must Pump out, beside our other Labour. God think on us, and be merciful to us amongst all these Dangers.

The 5th at Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 30. the Cape bearing off us S. E. by E. some 12 Leagues off; and this is all we have gotten, since the 22th of July. All Night it blew a violent gale of Wind, at W. N. W. and about Midnight, our Hawser (which we had made fast to a piece of Ice) broke, and we lost 14 Fathom of it. We beat all Night most fearfully, being tost from piece to piece, because that in the dark we durst not venture our Men to go forth on the Ice for fear of losing them.

All the 6th, the Storm indured, and drove us again with the Ice, almost to the Cape.

The 7th, was the most comfortable day we had since we came out of our Wintering place; the Wind came up fair at East, and we got (although with our former Inconveniencies and Dangers) nearer to the shore, and into some open Water, making good way to the Westward. Moreover, our Leak now stopt

of its own accord, so that now we Pump but little. We sailed all Night, keeping good Watch on the Forecastle, bearing up for one, and loofing for another.

Thus did we the 8th also, but then the Wind shifting to the N. W. it drove the Ice on the shore, and we came to an Anchor in eight Fathom Water. The Main-Ice, we had some two Mile to Windward of us, but the set of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 34. In the Evening, a range of Ice drove upon us, which made us Weigh, and stand in nearer the shore, into six Fathom, and there to come to an Anchor. The Wind increasing about Midnight, the Ship did drive, and was quickly in five Fathom Water; wherefore we let fall our Shoot-Anchor, and both held her. But that that troubled us, was, that we expected every Minute, when the Main-Ice would come upon us, and then there would be no hope but to be put ashore.

The 9th, in the Morning, we Weighed our second Anchor, the Ice being within less than a Mile of us. About eight in the Morning, a Point of it came foul of us, which we prevented, by Weighing, and came to an Anchor in three Fathom and a half Water. The Wind continued N. N. W. which was in on the shore. This Morning, I caused all our empty Cask to be fill'd with Water, and the Ship to be left unpumpt; and the Places lookt to, that we had prepared to sink her: for we were at present in as apparent danger, as any time this Voyage; and (to our great griefs) it was all foul rocky ground. The Danger of this was, if we made fast to a piece of Ice that drew deep Water, then, as soon as it came to ground on these Rocks, it would break all to pieces, and betray us to our Destruction. About Noon, there came foul of us, the point of a range of Ice, which we resolv'd to endure the extremity of, with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break through it, we now perceiving some open Water beyond it; thrusting therefore, and sending with our Poles, at last a great piece came thwart our Hawser, and there went a pretty Sea amongst it. The Ship did now fall upon it so violently, that I expected every blow, she would beat out her Bows. At length, she did drive with it, so that I thought the Cable had been broke. We brought it to Capstang to heave it in; but found that our Shoot-Anchor was broken in the middle
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of the Shank. We presently set our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that way to edge in amongst the Ice off of this perilous shore. It pleased God to favour our Labour so, that by eight in the Evening we got off into seven Fathom; and a dark Night coming on, we made fast to the biggest piece we could find. It blew fairly all Night; but about Midnight, the Wind came up at North, which was more on the Shore than before.

By break of day, on the 10th, we were driven into four Fathom, very foul ground; so that the Lead did fall off the Rocks three or four Foot, we set our Sails, and used our uttermost Endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to hale her; others stood with Poles to thrust, by Night. At Night we had gotten off, into eight Fathom; and made fast to the biggest piece we could find. If any Man should ask, Why we now kept so near to the shore, in this continual danger? I answer, Because that in the Offing, the Ice was so extraordinary thick, that we could make no way, any way through it. Moreover, when we were in that great thick Ice, and that the Wind came up fair at S. or S. E. or E. we could not get out of it. Wherefore we chose to run this adventure, and so prevent and overcome all Dangers with God's Assistance and our extream Labour.

The 11th in the Morning was a thick Fog, yet there sprung up a gale of Wind at East, and we made in for the shore.

From the 11th till the 14th, the Wind continued fair; and we made all the Sail we could (night and day) as the Ice would suffer us. We had the shore in sight by day, on one side, and the Ice within two Miles, on the other; and we sail'd amongst disperst pieces, luffing for one, and bearing up for another.

The 14th at Noon, we were in Latitude 57. 55. In the Evening we were imbayed in Ice, and stood S. W. to clear our selves of it, but could not. But seeing from Top-mast Head, clear Water over it, we put into it; but there rose a very thick Fog, and Night came on withall, that we were fain to fasten to a piece of Ice, expecting Day and better Weather.

The 15th in the Morning, (although the Fog was very thick) we endeavoured to get out of the Ice, and stood away West; but within two hours, the Water shoalded from 40 Fathom to 25, whereby we knew that we had the shoal-
ding of the Western-shore. Then we

snapt our Course to the Northward, the Fog continuing so thick, that we could not see a Pistol-shot about us. We had not stood this way two hours, but we heard the rut of the Ice a-head of us, which made the most hideous noise of any we had heard this Voyage. We hal'd our Tacks aboard, and stood to the Westward in this day darkness, hearing of it sometimes, and sometimes feeling of it, which was very large, deep, and high Ice, above the Water. We weathered it all, except some few pieces, and got into open Water. About Sunset, there came a sudden gust at N. N. W. and before we could handle our Sails, it was with us, and put us to some trouble. It dallied with us by Gusts till nine a Clock, and then it fell into a most violent Storm. We considered where we might have the clearest drift; and so took in all, and let her drive, her Head to the shoreward. Before Midnight, the Water shoalded on us to 15 Fathom. Then we turned her Head to the Eastward, and set our Main-Course low set, but as much as she could indure. The Water deepned but little, and we knew that we were on those rocky Shoalds which we struck on the last year. God be merciful to us. Here was the first great breaking Sea that we had this year.

The 16th in the Morning, we were driven to a great rand of Ice; to avoid which, we set our Fore-Course too, and stood to the shoreward in 13 Fathom Water, and then about again: We stood in, a Mile into the Ice; but there went such a great swelling Sea in it, that it was indurable, so we stood out again. About three a Clock in the Afternoon, the Storm broke up, and blew fair at N. W. which proved good for us, for we had not drift for four hours: besides, it was but two Leagues betwixt the Shoalds and the Ice. We set all our Sails, and endeavoured to weather the Ice; but in the Evening we were still pester'd with it. By Midnight, we knew not which way to turn, nor what to do; so we took in all our Sails, and let her drive amongst it. The Ice beat us on every side, for there went amongst it a very great full Sea.

The 17th in the Morning, when we could see about us, we were in the midst of the Ice; but with the last Storm it was all broken into mammocks, as big as a Boat of three, or four Tuns, which did give us many a heavy blow in the dark night. If this Storm had taken us
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amongst it, it had beaten us all to pieces, without Gods miraculous Preservation. We made Sail, and endeavoured to clear our selves of it to the Northward, which by 8 in the Morning we had done.

We then went to Prayer, and gave God thanks that had delivered us out of it. For we were hourly, for the space of six Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death; yea, never any (that I have heard of) have been so long, in such long Nights, upon a foul shoald shore, tormented with Ice, as we have now been. At Noon we were in Latit. 58. 20.

Now as touching the Dissolution or Ruining of the Ice, we found that this Storm had torn and shattered this rand of Ice, which was on the outside; although it must have a long time to work into the main body of it. I have in *July*, and in the beginning of *August*, taken some of the Ice into the Ship, and cut it square two foot, and put it into the Boat, where the Sun did shine on it with a very strong reflex about it. And notwithstanding the warmth of the Ship, (for we kept a good fire) and all our Breathings and Motions, it would not melt in 8 or 10 days.

It was our Practice, when we should be two days together fast to a piece of Ice, to set Marks on it, to see how it did consume; but it yielded us small hope of dissolving. We could not in that time perceive any Diminution by the sinking of it or otherwise. Nevertheless, I think that it is ruined with Storms, or consumed with Heat some years; or else the Bay would be fill'd choke-full: but I confess, that these Secrets of Nature are past my Apprehension.

Being out of it, (but no otherways than that we yet saw it from off the Decks, all to the Eastward) I ordered the Master to steer away North and by East, keeping the shoalding of the Western shore.

The 18th at Noon, we were in Latitude 59. 30.

The 19th, we continued our Course betwixt the N. N. E. and the N. by E. and at Noon were in Latitude 61. 7. some 12 Leagues off the Shore. I ordered the Master to shape his Course North East, to look to that place betwixt *Carie's Swan's Nest*, and *Ne ulra*.

The 20th, we were in Latitude 61. 45. This day we saw some few Seals about the Ship.

The 21th, the Water shoalded, so that we made account we did approach

the Land; but about Noon, the Wind came up at N. E. our direct opposite. We Looft as near it as we could, and as it Larg'd, we came to stand E. and E. and by N.

The 22th, we fell with the Land to the Westward of *Carie's Swan's Nest*: where we had 40 Fathom, three Leagues off. We stood in, within a League of the shore, into 13 Fathom; and seeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compast about it, it being *Carie's Swan's Nest*, which is in Latitude 52. 00.

All the 23th, we sailed N. E. and for the most part in sight of Land.

The 24th at Noon, (by Judgment) we were in Latitude 63. 30. having sailed a N. E. Course. All this day was a very thick Fog, which about one a Clock clear'd a little, so that I expected to see the Land. Some of our Men being better sighted, spied it out about some two Leagues off from us. I knew it could be no other then *Nottingham Island*; though it were something contrary to the expectation of our best Mariners. We stood into it to make it. It was the North end of it; and it bare off us Due-East; I was soon assured of it; and I ordered the Master to shape his Course North West and by North. Both he and others were unwilling; but without much ado, submitted themselves, (how loth soever) for that it was so very foul thick weather. The Reasons of my resolution were these: The time of the year was far spent, and the Discommodities of Winter came upon us; and therefore would I make the shortest way, betwixt the Lands already discovered. If I found an open Sea, I had my desire, and did then intend to proceed to the uttermost of our power; if we met with the Land, I should then finish the Discovery, it being not passing 15 Leagues from Land to Land, and not passing 10 Leagues from *Nottingham Island* to the Main of the North-shore. We made what Sail we could, it blowing a very stiff gale of Wind until eight in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our Top-sails, and stood under our two Courses and Bonnets. At nine, it blew a violent Storm at S. S. E. so that we took in our Foresail, and let her drive N. W. All the Night it continued an extraordinary Storm; so that we heaved the Lead every half watch; But the Ship did drive so fast, that she would be past the Lead before there was 25 Fathom of Line out, all the Night being exceeding Cold withall.

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The 25th, the Storm continued in his uttermost Malice, and did so perplex us, that there were but few that did Sleep or Eat a bit these 24 hours. About six a Clock in the Afternoon, the Storm began to slacken, yet blew there a fierce gale of Wind betwixt the S. and S. W. We stood W. N. W. and made a N. W. way, when suddenly the Sea became very smooth. We reasoned thereupon amongst our selves, what might be the Cause of it. We all thought it to be the Leeward Tide; nothing doubting what afterwards we encountered. The Ship had very quick way in this smooth Water.

The 26th, by two a Clock in the Morning, we were suddenly come in amongst the Ice; and it pleased God, that the Moon at the instant gave us so much light, that we could see a little about us. We would have staid the Ship, but it was so thick to Windward, and so near us, that we durst not. We then bore up in this unexpected accident; and (I verily believe) did not scape striking, the length of a foot, against the Ice as hard as Rocks, two or three times; the Ship now having way, after 12 Leagues a watch. Then we stood close by a Wind to the Eastward, expecting day, that we might see about us. We could from Top-mast Head see the Ice to the N. N. W. the N. W. and so round about by the S. to the E. and some there was to Leeward of us. It was all flat sound Ice, in Main rands; and the Sea as smooth as a Well amongst it. This struck us all into a dump; whereupon, I called a Consultation of my Associates; namely, *Arthur Price* Master, *William Clemens* Lieutenant, *John Whittered* Master's Mate, *Nathaniel Bilson* Chirurgion, and *John Palmer* Boatswain; requiring them to Advise and Counsel me, how to prosecute our Business to effect. These all went together, and reasoned amongst themselves; and then brought me their Opinions in Writing under their Hands; viz. Our Advice is, That you repair homeward, from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons:

First, For that the Nights are long, and so extrem Cold withall, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Riggings. Secondly, The times are now subject to stormy and gusty weather; as witnesseth the present Season; it having continued a Storm ever since the 24th, and doth yet continue no Weather to discover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether *Hudson's Straights* be so clear of Ice, that it may

be passable in convenient time, (Winter coming now on apace) before we be frozen up, seeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea in rands and ranges. Fourthly, We must have a set of fair weather, to pass the Strait, which we may stay a long time for, if we neglect the first opportunity. Fifthly, For that our Ship is very Leaky, so that in foul Weather we are fain to Pump every Glas, which is great Labour. Moreover, we know her to be so sorely bruised with Rocks, and Blows of the Ice, that she is no more to be adventur'd amongst it, but in saving of our Lives homewards. Besides all this, our Men grow very weak and sickly, with extream Labour. Sixthly, The Season of the year is so far spent, that we can expect no other Weather than we have had, both lately and at present; that is to say, Snow and Fog, freezing our Rigging, and making every thing so slippery, that a Man can scarce stand; and all this, with the Wind Southerly; which if it should come to the Northward, then we are to expect far worse. Seventhly and Lastly, That the Ice lies all in thick rands and ranges; in the very way we should go, as you and all Men here may see. And therefore we conclude, as aforesaid, That there is no possibility of proceeding further: Wherefore we here Counsel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Passage, and return us home safe into our Native Countries, if we take time, and not tempt him too far by our willfulness.

Indeed most of these Reasons were in view, and I could not tell what to say to oppose them; nor any reason could I give, how we might proceed further; wherefore (with a sorrowful heart, God knows) I consented, that the Helm should be born up, and a Course shapt for *England*; well hoping, that his Majesty would graciously Censure of my Endeavours, and Pardon my return. And although we have not discovered populous Kingdoms, and taken special notice of their Magnificence, Power, and Policies, brought Samples home of their Riches and Commodities; pried into the Mysteries of their Trades and Traffick; nor made any great fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I wish our willingness in these Desert Parts may be acceptable to our Readers. When we bore up Helm, we were in Latitude 65. 30. at least, N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham* Island. Some were of an Opinion, that we were further to the Northward;

Northward; but by reason it was by Judgment, I chose to set down the lesser distance.

The 27th, the Wind came up at N. W. with which Wind we could not have gone on our Delign: That Wind made no great swelling Sea. By Noon, we were athwart of Cape Charles; so that we went in betwixt that Cape, and Mill Islands. The last Night it did Snow very much, and was very Cold; so that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered over with Snow. And here, (since I have formerly spoken that it Snows very much) it will not be amiss to consider of the Reasons of it. When I was upon Charleston Island, (our Wintering place) and in June, when the Snow was clearest gone off the Ground, I have in the Nights, (and some of them following the hottest days) observed, whether there fell any Dew or no; but I could never perceive any, and (under Correction of the Learned) from Moss and Sand, little (me thoughts) was to be expected. Now, of what was Exhal'd from the Snowy Ice, and Cold Sea; could there probably be returned but the like again. Generally, we continued on our Course, blinded with Foggy and dirty Weather; and that, intermixt with Snow and Frost, amongst dispers'd pieces of Ice, many of them higher than our Top-mast head.

With great variety of Winds, we were also driven within three Leagues of both Shores; so that the last of this month, we were in the narrow of the Strait; which is about 15 Leagues over; the South shore was much pestered with Ice.

September, 1632.

The 1st, and 2d, we continued our Endeavour to get on our way.

The 3d in the Evening, as the Weather cleared up, we did see the South-end of the Island of Resolution.

These three Days and Nights had been extremum Cold, with Fog and Frost; in-somuch, that our Men in the Evening could hardly take in our Top-Sails and Spree-Sail. We have failed thorow much Mountainous Ice, far higher than our Top-mast head. But this day we failed by the highest that I ever yet saw, which was incredible indeed to be related. Now as the Wind comes Easterly, we feel another Sea, out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion, than she hath done with

any that ever we observed to come out of the Westward.

From the 3d to the 8th, we had variety of Winds, and were gotten clear out of the Straights; but were now come into such a tumbling Sea, (the Weather dirty and gusty, and by *interims* Calm again) that the Ship did so Labour and Rowl, that we thought verily she would have rowled her Masts by the board. This made her so Leaky, that we were fain to Pump every Glas; yea, her Seams did so open aloft, that we lay all wet in her.

This was the last day that we saw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us, we made all the haste we could homeward. By the way, (having endeavoured, observed, and experimented some things in my unfortunate Voyage) I perfected up my said Observations; which being after commanded to publish, I here most submissively offer unto the judicious Readers; and raise our private Opinion withall, concerning the feasibility of the Action intended, which was to find a Passage into the South Sea.

What hath been long ago Fabled by some Portuguese, that should have come this way out of the South Sea, the meer shadows of whose mistaken Relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity. These hopes have stirred up from time to time, the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom, to research that merely imaginary Passage. For mine own part, I give no Credit to them at all; and as little to the vicious, and abusive Wits of later Portuguese and Spaniards, who never speak of any difficulties; as should Water, Ice, nor sight of Land; but as if they had been brought home in a Dream or Engine. And indeed, their Discourses are found absurd; and the Plots, (by which some of them have practised to deceive the World) meer Falsities; making Sea where there is known to be Main-Land; and Land, where is nothing but Sea.

Most certain it is, That by the only industry of our own Nation, those Northern Parts of America have been discovered, so the Latitude of 80 Degrees and upwards. And it hath been so curiously done, (the Labours of several Men being joined together) that the Main-Land hath been both seen and searcht; and they have brought this supposed Passage to this pass, that it must be to the North of 80 Degrees of Latitude. A Cold Climate, pestered with Ice, and other Difficulties, and where the

the *Spaniards* Dispositions, and their weak Speeke-Ships, can hardly long endure it. And withall, it is thus known, that the entrance of *Hudson's Straights* is but 15 Leagues broad, in the middle not so much; and betwixt *Salisbury Island*, and the Main, that it is but eight Leagues. Then proceeding to the Northwards, towards the forementioned Latitude, it is but 15 Leagues from Main to Main. This in length, is but about 140 Leagues, as may more plainly appear by the Map. Most infinitely pestered withall it is with the Ice, until *August*, and some years not passable then; yea, I believe, the Straight is never clear of Ice thoroughly.

Now most probable it is, that there is no Passage, and that for these Reasons following.

First, That there is a constant Tide Flood and Ebb, setting into *Hudson's Straights*, the Flood still coming from the Eastward; which, as it proceeds, (correspondent to the distance) it alters his time of full Sea. This also entering into Bays, and broken Ground, it becomes distracted, and Reverses with half Tides.

Secondly, Here is no small Fish, as Cod, &c. and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen: Nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horses, or other great Fish, to be found on the Shore; nor any Drift-Wood.

Thirdly, That we found the Ice in the Latitude of 65. 30. to be lying all over the Sea in rands; and I am most certain, that the Shoalds and Shoald-Bays are the Mother of it. Had there now been any Ocean beyond it, it would have been broke all to pieces; for so we found it coming thorow the Straight into the Sea to the Eastward.

Fourthly, The Ice seeks his way to the Eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's Straight*, which I have often observed being a Land, upon the Island of *Resolution*, and driving amongst the Ice in the *Straight*.

Now admit there were a Passage, yet is it known, that it is partly narrow, for 140 Leagues, and to be infinitely pestered with Ice withall, as every one have found, who have gone that way. Comparing therefore some Observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gulolo*, and at *Firando* in *Japan*, and the Distance betwixt *Japan* and the Western part of *California*; with the

Observations taken at *Charleson Island*, (referring all to the Meridian of *London*) and then the Distance betwixt the Meridians of *Cape Charles*, and the Western part of *California*, will be found to be about 500 Leagues, in the Lat. of 66. 00. where yet the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, That near about *Cape Charles*, the Variation is 29 Degrees to the West; which is a probable Argument, that there is much Land to the Westward; and that this Straight must be very long, and that you have no time to pass it but in *August* and *September*, when the Nights are so long, and the Weather so cold, that it will not be indurable.

Add to this, That neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, endure the Ice, and other Discommodities, without extraordinary danger.

Moreover, a thousand Leagues is sooner failed to the Southward, and about the *Cape de Bona Speranza*, (where the Winds are constant) and that with safety, than a hundred in these Seas, where you must daily run the hazard of losing Ship and Lives. Put hereunto, that Comfort for the Sick, or refreshing for your Men, here is none to be had in these Quarters.

Towards the latter end of *August*, and in *September*, the Weather grows Tempestuous, and the Winds incline to be Westerly, that there will be but small hope of performing your Voyage this way.

But let us (by way of Imagination only) enlarge this Straight, in [this Latitude, and free it of Ice; yet, what Advantage, in speedy performance, will be gotten by this Passage, if the Winds be withall considered? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia*, it may be the nearer cut; but in Navigation, the farthest way about, is well known, in fewer days to be performed, yea with lesser pains, and more safety of Ship and Goods.

Again: To the *East-Indies*, and other Parts, where we have the greatest Commerce and Employment of Shipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of Trade might have been obtained in those Northern Parts of *Asia*, I will not presume to speak of; holding that there is a great difference betwixt those Parts and the Northern Parts of *America*; whereas I am sure that there is none

in any place where I have been all this Voyage.

The 22th of *October*, we arrived in the Road of *Bristol*, having been hindered and crost with much contrary tempestuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and hal'd dry a-ground to look to her, it was there found, that all her Cut-water and Stern were torn and beaten away, together with 14 Foot of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruised, and many Timbers crackt within board; and under the Star-board Bulge, a sharp Rock had cut thorow the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and a half into a Timber that it met withall. Many other Defects there were besides, so that it was miraculous how this Vessel could bring us home again. Being all here arrived, we went all to Church, and gave God thanks for his Preservation of us amidst so many Dangers. I very well know that what I have here hastily written, will never discourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this so long tried Action to absolute effect: And it is likely withall, that there be some, who have a better

Understanding, and a surer way of prosecuting of it, than my self have. To whose Designs I wish a happy Success. And if they do but make a review of what hath been done, and give more certain *Celestial Observations*, *Hydrographical Descriptions*, or Exacter Practice in *Navigation*, it will be a most commendable Labour. For although I have spent some years of my ripest Age, in procuring vain Intelligence from Foreign Nations, and have travelled unto divers Honourable and Learned Personages of this Kingdom, for their Instructions; have Bought up whatever I could in Print, or Manuscript, and what Plot or Paper soever conducing to this Business, that possibly I could procure; and have served voluntarily besides, and spent some time in rendring a relation, (since my coming home) and Expended withall of my own Monies, in my aforesaid Endeavours, and in furnishing of extraordinary Necessaries, above 200 *l.* in ready Money; yet I repent not my self, but take a great deal of Comfort and Joy, in that I am able to give an account (in some reasonable way) of those Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not so well satished in.

T H E
 C O P Y of the L E T T E R
 Which I left at
 C H A R L E T O N.
 Fastened to the Cross, July 1. 1632.

BE it known to any that shall haply arrive here, on this Island of *Charleton*, that whereas our Sovereign Lord, *Charles I. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.* having a Desire to be Certified, whether there were any Passage, or not, by the North-West or North-westward, thorow these Territories, into the *South Sea*: Some of the better-minded Merchants, of the worshipful Company of Merchant-Adventurers of the City of *Bristol*, to Satisfie His Majesty therein, did voluntarily offer to set forth a convenient Ship for that purpose, well Mann'd, Victualled, and furnished with all other Necessaries. This free Offer of theirs was not only commended, but graciously accepted of by His Majesty. Whereupon, they fitted and furnished forth a Ship, called the *Henrietta Maria*, of the Burthen of 70 Tuns, Victualled for 18 Months. A number thought convenient to manage such a Business, was 22 Men, whereof 19 were choice able Men, two Younkers, and my unworthy self their Commander. All which, the *Bristol* Merchants did most judiciously and bountifully accommodate, and had in a readines, the first of *May*, 1631.

The 3d of *May*, we began our Voyage out of the Road of *Bristol*, commonly called *King's Road*, passing about the Cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*, upon many Courses, but reduced to a West North-West, we sailed along; and upon the 4th of *June*, we made the Land of *Greenland* to the Northward of Cape *Farewell*, where for the space of two days, we were dangerously engaged amongst the Ice. Being clear of it, we doubled Cape *Farewell* to the Southward, and so continued our

Course to the Westward, continually Sailing and thrusting the Ship thorow much Ice.

The 19th of *June* we made the Island of *Resolution*, and endeavouring to compass about it to the Southward, we were taken with a strong Westerly Wind; which drove the Ice, and it us, upon the Shore. In that Distress, (seeing it was broken Grounds and Main-Inlets into it) I sent the Shallop to Seek and Sound a Place, for our Refuge; but when she was departed, she was in as great Danger as we, and could not return to us by reason of the Ice. We being now driven very near the Rocks, were fain to set our Sails, and force the Ship into an opening, adventuring her amongst unknown Dangers to avoid apparent, before we could Moor her in a place (as we thought) safe from Danger.

The 22th of *June*, (this Inlet being full of Ice) that Ice upon the Ebb, so Jamb'd one piece into another, that it altered the ordinary Course of it, and it came upon the Ship, and put her against the Rocks, notwithstanding our utmost resistance. As the Water Ebb'd away; the Ship hung by the Keel upon a Rock, and heel'd to the Offing. As soon as we perceived this, we made fast some Hawfers to her Masts, and to the Rocks, to hold her upright; but all in vain; she sunk still, as the Water Ebb'd away; so that she was so turned over, that we could not stand in her. Hereupon, we got all upon a piece of Ice, looking upon her, and praying God to be merciful to us. The Rock that she hung upon, was a little abaft the Main-Mast, which made her hang after the head, and she sunk over so much, that the Portlads of the Forecastle was in the Water. At length, it pleased
 God

God, the Flood came, before it had Ebb'd so low as the Tide before and after, by a Foot; and the Ship rose, and was Safe and Sound: And thus were we miraculously delivered. With the first Wind, we proceeded to the Westward; continually being pestered with so much Ice, that it was about the middle of July before we could attain to Sir *Dudley Diggs*'s Island. And here I was put to my Consideration; for whereas by my Directions, I was to search especially two places; one from *Diggs*'s Island to the Northward, and failing there, to go to the *Cheeks* and *Hubbards*'s Hope, and so to search it to the Southward; I now finding the Sea much pestered with Ice in the Latitude of 64. 00 and as far as we could see to the Northward; and that the time was so far spent, as that before I could do any thing that way, it would be *August*, and then as much trouble to return again to *Diggs*'s Island; and that by that time, the year would be so far spent, the Nights so long and cold, that I fear'd I should be forced with shame to return into *England* again that year. Wherefore I took my way to the Westward, by *Mansfield's* Island; on which I landed twice, still hinder'd and incumber'd with Ice. Thence I proceeded Westward, hoping for an open Sea in the Bay. We were there more troubled with Ice, than in any place before; so that it was the 11th of *August*, before we had sight of the Western land, which we made in Latitude 59. 30. something to the Southward of the *Cheeks*. We were not able to attain thither, by reason of the contrary Winds and Ice; but were Observant of the Current of the Tides; which after, by experience, we found to come from the Northward. We Coasted alongst the Shore, in sight of Land, and in 10 Fathom Water to the Southward; and entred that Inlet, which heretofore was called *Hubbards*'s Hope; which was the very place, where the Passage should be, as it was thought by the Understandingest and Learnedest Intelligencer of this Business in *England*. We sailed to the very bottom of it, into three Fathom Water; and found it to be a Bay of some 18 or 19 Leagues deep. From thence we proceeded to the Southward, in sight of Land for the most part; and although I was as careful to keep the Lead always going (it blowing a fresh gale of Wind and a pretty big Sea) our depth, eight, nine, and ten Fathom; yet before the Lead was up, the Ship struck upon a flat Rock; (she then being under Forefail,

Foretopfail, Maintopfail, and Spritfail) and gave three fore Knocks, and got over it. Being past this Danger, we proceeded, and pass'd by *Port Nelson*. Finding the Land trend to the Eastward, we began our Discovery of it more carefully; because that no Man (that ever I could hear or read of) did ever see this Land before. We stood into six and five Fathom; for it is very low Land, and trends for the most part E. S. E. and E. by S.

The 27th of *August*, I entred upon it, and in the Name of the Merchants-Adventurers of *Bristol*, took Possession of it to His Majesties Use, naming it, *The New South-West Principality of Wales*. I brought from the Land, some small Trees and Herbs, and killed divers sorts of Fowl, in sign of Seizure, which I brought aboard. Not long after, (being put back to the Westward with contrary Winds) we spake with Captain *Fox*, in a Ship of his Majesties, set forth for the same purpose that we were: I invited him aboard, and entertained him with such fare as we had taken in this new Discovered Land; and made him a relation of all our Endeavours: The like did he to us, and withall told us, That he had been in *Port Nelson*; where he had put up a Shallop, and found there many things which Sir *Thomas Button* had left there. The next day, he departed from us, and stood to the Westward, and we never saw him since. His Ship, he, and all his Company, were very well. We continued our Discovery to the Eastward, and came to the Eastern Point, which is in Latitude 55. 06. which we named *Cape Henrietta Maria*. There the Land trends to the Southward, and we followed it in sight, but were put off with foul Weather; which being over-blown, we stood in again for the Western shore, (that we might leave no part unseen) and followed it again to Latitude 54. 40. The second time we also put off, with like foul Weather, which made us stand to the Eastward. In this way we past by some Islands, and happened amongst broken Grounds and Rocks, in Latitude 53. 30. where we came to an Anchor, and sheltered our selves some few days; shifting Roads. Now the Winter began to come on, and the Nights to be long and cold; that amongst these dangerous Places, we were fain to spend the day to look for security for the Night. Here, by Misfortune, our Ship came a-ground; and that amongst great Stones, as big as a Man's Head; where she did beat for the

the space of five hours most fearfully. In this time, we lightened her, and carried some of our things ashore; so that by the great favour of God, we got her off again; whereupon we named this Island, *The Island of God's Favour*. After that again, amongst those Rocks, we were put to many Extremities. At length, (having a gentle Southerly Wind) we stood alongst the Eastern-shore to the Northward, now looking for a convenient Place to Winter in. And here again, were we assaulted with a violent Storm, in which we lost our Shallop, and were driven amongst divers Dangers; and seeing an opening betwixt two Islands, we ventured to go in, in very foul Weather. We found it to be a very good Sound, and there we came to an Anchor. We landed on one of them, which we named, *The Lord Weston's Island*; and Man'd out our old Ship-Boat upon it. The other Island, we named my *Lord of Bristol's island*. Parting from hence, we stood to the Southward, to look for a Wintering Place, because the time of Discovery was past for this year. Many were our Troubles amongst these Islands, Shoalds, and broken Grounds; which made us strain our Ground Tackle for life many a time.

The 6th of *October*, we arrived in this Bay, it seeming a very likely place to find a Harbour in; but searching the likeliest places, we found it all so shoald Flats and Rocks, and Stony by the shore-side; that we could by no means bring our Ship near the shore, but were forced to ride a League off, in three Fathom and a half Water.

The Winter came on apace, the Weather proved Tempestuous; and the Cold so multiplied, that our Sails froze in lumps to the Yards, unmanuable. Neither could our only Boat go from the Ship, by reason of the Weather. About the middle of *October*, I caused a House to be made ashore where our sick Men might the better recover; but always with an intent to take it down, if we found other-where, a place for our Ship. I sent likewise Men a-foot, (seeing the Boat could not go) to discover the Island, and to see if they could find some Creek or Cove; but all in vain; we spent the time with hope of fairer Weather, till now the Cables began to freeze in the House, and the Ship to be frozen over with the Sprew of the Sea; so that we were fain to shovel the Snow off our Decks. Moreover, the Water began so

to Congeal by the shore side, that the Boat could hardly get ashore. Yet for all that, if the Wind blew N. W. there went a very great Surf on the Shore, and such a great Sea in the Bay, that there was no bringing of our Ship aground. Besides this, she would have then lain open to the E. and S. E. and S. and indeed the nearest Land, all about that way, was two Leagues off. Hereupon, we continued out the extremity, at an Anchor.

The 29th of *November*; the Ice came about us on all sides, and put us from our ground Tackle, and would have driven us out of the Bay upon Rocks and Shoalds, (where undoubtedly we had perished) but that by God's great Goodness, it proved so warm a day, (the Wind at S.) that suddenly we brought up some Sail, and hoist it up with Ropes, and so forced her ashore; where she beat all that Night very sorely. The Ship being now grounded and quiet, we considered what was best to do with her, and resolved to sink her; but the next Tide, before we had any of our Provisions ashore, the Wind came N. W. so that the Ship beat most fearfully. We got all our dry Provisions up to the upper Deck, and made a hole to sink her; but before she was sunk, she beat so extraordinarily, that we all thought she had been foundered. Being sunk down so low, that the Water came on the upper Deck, we took our Boat and went all ashore, in such pitiful cold Weather, that we were all so white frozen, that some sick Men that were ashore before, did not know us one from another.

The next day we fell to land our Provisions: First our Bread, Fish, and dry Things, the Men driven to Wade in the Water up to the middles, most lamentable to behold. Within two days, what with great flat pieces that stuck about us, and that which froze, it was become firm Ice, betwixt the Ship and the shore; so that then we were fain to carry all things on our Backs a Mile from the Ship to the House. Within few days, the Hold became so frozen, that we could not get all our things out of it, but were fain there to leave it frozen, till the next year. Then we made us two other Houses: Our first House was our Mansion-House, wherein we did all lie together; our other was to dress our Victuals; and the third, for a Store-House; which we built a pretty distance off, for fear of Fire. And now we considered of the Estate we were in, we all doubted that

that the Ship was foundered ; especially our Carpenter. But suppose she were Sound ; yet was it a question, whether we could get her off in the Summer, when the Tides are low. Moreover, she might be spoiled, lying in the Tides way, when the Ice brake up ; and then we should be destitute of any Vessel to bring us home. The Carpenter undertook to build a Pinnace, of the Burthen of 12 or 14 Tun, that should be ready by the Spring ; that if we found the Ship unserviceable, we might tear her up, and Plank her with the Ship's Plank. Upon this we resolved, and by *May* brought it to that pass, that she was ready to be joyned together to receive the Plank. But God mercifully provided otherwise for us : We indured a bitter Cold Winter, in which it pleased God to visit us with Sickness ; so that in the beginning of *May* 1632. there was but my self, and the Master, and Surgeon perfectly sound, and he began to find some defect also. About the beginning of *April*, we began to dig the Ice out of our Ship, which by the middle of *May* we had effected.

The 24th of *May*, the Ice began to break up betwixt the Ship and the Shore ; and about the middle of *June*, we had off our Ship, and found her to be Stanch and Sound, contrary to all our Expectations. Before this time, about the middle of *May*, our Carpenter died ; and with him, the Hope of our Pinnace. Master *Warden* died the 6th of *May* ; our Gunner, *Richard Edwards*, had his Leg broken (which was cut off) at the Capstang in *August* 1631. and languished till the 22th of *November*, on which day he Died. These three Men lie buried here under these Tombs of Stones. We lost another Man ; one *John Barton* our Quarter-Master, who miscarried in the little Bay that is Due West from this Cross three Mile ; the Ice breaking under him, so that he sunk down, and we never saw him more. The two Pictures which are wrapt in Lead, and fastened uppermost on this Cross, are the lively Pictures of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *Charles I.* and Queen *Mary* his Wife, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France*, and

Ireland, &c. The next under that, is, His Majesty's Royal Arms ; the lowermost is the Arms of the City of *Bristol*.

And now we are in a readiness to depart this day, and I intend to prosecute our Discovery to the Westward, in this Latitude of 52. 03. and to the Southward also, although with little hope. Failing there, I mean to haste to *Digg's* Island, and endeavour to discover to the Northward. Thus having had some Experience of the Dangers of the Ice, Shoals, and Rocks of unknown Places : I thought it necessary to leave this testimony of us and our Endeavours, if God should take us into his heavenly Kingdom, and frustrate our return into our Native Country. Wherefore I desire any noble-minded Traveller, that shall take this down, or come to the Knowledge of it, that he will make relation of it to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, and to certifie his Grace, that we cannot as yet find any hope of a Passage this way ; and that I do faithfully persevere in my Service ; accounting it but my Duty to spend my life to give his Majesty Contentment ; whom I beseech God to Bless with all Happines. And that they would likewise Advertise our worshipful Adventurers of all our Fortunes ; and that if as aforesaid, we perish, it was not by any want or defect in Ship or Victual, or other Necessaries ; all which we have in abundance for four Months and above ; which if occasion be, we can prolong to Six Months. Thus being at present unable to express a grateful Mind otherwise but in my Prayers to God, I heartily beseech him to pour out his bountiful Blessing upon all their honest Endeavours, and to continue their noble Dispositions in Actions of this kind. And I faithfully promise, that if I shall come where the like Letters and Tokens shall be left, to make a true relation of it, as it shall be desired. So desiring the happiness of all Mankind, in our general Saviour *Christ Jesus*, I end,

Charleton,
July 2.
1632.

Thomas James.

The NAMES of the several INSTRUMENTS, I Provided and Bought for this Voyage.

A *Quadrant* of old seasoned Pear-Tree Wood, artificially made, and with all care possible divided with *Diagonals*, even to Minutes. It was of four Foot (at least) *Semidiameter*.

An *Equilateral Triangle* of like Wood; whose *Radius* was five Foot at least; and divided out of *Petiscus's Table of Tangents*.

A *Quadrant* of two Foot *Semidiameter* of like Wood; and with like care projected.

The *Sights*, *Centers*, and every other part of them look'd to, and tried with convenient *Compasses*; to see if they had been wrong'd or alter'd. And this continually, before they were made use of.

Staves for taking Altitudes and Distances in the Heavens.

A *Staff* of seven Foot long; whose *Transome* was four Foot, divided into equal Parts by way of *Diagonals*, that all the *Figures* in a *Radius* of Ten Thousand, might be taken out, actually.

Another of six Foot, near as convenient, and in that manner to be used.

Mr. *Gunter's Cross-Staff*.

Three *Jacob's Staves*, projected after a new manner, and truly divided out of the *Table of Tangents*.

Two of Mr. *Davis's Back-Staves*, with like care made and divided.

Of Horizontal Instruments

Two *Semicircles*, two Foot *Semidiameter*, of seasoned Pear-Tree Wood, and divided with *Diagonals*, to all possible Exactness.

Six *Meridian Compasses*, ingeniously made; besides some Dozens of others, more common.

Four *Needles* in square Boxes, of six Inches *Diameter*, and other six of three Inches *Diameter*.

Moreover, four special *Needles*, (which my good Friends Mr. *Allen* and Mr. *Marre* gave me) of six Inches *Diameter*; and toucht curiously, with the best *Load-Stone* in *England*.

A *Load-Stone* to refresh any of these, if occasion were; whose *Poles* were marked for fear of mistaking.

A *Watch-Clock* of six Inches *Diameter*, and another lesser *Watch*.

A *Table* every day Calculated, correspondent to the *Latitude*, according to Mr. *Gunter's* Directions in his Book, the better to keep our *Time* and our *Compass*, to judge of our *Course*.

A *Chest* full of the best and choicest *Mathematical Books*, that could be got for Money in *England*; as likewise Mr. *Hacklure*, and Mr. *Purchas*; and other Books of *Journals* and *Histories*.

Study Instruments, of all sorts.

I caused many small *Glasses* to be made, whose part of time, I knew to a most insensible thing, and so divided and appropriated the *Log-Line* to them; making use of *Wilbrordus*, Snellius his numbers of Feet answering to a *Degree*, and approved of by Mr. *Gunter*.

I made a *Meridian-Line* of 120 yards long, with six *Plumb-Lines* hanging in it; some of them being above 30 Foot high, and the Weights hung in a hole in the Ground, to avoid Wind. And this to take the *Sun's* or *Moon's* coming to the *Meridian*. This Line we verified, by setting it by the *Pole* it self, and by many other ways.

Two pair of curious *Globes*, made purposely; the Workman being earnestly affected to this Voyage.

This

This was the manner that we took the Variation of the Compass, and that as often as conveniently we could, but divers of the Tables, by Negligence of my Boy are lost; but these (I hope) may suffice to give Satisfaction of our Care in Navigation.

July 13. 1631.

These 13 Azimuths, with the Altitude Dec. were taken upon a great piece of Ice, with 3 Needles together; then the Declination was not Equated, the last 3 set forth by themselves, proves the rest; viz. The Azimuth of W. with his Variation, the Azimuth at Due W. and the Variation by the Altitude and Azimuth at Due W.

These were taken 20 Leagues to the Eastward of Salisbury Island; and two Quad. one of four, another of two Foot, Semid. Semicircle of two Foot Semid.

Latitud.	De	'in.	Al.	Sun.	AZM.	F.	T.	AZ.	F.	Variat.			
63	01	20	14	39	42	77	50	S.	50	11	S	27	39
63	01	20	14	35	33	90	00		62	12	S	27	48
63	01	20	14	34	24	76	30	N	65	07	S	27	23
63	01	20	14	31	24	80	18	N	72	12	S	27	30
63	01	20	14	30	57	78	53	N	73	21	S	27	46
63	01	20	14	29	00	74	50	N	77	28	S	27	42
63	01	20	14	27	10	71	00	N	98	42	N	27	42
63	01	20	14	25	52	68	28	N	96	02	N	27	34
63	01	20	14	25	00	66	40	N	94	16	N	27	36
63	01	20	14	24	00	64	50	N	92	16	N	27	26
63	01	20	14	23	30	64	00	N	91	18	N	27	44
63	01	20	14	22	50	27	35	N	89	58	N	27	33
63	01	20	14	22	30	61	24	N	89	18	N	27	44

The Mean Variation is 27 36 00

The Variation of the Altitude and Azimuth of West. 27 33 00

The Variation of the Azimuth of West. 27 48 00

The Variation by Azimuth at Due West. 27 35 00

The Mean of these Three, is, 27 38 00

July 22. 1631. These 3 Azimuths and Altitudes were taken upon a piece of Ice, the Magnetical Azimuths by the Sun's shade in the Water, the Air thick of Fog, that the Sun gave no perfect Shade otherways, 10 Leagues West from Mansfield's Island.

Latitu.	Declin.	Alt. Sun	AZM.	F.	T. AZ	F.	Variat.
60 33	18 25	34 06	90 00	S	64 34	S	25 26
60 33	18 25	31 34	84 48	N	70 08	S	25 04
60 33	18 25	18 25	71 35	N	82 54	N	25 21

The Mean is 25 17 00

July 24. 1631. These 11 Azimuths were taken upon a piece of Ice about the middle of the great Bay; some of them by the Shade, and some by the sight of the Sun in the Water, the Weather being thick of Fog.

Latitu.		Declin.		Alt. Sun		AZM.		F.	T.	AZ.	F.	Variat.
59	20	17	40	36	44	82	50	S	59	04	S	22 46
59	20	17	40	35	44	83	40	S	61	18	S	22 22
59	20	17	40	33	02	90	00		67	14	S	22 46
59	20	17	40	29	49	84	25	N	73	40	S	21 55
59	20	17	40	27	25	79	50	N	75	10	S	22 00
59	20	17	40	26	27	78	10	N	87	14	S	22 14
59	20	17	40	23	48	72	35	N	84	38	S	22 47
59	20	17	40	21	16	68	47	N	88	38	S	22 35
59	20	17	40	20	40	67	30	N	90	00		22 30
59	20	17	40	20	10	67	00	N	89	00	N	22 12
59	20	17	40	19	34	66	00	N	88	10	N	22 10

The Mean is 22 23 21

July 31.

July 31. 1631. These several *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice; 50 Leagues off the Western-shore.

Alt. Sun.	AZ.	M.	F.	T.	AZ.	F.	Variatio.	
24 00	76	26	N	99	20	N	22 54	
23 35	76	00	N	98	38	N	22 38	Latitude
22 50	75	00	N	97	18	N	22 18	58 43 43
22 05	73	40	N	96	04	N	22 24	
20 32	71	20	N	93	32	N	22 12	Declinat.
18 40	67	55	N	90	24	N	22 29	15 43 43
18 30	67	30	N	90	02	N	22 32	

The Mean is 22 29 34

August 1. 1631. These several *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice about 40 Leagues off the Western-shore.

Alt. Sun.	AZ.	M.	F.	T.	AZ.	F.	Variatio.	
26 36	83	05	N	104	36	N	21 31	
25 24	81	25	N	103	06	N	21 41	Latitude
24 26	78	38	N	100	42	N	22 04	58 45 00
22 30	75	16	N	97	22	N	22 06	
21 31	73	50	N	95	42	N	21 52	Declinat.
20 10	71	27	N	93	24	N	21 57	15 25 00
18 42	68	40	N	90	58	N	22 18	
18 07	67	25	N	89	56	N	22 31	

The Mean is 22 00 00

August 5. 1631. These *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice, and calculated by all the Figures of the Canon, about 40 Leagues off the Western-shore.

Alt. Sun.	AZ.	M.	F.	T.	AZ.	F.	Variatio.	
23 14	79	12	N	101	02	N	21 50	
22 11	76	40	N	99	12	N	22 32	Latitude
21 11	75	11	N	97	28	N	22 17	58 37 00
20 00	73	02	N	95	48	N	22 46	
18 59	71	24	N	93	47	N	22 23	Declinat.
17 15	68	35	N	90	53	N	22 18	14 12 00
16 42	67	28	N	90	00	N	22 32	
15 39	65	32	N	88	18	N	22 46	

The Mean is 22 25 30

These Observations were taken the 10th of November, 1631. the Lat. 52. 03. the difference may be conceived, to grow by reason of the Sun's low Altitude and Refraction. The others about the Summer Solstice, where difference of Meridians is avoided, and are more exact.

Alt. Sun.	AZ.	M.	T.	AZ.	Var. West.
G. M.	G. M.	G. M.	G. M.	G. M.	G. M.
14 25	42	25	26	11	16 14
14 00	45	25	27	30	17 55
13 15	47	25	29	54	17 31
12 18	48	10	32	33	15 37
12 03	49	20	33	16	16 04
11 41	51	07	34	15	16 52
10 57	53	25	36	04	17 21
9 42	55	25	38	58	16 27
9 15	57	45	40	00	17 14
8 50	58	37	40	52	17 45

The Mean is 16 57 00 West.
6X

An Appendix touching Longitude.

Latitude and Longitude are two primary Affections of the Earth, by the help of these two, doth the Geographer strive to represent the Parts of the Earth that they may keep Symmetry and Harmony with the whole. Latitude then is an Arch of the Meridian, comprehended between the Æquator and a Parallel; but Longitude is an Arch of the Æquator, intercepted by the Prime Meridian and the Meridian of a Place, the Difference of Longitudes being the Difference of two Meridians. The Measure of the former is the Meridian, the Æquator of this latter. For the exact settling of Latitudes we have many and absolute help, so that the Error, if any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect handling of the Artist. But the Longitude of a Meridian is that which hath, and still wearieth, the greatest Masters of Geography. Nevertheless hath not the Wise Creator left Man unfurnished of many excellent helps to attain his Desire: For besides Eclipses, especially of the Moon, (whose leaseure we must often wait, and perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the concurrence of quick pac'd inferiour Planets, with superiour slow ones, or their Appulses with some fixed Star of known place, or else some other Artifice derived from their Motions and Positions. As for the Magnetical Needle to argue a Longitude from its Variation, is altogether without ground. And though well-furnisht Seamen are able by their Dead Reckonings (as they term them) to determine the Difference of Meridians somewhat near, yet by reason of the unknown quantity of a Degree in a given Measure, (which is the rule of the Ship's way) Varieties of adverse Winds, Different Sets of Tides, and other involved Incumbrances, they come often wide of the Mark they aim at. The best way yet known to the World, is that which is deduced from the Cœlestial Apparences, which being performed by Judicious Artists, may in short time rectifie our Geographical and Hydrographical Charts hitherto in most Places foully distorted. It is my intent here, to give an instance from two several Observations drawn from the Cœlestial Bodies, by the Author of this Discourse, in his Discovery for the N. W. at the bottom of the Bay, being his Wintering Place, and called by the Name of *Charleton*, which for Judgment, Circumspection, and Exactness, may compare with most: The first, from the Eclipse of the Moon; The second, from the Moon's Mediation of Heaven, or her coming to the Plan of his Meridian of *Charleton*.

The Captain then mindful of the Lunar Eclipse, which was to happen, *Octob. 29. Anno 1631.* was waiting on the Moon with his Instruments, but by reason of the Interposition of the Clouds, could make no Observation on the beginning of her Obscuration, but at her Emerision or Total Recovery of Light, the Heavens being more Serene, he took the Altitude of the Superior Limb of the Moon 29 d. 11 m. the Latitude of *Charleton* being 52 d. 3 m.

At that very time, my self, with some Friends, found the exact time of the Moon's Emerision at *London* in *Gresham College*, (by a Quadrant of six Foot Radius, actually cut to each Minute of the Quadrant) to be *Octob. 29. 13 h. 7 m. 28 sec.* or *Oct. 30. day, at 1 of the clock, 7 min.* and about a half in the morning.

Now because the Tables of the Celestial Motions, lately published by the most Learned and Industrious *Lansberg*, do much amuse the World, with that lofty title of Perpetuity, it shall not be amiss to enquire after the time of the Captain's Observation from them, that so by comparing the one with the other, we may obtain the Difference of Meridians, which is the matter now sought after.

The middle Motions of the Luminaries answerable to the equal time of the Emerision of the Moon, are these which follow.

		Sex. Deg. M. Sec.
The middle motion of the	{ Sun	3 47 39 26
	{ Center of the Sun	3 15 49 58
	{ Apogæum of the Sun	1 35 45 44
The middle motion of the	{ Longitude of the Moon	2 59 29 1
	{ Anomaly of the Moon	9 5 11 30
	{ Latitude of the Moon	4 32 8 15
The Prosthaphæresis of the Æquinox		0 0 12 30

Being thus furnished with these middle Motions, we are next to enquire for the true Places of the Luminaries and their Concomitants, as their Right Ascensions, the Declination, Latitude, Semidiameter, Parallax, and Refraction of the Moon, that so the true Altitude of the Moon's Center, and consequently the time of the E-merſion may be had at *Charleston*.

<i>For the Sun's true Place.</i>		Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
The middle Motion of the Sun's Center	3	15	49	58	
The Prosthaphæresis of the Center add	0	1	37	0	
The Proportional Scruples	I.				
The middle Motion of the Sun's Apogæum	1	35	45	44	
The true Motion of the Apogæum subtr.	1	37	22	24	
The middle Motion of the Sun is	3	47	39	26	
The Anomaly of the Sun's Orb	2	10	16	42	
The Prosthaphæresis of the Sun's Orb	0	1	32	43	
The Exceſs to be added	0	0	0	20	
The Absolute Prosthaphæresis of the Sun's Orb subtr.	0	1	33	3	
The middle Motion of the Sun from the true Equinoctial	3	47	51	56	
The true Motion of the Sun from the true Equinoctial	3	46	18	53	
Therefore the Sun's true place was in <i>Virgo</i>	0	16	18	53	
And his Right Ascension	223	49	53		

<i>For the Moon's true Place.</i>					
The Anomaly of the Moon's Center	5	59	18	2	
The Prosthaphæresis of the Moon's Center	0	0	5	36	
The Proportional Scruples	0.				
The Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0	5	11	40	
The Equated Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0	5	5	54	
The Prosthaphæresis of the Moon's Orb subtr.	0	0	24	4	
The middle Motion of the Moon's Longitude from the Sun	2	59	39	1	
The true Motion of the Moon's Longitude from the Sun	2	59	14	57	
The middle Motion of the Sun from the true Equinoctial	3	47	51	56	
The true Motion of the Moon from the true Equinoctial	0	47	6	53	
Therefore the Moon's true Place was in <i>Taurus</i>	0	17	6	53	

<i>For the Moon's Latitude.</i>					
The middle Motion of the Moon's Latitude	4	32	8	15	
The Moon's absolute Prosthaphæresis of her Orb subtr.	0	0	24	4	
The Moon's true Motion of Latitude	4	31	44	11	
The Moon's Northern Latitude was	0	0	9	5	
And her Reductive Scruples subtr.	0	0	0	26	
But the Moon's true Motion in her proper Orb was	0	17	6	53	
Therefore the Moon's true Place reduced to the Eclipt <i>Taurus</i>	0	17	6	27	
And because the North Latitude of the Moon was	0	0	9	5	
Therefore will her Right Ascension be	0	44	35	10	
And her Declination	0	17	7	49	
And because we have the Distance of the Moon, from the Earth } in Semidiameters of the Earth	}	0	64	15	0
Therefore shall the Moon's apparent Semidiam. be		0	0	15	0
And her Parallax of Altitude	0	0	47	0	
Now because the Altitude of the Limb of the Moon was found } by Observation to be	}	0	29	11	0
If we shall subtract her Semidiameter		0	0	15	0
And the Refraction	0	0	2	0	
We have the apparent Altitude of the Moon's Center	0	28	54	0	
To this if we add the Parallax of Altitude	0	0	47	0	
We shall have the true Altitude of the Moon's Center	0	29	41	0	
Having thus the Latitude of the Place, the Moon's true Altitude } with her Declination, by the Resolution of a Spherical Trian- gle according to the 11 <i>Prob. Lib. 2. Part. 2.</i> of our <i>British</i> <i>Trigonometry</i> , we have the dist. of the Moon from the Merid. }	}	0	63	26	0
And by comparing this Arch with the Difference of the Ascensions of the Luminaries, the Time of the Moon's total Recovery of her light at <i>Charleston</i> , will be 7 h. 49 m. 28 sec. which Subtr. from the time of the Emerſion at <i>London</i> , 13. h. 7 m. 28 s.					

The Difference of Meridians, in respect of time, will be 5 h. 18 m. so that *Charleston* is removed from *London* Westwards, 79 deg. 30 m.

This may likewise be confirmed by a second different Observation made at the instant of the Moon's Culmination or Mediation of Heaven, at which time the Altitude of the brightest Star in the Asterism of the Northern Crown, (being of the second Magnitude) was found to be 33 deg. 27 m. Easterly, *Anno* 1632. *June* 23.

It may be Problematically delivered after this manner.

Having the Latitude of a Place, with the Altitude of a known fixed Star at the moment of the Moon's Culmination, to find the Longitude.

This fixed Star is of known Longitude and Latitude, therefore was his Declination 27. 59. and Right Ascension 229. 46. Now by the Resolution of a Spherical Triangle of three known Sides we have the Distance of this Star from the Meridian, and by consequence the Right Ascension of the Moon, whence we conclude her Culmination to be with the 28 d. 10 m. of *Aquarius*; but the Moon's true Place was much less. Here Note, That the Scrupulosity of Time is unknown, and therefore we cannot argue the Moon's true Place from thence, (though I grant it might be evinced) for that were to beg the Question, and to know that first, which we look after.

In the next Place we are to enquire with what point of the Ecliptick the Moon did Culminate with us here at *London*, that so from the difference of her Places, of the like Affection, we may deduce the Difference of Meridians.

Observation on the Moon's Culmination here at *London* we made none, therefore must we have recourse to the aforesaid Tables of *Lansberg*, and from thence Calculate the same. Now because the Moon was not far removed from the Sun's opposite Point, it will not be amiss to enquire first the Moon's Place at Midnight.

	Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
The Sun's opposite Place at Midnight in <i>Aquarius</i> -----	o	14	18	15
The Moon's true Place at midn. reduced to the Eclip.was in <i>Aquarius</i> o	o	23	33	18
The South Latitude of the Moon was-----	o	4	56	38
Therefore the Difference of Ascensions will be-----	o	14	6	o
The Diurnal Motion of the Moon-----	o	14	24	o
Therefore the Moon's proper Motion answerable to the Difference of Ascensions is- }	o	o	33	50
Which added to the Moon's true Place at Midnight-		22	22	18
Gives us the Moon's true Place reduced to.				

The Ecliptick at her Culmination at *London* -----o 24 7 8

Now because the Moon's Southern Latitude was 4 deg. 56 min. 38 sec. the Arch therefore of the Ecliptick comprehended between the Moon's true Place and the Culminating Point of the Ecliptick, will Trigonometrically be found to be 54 m. 38 sec. which added to the Moon's true Place before found, gives us the Culminating Point of the Ecliptick, 25 d. 1 m. 46 sec. which is less than that found at *Charleston*, the Difference being 3 d. 8 m. 24 sec. therefore is the Place of Observation Westerly of *London*. Having therefore the Moon's Diurnal Motion, and the Difference of the Culminating Points, we conclude the Meridian of *Charleston* to be distant from this of *London* 5 h. 14 m. of Time, of 78 d. 30 min. of the Equator.

The Difference between that of the Eclipse, and this latter Observation, is only 4 Min. of Time, or one Deg. a difference easily pardoned, especially if we shall compare the same with some other Places, yea even such as Border nearly on each other. To give an instance on two eminent Places which lie in the Heart of *Europe*, *Rome* and *Norberg*: Their Difference of Longitude, *Regiomontanus* makes 36, *Werner* 32, *Appian* 34, *Mastlin* and *Origan* 33, *Stofler* 18, *Magninus* 26, *Schoener* 12, *Amerstor* and *Hondius* as much, *Stadius* 13, *Janfonius* 10, *Longemontanus* 16, *Lansberg* 10, *Kepler* by two Observations on two Lunar Eclipses, but 4 Min. of Time.

This variety among these great Artists, will I hope, pardon us this Difference of 4 Min. and be a means to encourage our *English* Seamen, and others, to make such or the like Observations in Foreign Parts as the Heavens shall be offered unto them.

H. GELLIBRAND.

T O T H E
Venerable Artists, and Younger Students in Divinity,
in the Famous University of CAMBRIDGE.

YOU nobly-witted, and ingeniously-studied *Academians*; whose Excellency in all Kinds of Learning, all Foreign *Universities* do admire, and none attain unto; I here present you a *Voyage to Cholcos*, though not the *Golden-Fleece* with it; the *Search*, I mean, but not the *Finding*, of that so much Talkt of, so often Sought for, *North-West Passage*, and nearer way into the *South Sea*. That, wherein so much Time and Treasure have been Expended, so many brave Spirits Employed, and yet none Discovered. Perchance, there is no such *Passage* to be found; and that the *Spaniards*, by the Gullery of their falso *Sea-Charts*, and the Fable of an old Greek Pilot, have but diverted our English and Dutch Seamen, from their golden *Indies*. This Plot of theirs hath taken, for these many years; and it appears to be but a Plot, for that themselves never make use of this *Passage*. For mine own part, I suppose that the *Philosopher's Stone* is in the *North-West Passage*. My Argument for it, is, For that there's so much *Philosophy* in the way to it.

So much, and such variety; such variety, and that so various, (I think) from what is received in the Schools; that it were well worth the Disquisition of an *University*, (and I wish you the first honour of it) either to find out, how these *Observations* may be reduced to *Aristotle's Philosophy*; or whether they need any other Enquiry, and ought to be Examined by some other *Rules*, than *Aristotle* hath yet light upon. This is my purpose of inscribing it unto you. Of this one thing am I confident: that you are all so *Rational*, and *Ingenious*, as to prefer *Truth*, before *Authority*: *Amicus Plato*, *amicus Aristoteles*, but *magis amica veritas*. Your *Sciences*, then, being *Liberal*; your *Studies*, I know, have so far passed into your *Manners*, that your Minds are so too, and that such as have already profited beyond the Credulity required in a young Learner, and are themselves promoted to be *Masters* of the *Arts*; though they still reverence their old

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Greek Tutor, yet they will not suffer that of *Pythagoras's School*, so to domineer in *Aristotle's*, as to let an *Ipse dixit*, go away with it: much less allow it the Authority of a *Mayor's Hammer*, with one *Knock* to silence all Arguments.

Upon this Confidence, I with all due Respects, here prefer two *Propositions* unto your Discussing.

The First this, *Whether those Rules of Aristotle's Philosophy be to be allowed so Universal, that they hold all the World over.*

The Second this, *Whether they ought to be so Magisterial, as to prescribe against all other Examinations.*

The First of these, I shall but *Problematically* propound unto you: but in the Second, I hope a Man of my Cloathing, may be allowed the freedom of being something more earnest.

But that I may not come with prejudice to the making of these Motions, or be thought, upon some *Ignorance* or *Ambition*, to speak against the incomparable *Aristotle*; I shall desire all my fellow *Academians* to allow me so much discretion, as to know, That he that shall in your Hearings, oppose your *Aristotle*, does like the Ship here spoken of, run against a Rock, endanger his own Bulge, and the Staving of his Vessel. No, I so far Honour the old *Aristotle*, that I will allow him to be *Master* and *Moderator* of the Schools: and that there is the same respect due to him in the Schools, which, by Reason and long Custom, is due to one of the *King's Ships* in the *Narrow Seas*; That in acknowledgement of a *Sovereignty*, every other Name ought to strike sail to him. *Aristotle* (it must be confes'd) hath made all Learning beholding to him: no Man hath learned to Confute him, but by him; and unless he hath Plowed with his Heifer. He had the most incomparable Wit, and was the most Logical and demonstrative Deliverer of himself, of all the

the Sons of Nature: One, who best of all deserved to be called, *Her Principal Secretary*; one, who not only *adorns* a Library, but *makes* it: *Qui habet Aristotelem, habet Bibliothecam*, is truer of him, than of the Great Comparer. This is my Opinion of him; and I with him more studied.

'Tis not, therefore, the Name, or the Authority of the great *Aristotle*, that my Propositions meddle withal: but whether his Observations gathered out of this part of the World alone, could, like a *Royal Pass* or *Commission*, carry a Man all the World over?

It must be confest, That in respect of the *Equinoctial*, and the *Latitude* that *Aristotle* lived in, he was but a *Northern-Man*: and 'twas his own Rule, that *Nihil agit extra Spharam activitatis suae*. So then, it would be put to Voices to consider, Whether he that knew but these Northern Parts, and the *Mediterranean* Sea, could possibly make such Collections, by what was here to be Learned, as should be unfailable in the *Southern Hemisphere* and the two *Indies*? Plainly, those that are conversant in the *Navigations* and *Books of Voyages* into those Parts; have found so many Contrarieties to observe, That it were rather *tedious*, than difficult, to fill up a *Note-Book* with them.

The Ancients, we know (as if they had measured the World by the *Yeard-Wand*) restrained the *limits of Temperature*, and *Habitation*, by the five *Zones*: without Consideration of any Interloping or concurring Causes, which Experience hath now found out, to have quite altered their Observation. I add, that a good Leisure and Diligence might observe, how in the contrary part of the World, there be found clean contrary *Causes* and *Effects*, unto those in this part of the World. The *South Wind* there, brings *Cold* and *Winter*: and the *North*, is the *Rainy Wind*. How will the *Thunder* and the *Wind*, be made agree with *Aristotle's* Definition of a *Meteor*? In some Places of the Mountains *Andes* by *Pern*, it *Thunders* ever. The *East-Indies* have their *Monsons*, and their steady Winds, constant for six Months together: And who shall assign their Causes? Then the *Doctrine* of the *Tides*, nothing so uncertain; which *Ebb* and *Flew* in some Places, *different*; and in others *contrary*, to the *Moon* and her *Motions*. This (as I remember) is *Aristotle's* Definition of a *Meteor*, that it is, *An imperfect mixt body, generated out of an infirm and inconstant Concoction of*

the Elements; which therefore cannot be durable. Now the *Monson*, is both constant in his continuance this year, and in his return next year; most constantly keeping his Seasons half year one way, and half-year another way, for all ages: nothing more constantly or durably; and therefore nothing like *Aristotle's Meteor*. And so for the *Thunder* upon the *Andes*: It is First, *Perpetual*; Secondly, Not caused by a *dry Exhalation*, (as *Aristotle* wills) but hanging over such Hills as are covered with *Snow*, and a perpetual *Winter*. Witness the *Thunder* on the *Alps* also; yea, and that in the middle of the *Sea*, 500 Leagues from the *Shore*, or any thing that is *dry*. Yea, it frequently both *Snows* and *Thunders* upon the *Andes*, at one instant; and in *dry* Places that are hard by, scarce ever *Thundering*.

But not to pass the *Line* for it; You see in this little Book, how *Charleston Island*, which is no more *Northerly* than your *Cambridge*, is yet so unufferably *Cold*, that it is not *Habitable*: and that there encounter so many different (at least so seeming) Occurrences of Nature, as were well worth the Disquisition of a *Philosopher*. I could (in my small Reading) instance in many other Particulars, which I had rather should be found out by some industrious Searchers after Nature, in the *Modern Relations* of our *Discoverers*, than in this my short Proposition. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that the careful Reading of our *Books of Voyages*, would more Elucidate the *History of Nature*, and more conduce to the Improvement of *Philosophy*, than any thing that hath been lately thought upon. These *Navigations* have in part fulfilled that of the Prophet, *Many shall pass to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.* This, I suppose, might be observed from this Study, That the great and infinite Creator hath so disposed and varied every thing, that it is impossible for Man's Reason and Observation to conclude him: and therefore, though vulgar and received *Philosophy*, may give a Man a general hint, all the World over; yet no *Universal* and unfailing certainty.

This brings me to my *Second Proposition*, That seeing God will not have his Works, (no more than his Kingdom) to come by Observation: Whether, ^{Le} then, ought any humane *Discates* to be ^{so} *Magisterial*, as to prescribe against all other Examination?

No humane Study more conduces to the setting forth of God's Glory, than the Contemplation of his great Works, in *Philosophy*: For though a smattering knowledge in *Second Causes*, warps the Mind towards *Atheism*; yet a higher Speculation of them, brings it about again to Religion. No Man, I believe, will think it fit for us to have a *Pope in Philosophy*; one, that no body shall presume to censure of: but all be bound to advance his *Decretals*, above the *Holy Scriptures*. This is the Scandal that my self, and divers good Men take, at the undue Authority in some Heats pinn'd upon the *Seagerite*.

I am sorry that the *Israelites Dotage* upon *Solomon's Philosophy*, should have caused the zealous *Hezekiah* to call in and to suppress those unvaluable *Physicks*: for fear, I suppose, lest their Credit should have as much derogated from the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures*; as the *Brazen Serpent* (which he destroyed about the same time) had done from *Religion*. None will believe, that *Solomon's Philosophy* was contrary to the *Scriptures*; seeing the *Scripture* commends *Solomon* for them. 'Twas not *Hezekiah's* fear, therefore, (or not only) lest there might have been a Competition between them, but a neglect of one of them: he was jealous lest the *Scripture* might have any Writing set up by it, though not against it.

Can *Divines*, then, be blamed for Speaking, when they hear *Aristotle's Philosophy* to be solely magnified, and the Study of the *Scripture Philosophy*, disrespected? Or that when 'tis confess'd, That such a thing is true in *Divinity*, and yet the *Moderating* of the Point, determine for *Philosophy*? Nay, to hear it call'd absurd and ridiculous, to have *Scripture* urg'd at all, in point of *Philosophy*? No doubt there is, But whatsoever is false in *Divinity*, is also false in *Nature*, how much shew of Truth soever it passes with in *Philosophy*. *Philosophy* hath taken its turn in the *Schools*: and the *Holy Texts* by the *Schoolmen*, have even been submitted unto *Aristotle's*: yea, to the great Corruption of *Theology*, as the Complaint is, hath this Man been so far advanced, That *Contra est Philosophus, & Contra est Apostolus*, have familiarly pass'd up and down for equal *Oppositions*: so that it hath been a measuring Cast oftentimes, betwixt the *Prophet* and the *Peripatetic*: and by foul play hath the Measure been made to stand the harder at the *Peripatetic*, for that the *Prophet* hath been en-

forced to comply with him by a *wrested Interpretation*. Thus had *St. Paul* need give his *Caveat* unto *Theology*, as well as unto *Theologues*, Beware lest any Man spoil you through *Philosophy*.

All this were to no purpose, unless the *Text of God* were excellent in this kind; and embellished, here and there, with most admirable *Philosophy*. What incomparably rare foot-steps of it, have we in the Books of *Genesis*, *Job*, and the *Psalms*? How noble a Study then were it, and how worthy the leisure of some excellently learned, to bestow some time upon it? *Valesius* the *Physician*, hath in his *Sacra Philosophia* done something in this kind: who yet might have done better, here and there, for the honour of the *Scriptures*. I am not so sottish to believe, That every particular is to be drawn out of *Scripture*: 'tis none of my dotage, that. Or, That *God* in *Scripture* did intend, every where, the accurateness of *Philosophy*; or stand to be so curious in *Definitions* and *Decisions*. Nor so foolish would I be thought, as to have all *Philosophy* taken in pieces, and new moulded by the *Scriptures*. Nor, that nothing should be determined on, till a *Text* confirmed it. But this, perchance, might profitably be thought upon: That where the *Scriptures* have any thing in this kind, it should more reverently be esteemed; Collections out of scattered Places (as is done out of *Aristotle*) made: these compared, and their *Resultances* observed. This, surely, would amount to more, than is yet thought of: and, a-*God's* name, let *Schollars* be so bold with *Aristotle*, as to examine him upon good Assurance, by what is *Truth's Touch-stone*: Received *Philosophy* is a most necessary Hand-maid to the *Scriptures*; but let her not be set above her Lady, nor no Competition be maintained betwixt them.

Something else remains to be thought of: That seeing the same *God*, who gave *Aristotle* these good Parts; hath, in like manner, raised up many excellent Spirits moe: whether it were not injurious unto what is done, and a discouragement to what might be none; to have the Inventions or Observations of those excellent Wits and great Industrious, so abasht with *Aristotle's* Authority; that they can have no Credit in the World, for that his *Dictates* have pre-occupied all good Opinion? Let it not then be thought unequal, to examine the first Cogitations of the old *Philosophy*, by the Second Thoughts of our more Modern *Aristists*: For

For that the same Improvement may by this means accrue unto our *Physicks*, that hath advanced our *Geography*, our *Mathematicks*, and our *Mechanicks*. And let it not be thought so insolent, to refuse *Aristotle's* Authority singly, where his reason is not so concluding; seeing other Men have taken the Boldness to do that before us, in several Kinds. Some have perfected, and others control'd his *Ethicks*, by the *Scriptures*: as *Sculdetus*, *Wallens*, and some others. *Justin Martyr*, surnamed, the *Philosopher*, hath purposefully written *Contra dogmata Aristotelis*: *Basson* and *Gassendus*, (two brave Men) have newly written point-blank against him: nor have they taken away all liberty from those that are to follow them.

And thus, with renewing my former Protestation for mine own respects to *Aristotle*, I conclude my two *Propositions*: which I desire may receive a favourable Construction from all ingenuous, incapricious *Scholars*. I meant them, out of good-Will to promote Learning; to en-

courage and countenance future Undertakings: and in such a case, a little too much saying, may be thought not to have exceeded an honest *Rhetorician*; for I would not be thought too earnest in it: The Hint for all this, I took from this Book; which in mine own and some better Judgments; is (to say no more) as well done, and enriched with as sure and useful Observations, as any in this kind. I was desired by the able Author, and some other Friends, to over-look the written Copy of it, and to amend the *English* here and there; in which I did not despair of doing something: for that, in my younger time, I had a little acquainted my self with the *Language of the Sea*. That which put me in the head to inscribe it unto your Names, (most excellently learned *Academians*) was, for that the Place of this *Wintering*, was within a *Minute* or two, of the *height* of our *Cambridge*. Which my Prayer to *God* is, that your Studies may make famous.

Tours, X. Z.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF TWO
VOYAGES:

The FIRST of
Feodor *ISKOWITZ BACKHOFF*,
The Muscovite Envoy,
INTO

CHINA:

The SECOND of
Mr. *ZACHARY WAGENER*,
A Native of DRESDEN in MISNIA,
Thro' a great part of the World,
As also into CHINA.

Translated from the High-Dutch Original Printed at Berlin.

Advertisement

TO THE

READER.

A M O N G those many Voyages, which lately have been ushered into the World, the following Muscovite Embassie may justly challenge a Place; especially for its usefulness in Geography, which I here present to the Reader, without the least Alteration according to the Copy thereof, sent to me by Johannes Scultetus Councillor of State, of his Electoral Highness of Brandenburg: And as the Voyages of Mr. Zacharias Wagener, are very famous in Holland, and the following Abstract thereof being Communicated to me by his Brother-in-Law Mr. Christian Bothe, a considerable Merchant in Dresden, I thought it not unseasonable to subjoin the same, for the Benefit of the Courteous Reader.

T H E

THE
TRAVELS
OF
Feodor ISKOWITZ BACKHOFF
FROM
MUSCOW
INTO
CHINA.

(1.) *The Road from Muscovy to Siberia.*

MOST generally they take their way over *Ustingha*, seated upon the River *Dwina*, from whence we continued our Journey to *Tobolsko*, the Capital City of *Siberia*, being 3000 *Versts*, or 600 German Leagues from the City of *Muscov*. Before you have Travell'd the third part of your way, you come to a great Ridge of Mountains, call'd *Camiani Rojas*, i. e. the *Stone Girdle* by the *Muscovites*; it being their opinion, that they extend round the Terrestrial Globe; I suppose them to be the same the Ancients call'd *Montes Siberi*. This

Mountain being 50 Leagues over, and interwoven with deep Valleys, which are generally, but especially in *Autumn*, overflown with Water, is impassible in the Summer, but these being well frozen in the Winter, afford a swift and convenient Passage for sleds, so that in 24 hours you may Travel 18 or 20 Leagues, and consequently perform the whole Journey from *Muscov* to *Tobolsko* in 6 or 7 Weeks. The first City you come to in *Siberia*, is call'd *Worchaturia* from the River *Tura*, upon which it lies.

(2.) *Of the Cities, Rivers and Fertility of Siberia.*

Siberia has 23 Cities, The Capital of which is *Tobolsko*, situate upon a Hill near the River side, is a Place of no great Traffick; the Inhabitants being for the most part *Bouchar* and *Calmuch Tartars*, who are very Poor; the chiefest Place of Trading being *Genessay*, lying a great way beyond *Tobolsko*, which consists in *Sables*, *Martins* and such like Furs. *Dein* is the

utmost frontier Place of *Siberia*, on the *Calmuch* side. *Siberia* is Watered by many Rivers, among which, the River *Oby* is the chiefest; it contains many Islands well stor'd with Trees: This River is in some Places, a German League, in other Places about half a League broad, and falls into the *Tartarian Sea*. It produces abundance of Fish, and among the rest *Beluga's* or *White Fish*:
The

Backhoff. The Cities of Siberia are, *Worchaturia, Zamboulo, Turmen, Tobolsko, Damiansky, Samara, Sergouiz, Berdoff, Narin, Tomoko, Kysnebrz, Krasnozar, Ket, Jenessay, Nallen, Dauri, Takow, Magafcy*; these as well as all the other Cities of Siberia, are not very Populous. There are very good Open fields here, the

Soil whereof is so good, that it bears very well without Dung. It has no Sea-ports, the *Tartarian Sea* being covered with Ice Summer and Winter; however Fisher boats venture as far as the Isle of *Malgamfay*, over against the Mouth of the River *Oby*.

(3.) Of the Inhabitants of Siberia.

THE Ancient Inhabitants were *Tartars*, Govern'd by their own Princes or Kings; one of the Family of their last Prince living not long ago with the *Czar's* permission in *Siberia*, till his House was Plunder'd and he forced to fly the Country, by the *Russians* that Trade that way in Salt, with the *Calmuck Tartars*, which they bring thence in great Barges. This Prince having afterwards Married among the *Calmuck Tartars*, makes sometimes an Inroad into *Siberia*; and takes a severe revenge of the *Muscovites* there. The Natives being not very forward to oppose him, as living still in hopes, that one time or other he may be in-

strumental in delivering them from the *Muscovite Yoke*. The *Calmuck* and *Mogul Tartars*, border upon *Siberia*, (besides divers other *Tartarian Nations*) their Country extending from thence to the frontiers of *China*. There are also divers other Hords, living on the frontiers of *Siberia*, as the *Tingoskey*, the *Wanzkey*, *Tyngskey* and *Barabanskey*, which have each their particular Captains or Leaders: The Natives of *Siberia* are much addicted to Sorcery: There are not many *Russians* living among them, by reason of the great distance of this Country from *Muscovy*.

(4.) How Siberia was brought under the Obedience of the Muscovites.

ABOVE 100 Years ago under the Reign of the *Czar John Bazilowitx*, a certain *Cosaen* named *Formac Timorof*, Leader of a certain gang of Robbers, having taken some Vessels loaden with Ammunition belonging to the *Czar*; he issued his strict Orders to seize the said *Formac*, cost it what it would; so that *Formac* dreading the *Czar's* Revenge, got with his Gang into the River *Cama*, and so to *Czoraawa*, an Isle about 500 or 600 *Versets* above *Casan*, which at that time belong'd to a vast rich *Russian Merchant* named *Daniel Stroginot*, living in a City built by him, and call'd *Stroginot* after his name. Having represented to this Merchant the easie Conquest of *Siberia*, he obtain'd some Arms, and Ammunition of him to accomplish his design; accordingly he went up the River *Tagir*, till he came to the River *Toura*, where is a considerable Island, inhabited by *Tartars*; these he soon chased thence, and continuing his March to the City of *Tumen*, he soon made himself Master of it, the same he did afterwards with *Tobolsko* the Residence of their King: However he March'd forward 50 Leagues to the River *Irtish*, in pursuit of the Enemy, who retreated before him. Having refresh-

ed his People hereabouts for six Weeks, he sent 300 of them to pursue the flying *Tartars*, which they did with so much eagerness, that being surrounded by the Enemy, they were almost all kill'd, few escaping their hands. *Formac* having no more than 200 Men left, Intrench'd himself in an Isle, but being Attack'd in the Night time by the *Tartars*, he was kill'd with all his followers, except 40 who made a shift to get into *Muscovy*; and having represented unto the *Czar* all the Circumstances of the Matter, he sent 600 chosen Men under the Command of one of these *Cosacks* (who had been *Formac's* Lieutenant) who retook the City of *Tobolsko*; where having Fortify'd himself, and being recruited with fresh Troops, he made such frequent excursions into the Neighbouring *Tartarian Countries*; that they at last grew weary of the War, and submitted to the *Czar of Muscovy*. The same Fortune attended the *Czar* in his Conquest of the Kingdom and City of *Astrachan*, which he made himself Master of in one Campaign, but he paid pretty dear for *Casan*, having been forced to raise the Siege of that City, the first time, but took it in the second Siege.

(5.) The Revenues of the Kingdom of Siberia.

THE *Czar's* Revenues in this Kingdom, arise from the Tribute of theables, Martins, red and white Foxes skins,

and other Furs, out of which he has the fifth for his share; certain Officers being appointed by the *Czar*, for that purpose; MA

Mr. Fletcher who was English Envoy in Muscovy in 1588, affirms, that in one Year there were brought into the Czar's Treasury out of Siberia, no less than 466 Zimmer of Sables (40 Sables to each Zimmer) and 180 Siberian Fox skins. The ordinary Revenue of Siberia, amounts now to 200000 Roubles. They have different ways of catching the

Sables; either by Wooden Traps, not unlike our Mice-Traps, or by Snares, which being laid under the Trees where they feed, the Trees are cut down, and they entangled in the Snares. They also go a Sable hunting in Sleds drawn by Dogs, and kill them with their Bows and Arrows.

The Journals of Feodor Iskowitz Backhoff from Tobolsko, the Capital City of Siberia, into China, call'd Kattay by the Russians.

Under-ent from be begin- ing of the World according to the Rus- sians com- munication, viz. in the Year of Christ 1654.

IN the Year 7162 *, in the Month of May, I left *Tobolsko*, pursuant to his Czarish Majesty's Orders, and Travell'd to the City Tax upon the River *Irtish*, where I arrived the 27th of July, having spent a Month and three days in this Journey. From Tax I went up the River, the 1st of August, and for want of Horses, spent four Weeks of my Journey to the *White Lake*, where being furnished with 40 Camels and 50 Horses from *Snablai Tnitcha*, or Prince of the *Bouchar Tartars*, we left the said Lake the 16th of October, and continued our Journey in three Weeks time to *Kabal-gakuna*, Inhabited by the *Calmuck Priests*, who live in Brick Houses, built after the Russian manner. From *Kabal-gakuna* to the seven Elms is two days Traveling; and from thence to the Rivulet of *Jelkusa*, which arises from among the Mountains, and falls into the *Irtish*, another days journey. From the River of *Jelkusa* along the right side of the *Irtish*, to the Residence of that *Calmuck Prince* (who is a Priest) Residing on the left side of the said River, is three days Journey: Their Fields which produce Wheat, Barley, and Pease, are Plowed by some of the *Bouchar Tartars*. From hence, all along the Right side of the River *Irtish* to *Ablawich* (near the *Bouchar* Corn-fields) is 14 days Journey, thro' high Mountains, full of Birch-trees.

We Arrived at *Ablawich* the 22d of November, where they live in Plastered Houses; their Fruits are Wheat, Barly and Pease; and they abound in Fish. Their Prince named *Ablai Tonscha* did invite me to his House, where after he had demanded the Czar's Presents, (which I gave him) he entertain'd me very handsomly. The 30th of November I continued my Journey, thro' the *Bouchar Tartars*, who are for the most part Husbandmen, among whom I carried four Months and 10 Days.

The 3d of April 7163, I went from thence to the Brook of *Borka*, 12 days Journey from the *Bouchar* Corn-fields; near this Brook the beforementioned Prince *Ablai Tonscha*, was Building for himself two Houses of

Stone, by Chinese Workmen. Here I stay'd five Weeks and five days.

The 30th of June 7163, having received my Passport from *Ablai Tonscha*, I continued my Journey from the Brook *Borka* to *Comjaja Toucha*, or *Keltsechings Children* in 14 days, and in 5 days more to the small City of *Ronrashina*, Inhabited by *Calmuck Priests*. From this Place to the Lake, thro' which passes the River *Irtish*, is 14 days Journey.

From hence to *Misgansko Tschu* is two days Journey, and from thence thro' the Mountains seven days more. Hereabouts live the Princes of the *Mogul Tartars*, who speak both the *Mogul* and *Calmuck* Languages; there is three days Journey from hence to the Residence of the Prince named *Dobruna*, whose Territories extend 15 days Journey to the Frontiers of China. However many Petty Princes have their Territories interspersed here, who are also of the Race of the *Moguls*.

From the uttermost frontiers of China to *Cokatana*, their first City, is a Journey of three Months: the Mountains along the River *Irtish* and the *White Lake* to the Frontiers of China, are Inhabited by the *Moguls* and *Calmuck Tartars*; the first live very poorly, and I was often obliged to stay among them to furnish my self with Water and Provisions. After I had stayed nine days at *Cokatana* in expectation of two Guides, we continued our Journey thence the 12th day of January 7164 to *Koski*, a Journey of 12 days: hereabouts also live divers Petty Princes of *Mogul Tartars*, who call themselves *Tiobetzansky*, but are under the Chinese Jurisdiction. *Koski* is situate among the Rocks; here I saw the famous Chinese Wall, being three Fathoms high, and one and a half thick, fill'd up in the inside with small stones; the Stone Towers stand not in the same line close to the Wall, but at 10 Fathoms distance, and are 100 Fathoms distance from one another, reaching as long as the Wall to the Sea side. The 20th of February, having received Orders from the King of China for the continuation of my Journey, we set out the 21st from

A Voyage into CHINA.

Capkin: 7 days Journey from *Cambalu* (or *Pekin*) having 28 Cities lying between them; surrounded with Stone Walls, upon which we saw some Cannons, but of a small size. The Soldiers that keep the Guard at the Gates, were Arm'd with a kind of Carabines, not above half a Yard long, with threefold Muzzels, but without Firelocks: They have generally Stone-bridges built over their Canals or Rivulets, but have not many Rivers of Note; the Governors of the Places are generally carried in *Palanquies* or *Litters*, upon Mens Shoulders, attended by a Guard on both sides.

We came to *Cambalu* the 3d of *March* 1664, about an *English* Mile out of Town, we were met by two Deputies, one whereof was the Chancellor of the *Princes*, or Secretary's Office of the Foreign Affairs, the other of that of the *Chinese* Affairs. They received us in a Spacious Structure of Stone, inhabited by some Priests, and built as we were told, for the Reception of the *Dalac Lamas*, or the *Tartarian* High-Priest, who is Reverenced among them like a God. At the Entrance of this House they desired me to alight from my Horse, and to pay my Respects to their King upon my Knees; unto which I reply'd, that it was not our Custom to Salute even our *Czar* upon our Knees, but only with a very low bow and bare-headed; unto which they gave no other Answer, but that the *Dutch* never refused it, and therefore I ought not. They then presented me with some *Thee* made with Cows Milk and Butter, in the King's name, it being *Lent* I refused to drink it; they told me that I being sent from one great *Czar* to another mighty Prince, I ought at least to accept it, which I did, and so returned back. As we were making our Entry, I saw in the Gate standing three Brass Cannons, and so we March'd forward for 3 *Versets*, thro' moist Markets, before we came to the Court prepared for our Reception, which had two Houses of Stone, hung with Tapestry. Our daily allowance of Provisions was one Sheep and a small Cask of *Spanish* Brandy, two Fishes, a middle sized *Fish*, a certain Quantity of Wheaten-flour, *Sichay* and Rice; and two Cups of Brandy. The 4th of *March*, certain Persons sent by the *Chinese* King, came to my Lodgings to demand the Presents I had brought along with me from the *Czar*; I told them that it was not Customary at our *Czar's* Court to deliver the Presents, till we had been admitted to the Audience of the King, and delivered our Credentials; unto which they reply'd, One King ought not to prescribe Laws to another, our Customs are different from yours; our *Bogday* (King) has sent us to demand the Presents, but if you come

to sell them, let us know your Price: I reply'd, That I was not sent by the *Czar* to Merchandise, but to Establish a Friendly Concurrence betwixt the two Kings, and to offer him some Presents: they then told me, That since I own'd I was sent with Presents to their King, they would take by force what our *Czar* had sent; and as for my Credentials care should be taken of them hereafter; and thus actually took the Presents by force.

The 6th of *March*, word was sent me to bring my Credentials to the Secretary's Office, which I refused to comply with, telling the Messenger that I was sent with these Credentials to the King and not to his Ministers. Aug. 21. They sent again upon the same Errand, but I refusing the same, they told me, That since I had disobey'd their King's Command, they had Orders to Punish me; I gave them no other Answer, but, If they cut me Limb by Limb, I would not part with them till I had been admitted to the King's Presence. The 31st of *August* all the Presents were brought back by certain Officers, who told me that it was done by special Command from their King, because I had refused to deliver my Credentials into the *Princes* or Secretaries Office; and one among them told me, No Foreign Minister, tell him, come from what Country he will, is admitted into the Presence of our King, but only of his Great Ministers, call'd *Inoanot* Boyarde. I can give you no true Account of the bigness of the City of *Cambalu*, because we had no liberty to take a view of it, but if we may Credit the *Moguls* and *Chinese*, they told us it was 60 *Versets* (12 German Leagues) in Compass. Vast quantities of Silk Stuffs, are made and sold here, but their Pearls and Precious Stones they have from *Karatsho*, two Months Journey with Camels from *Cambalu*, and then in the Possession of a Son of the late King. The Kings Palace fronts a Spacious Market Place, whither all sorts of People come to Salute the King, at least three times a Month. Every New Moon they put out Flags as a signal to the People to come to make their Submission; and the same is done every 22^d and 29th day of the Month, when they appear in rich Brocado'd Cloths, upon their bended Knees, and among the rest 26 Elephants trained up for that purpose. The *Bogday* then Regent, was a *Mogul* *Tartar*; but the late *Chinese* Emperour, after these *Tartars* had made themselves Masters of the *Chinese* Empire (about 30 Years before) kill'd himself, securing only a Young Son named *Young Sie*, behind 2 of the *Chinese* Lords carried to *Karatsho* in Old China. The *Chinese* are much stronger in the City of *Cambalu* than the *Moguls*.
In

M
ckhoff.
 In the Year 7164, the 7th of July, 25
 Hollanders (a) the remainders of the 3 Ships,
 (who had each of them 100 Men aboard,
 two whereof were lost) Arrived at *Cambalu*,
 but for want of an Interpreter could not
 converse with them; they gave me two Let-
 ters for *Muscow*. Having obtained my Pas-
 sport in 7164 in September, I left *Cambalu*,
 and returned thro' the same way I came to
Muscow, having had but ill Success in my
 Negotiation, because I would not Reverence
 their Idols (b).

And here is to be observed that *Cambalu*
 is the Capital City of *China*, otherwise it is
 call'd *Peking*, the first being the name given
 them by the *Tartars*, whence some Geogra-
 phers have been mislead, who have plac'd
Cambalu in their Maps, in the great *Tartary*.
Tamerlain a *Tartar*, by birth having con-
 quered *China*, is the Reason that fre-
 quent mention has been made of *Cambalu*
 in his History, which has introduced this
 Error of placing *Cambalu* in *Tartary*; add

to this, That our Ancient Historians of *Chi-
 na* have call'd it *Katatay*, the same name that
 is given to it by the *Russians* to this day;
Katatay being a *Tartarian* Word, signifying
 as much as an Inclosed or Wall'd Place,
 (such as *China* is) given by them to *China*,
 whilst they were in Possession of it. And be-
 cause *China* was known or first described by
 the Ancient Historians at the same time,
 the *Tartars* were Masters of it, they were
 easily led into that Mistake, by taking the
Grand Tartary for *China*, and so put it
 accordingly in their Maps, placing *Ce*
 in *Tartary*, whereas it is the same wit-
 king the Capital City of the *Chinese* Empire.
 For the same reason it is, that they have de-
 scribed *Tartary* as a rich Plentiful Country,
 whereas it is very mean, and above one
 half of it not fit for Tillage. *Katatay* is in-
 deed a *Tartarian* word, but not a name of
 their own Country, but given by them to
China.

(a) *Nieuboff* p. 181. We understand by the said
 Father *Adam*, that there was there a *Muscovite* Em-
 bassy, with an Attendance of 100 Persons (among
 whom were some *Moors*) so treat about certain
 Points relating to Traffic; but were not as yet
 admitted to Audience, because the Emperor Re-
 sided at that time sometimes in the City, some
 times at some distance thence.

(b) *Introductio* p. 313. Speaking of this Embas-
 sy: *In quos (sc. ritus) quoniam Mafscovia ante
 biennium legatione juncti consentire nolent, cum
 dedecore muneribus, quâ attulerunt redditus rejelli
 sunt.* And *Nieuboff*, p. 187, the 14th of Septem-
 ber our Envoys understood that the *Muscovite* Am-

bassador was upon his Departure, without be-
 ing admitted to Audience, because he refused to
 bend his Knees before the Imperial Seat, as
 looking upon it as a degrading to his Master's
 Honour. About Noon, just as our Envoys were
 at Dinner, one of the said Ambassador's Dome-
 stics came to take leave of us, desiring in be-
 half of all the rest, that we would be pleas'd
 to give them a Certificate to testify that they
 had met with us here, which was readily grant-
 ed. Afterwards we heard, that the said Amba-
 ssador was stop'd in the Country, because he
 was not provided with a sufficient Passport.

A SHORT

A SHORT
 ACCOUNT
 OF THE
 VOYAGES
 OF
 Mr. ZACHARY WAGENER,
 Perform'd in 35 Years,
 THROUGH
Europe, Asia, Africa and America,
 Taken out of his own JOURNAL.



ANNO 1633, the 3d of June, I left *Dresden* (my Native City) with consent of Parents, and Embarked in a small Vessel upon the River *Elbe* in Company of Mr. *Frederick Lebzelter*, one of the Grooms of the Chamber to his Electoral Highness of *Saxony*, for *Hamburg*, where we Arrived safely some time after; but not meeting with any opportunity of Preferment there, I Embark'd for *Amsterdam*, where I was entertain'd for a whole Year by Mr. *William Johnson Blawe*, one of the most Noted Bookellers of that City; and after that, being resolv'd upon Travelling further, engaged my self in the Service of the *West India Company*, in the Quality of a Private Sentinel, and in 1634, the 18th of July, Embark'd aboard a stout two Deck'd Ship bound for *Brasil*, where we Arrived after a most troublesome Voyage of 16 Weeks, and came to an Anchor before the *Receif*. Not long after our Arrival, I was advanced to a Muster Master's Place in Major *Bejart's* Company, then in Garrison in the Fort *Ernestus*, and sometime after was made Clerk of the Kitchen of his Excellency Count *John Maurice* of *Muscov*, General of *Brasil*.

Anno 1638, the 20th of April, the beforemention'd Earl Embark'd with 8000 European Soldiers, and 3000 *Brasilians* aboard 47 Ships, steering their Course from the *Receif*, to the Bay of all Saints, in Order to Besiege the City of *St. Salvator*; I went along with his Excellency in that Expedition, which proved unsuccessful, for the City being impossible to be begirt on all sides, we return'd after two Months to the *Receif*. Anno 1630, I went along with the said Earl to *Anthony Vaer*, by the way of the Cape of *St. Austin* and *Sexinhain*, and so further by Land to *Porto Calvo*: In our Return, we pass'd thro' the middle of the *Dutch Brasil*, by the way of *Bojovegid*, to the City of *Paraiba*, and as we pass'd along, took a view of all the Garrisons and Fortresses, so that this Progress took up above 3 Months. After I had spent this seven Years in *Brasil*, viz. three Years in the Service, and four in his Excellency's Family, I desired leave to return home, which being granted, and a Passport given me, I Embark'd in 1641, in April, aboard a Vessel call'd the *Zeger*, bound with two other Vessels, Freight'd with Sugar, Tobacco, and

Brasil

Wagener. **Brasil Wood, Mr. William Honten Commodore for Holland.** We arrived the 17th of January in the *Texel*, when a Man of War being then just ready to sail for *Enkhuysen*, I went aboard her, and lodged that Night in the said City. The 18th, early in the Morning, I went by Land over *Horn* to *Burmerent*, and from thence thro' the *Beemster* by Water to *Amsterdam*. The 20th, early in the Morning, I went in the *Track-sboot* over *Harlem* to *Leyden*, and from thence to the *Hague* and *Deffr*, where I delivered the Letters and Presents wherewith I was Intrusted by his Excellency the Earl of *Nassau*.

But having a longing desire to see my Native Country, I set out from *Amsterdam*, Anno 1641, the 14th day of August, and taking my way over *Harlem*, thro' *Friseland*, arrived safely at *Hamburg* the 23d. but the Roads being then much infested by stragling Parties I went up the River *Elbe* as far as *Magdeburg*, where taking Coach for *Leipzig*, I continued my Journey afterwards from thence to *Dresden*, the Place of my Nativity, where I arrived the 12th of October, and to our mutual Joy, found my Parents in good Health. I stayed with them about 14 Months, but not being able to comply with their manner of living, so different from what I had been used to of late Years; I took a resolution (with their consent) to return into *Holland*, and to take a Voyage thence into the *East Indies*.

Accordingly in 1642, the 10th of February, I took Shipping upon the River *Elbe* in company of the Young Mr. *Dillichius*, and the Son of the Count *Marshall*, Mr. *Henry van Tauben*, and palling down the River *Elbe*, where my fellow Travellers left me, intending to continue their Journey thro' *Holland* for *France*; and the River beginning to be full of Ice by this time, our Vessel could not get further than *Tangermunden*, where we were forced to stay till the 2d of March and then went forward, (tho not without great danger of the Ice) for *Hamburg*, where I arrived the 6th, and soon after agreed with a Dutch Master of a Vessel to carry me to *Amsterdam*. The 11th we set sail, and passing by *Gluckstadt*, came to an Anchor near *Zell*, where going ashore, I diverted my self for a short time with one of my Relations, and so went aboard again, and continued our Voyage towards the Dutch Coast. Our Master it seems was born in a certain Village on the *Friseland* Coast, call'd *Maccum*, and being seiz'd with a curiosity to see his Birth-place, took this opportunity to come to an Anchor near it, which proved so unprosperous, that in a few days after, being surpris'd by a Storm, with a violent Frost, I was obliged to spend 13 days at the House of a rugged *Friseland* Country Fellow, whose Language I did not

understand. All the Comfort I had was to take this opportunity to go to *Fransker*, an University in those Parts: and after my return the Tempest being laid, we set sail again the 26th, and arrived the 28th at *Enkhuysen*, where changing my Vessel for another, I came the 29th early in the Morning to *Amsterdam*; here I received the unwelcome News that the Ships wherewith I intended to have sailed to the *East Indies*, were already gone some days before, and that the next were not to sail till August; being afraid that my Money would scarce hold out till that time, I was forced to take a Journey into *North-holland*, to expect the coming of their *East India* Ships, wherewith I returned afterwards. Anno 1642, the 10th of May, we came to an Anchor with 9 Ships before the *Texel*, where in 2 Months after, we saw 10 Ships richly freighted, Mr. *Francis Caron* Commodore, and came along with them in August into *Holland*.

Having in vain endeavour'd, by the Interest of Mr. *Beimeldien* to get an Assistant's Place in the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, I was forced to take up with a *Cadee's* Place, at *in what* the rate of 10 *Guilders per Month*; and be-^{first went}ing furnished with recommendatory Let-^{to the East}ters to the Regency of *Batavia*, I sail'd out of the *Texel* the 29th of September, in a new Vessel call'd the *Swan*, in Company of two others; and having refreshed our selves at the Isle of *Wight*, (belonging to *England*) and in the Isle of *St. Vincent*, we came in 1643, the 17th of April, safely to an Anchor in the Road of *Batavia*, having outstrip'd the two others, that were no such Sailors as ours. After I had stayed here for some time, the then Governour General *Anthony van Diemen* removed me from the Military Service to an Assistant's Place worth 20 *Guilders per Month*. Anno 1647, the 20th of May, Mr. *Cornelius vander Lyn*, his Successor, bestow'd upon me one of the Head Clerk's Places worth 28 *Guilders per Month*, besides six *Reals* board Wages: Anno 1648, I being then in the 35th year of my Age, Married at *Batavia* a certain Widow, born in the City of *Wesel*, named Mary, the relict of Mr. *Aux Brebis*, who then lived with the Head Factor, Mr. *James Schwern*. Anno 1649, the 29th of September, the said Governour General Mr. *van Lyn*, was pleas'd to bestow upon me the Employment of a Factor (besides my Clerk's Place) for 5 Years, with a Monthly Salary of 56 *Guilders per Month*, and 13 *Reals* board Wages.

Anno 1650, I was sent in an open Che-
loop from *Batavia* to the Streights of *Sunda*,
Thys Crab Commander, to fetch certain In-
structions, which Mr. *Maximilian le Maire*
(who was lately arrived there with the Ship
the *Walvisch* from *Holland*) had brought along

with him, but before we reach'd the said Vessel, we met the Ship the *Nassau*, coming from the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, loaden with Pepper, and being willing to speak with them, by the carelessness of our Master the Challop run so violently against the Poop of the Ship, that it was ready to sink; I did endeavour to lay hold of the Lyon's head of the great Ship, but missing my aim, fell into the Water, where I narrowly escap'd being drowning; for the Ship being under sail, I got under her, and with much ado got upon the other side (yet not without being sorely cut by the Mussel shells that stuck to the bottom) from whence, with much ado, they dragged me up with a Rope, into the Ship. Afterwards it being resolv'd to send me along with Mr. *William Versteegen*, Extraordinary Councillor of the Indies, and Commissary of the Northern Quarter, from *Tonquin* to *Tahwan*, my Salary was rais'd to 66 *Guilders* per Month.

Anno 1651, the 20th of *April*, we Embark'd aboard the *Delft haven* Yacht at *Batavia*, in order to prosecute this intended Voyage, which having been accomplish'd with good Success, we stop'd in our Return near the Kingdom of *Quinam*, and after having settled a firm Peace with that King, and obtained the Release of our Prisoners, we came to an Anchor again in the Road of *Batavia*, the last day of *December*, where in a few days after my Arrival, I was constituted a Member of the Council of Justice by Mr. *Reinerson*, then Governour General in the absence of Mr. *Lyn*.

Anno 1653, the 14th of *July*, The time of my former Contract being expired, I engaged my self again in the Companies Service for three Years longer, at the Rate of

85 *Guilders* per Month; I was soon after as Commissary or Envoy of the Company sent with two Yachts the *Shel-fish* and the *Brown-fish* to *Kanton* in *China* (a) to endeavour the Establishment of free a Commerce for our Company there, with the *Tartarian* Viceroy; but the *Tartarian* Commanders aiming at nothing but our Money and little to be relied upon, I left these Covetous Wretches, and made the best of my way with my two Yachts towards *Tonquin*, where, having left the *Brown-fish* to reht, I returned, notwithstanding I was very dangerously ill, with the *Shel-fish* alone, the 29th of *December*, to *Batavia*. Having immediately after my recovery, given an Account of my Negotiation, I had soon after a Place assign'd me in the Council of Justice.

Anno 1656, the 12th of *July*, I was sent in the Quality of Director in the Ship call'd the *Calf* to *Japan*, (b) to relieve according to Custom, Mr. *John Briclinus*, his Year being expired; where I arriv'd the 18th of *August*, and immediately delivered the Presents sent by the Company to the Emperor; but had scarce been here three days when on the North side of the Capital City of *Fedo*, a sudden fire broke out, which being increased by a violent Wind, laid not only the whole City, (which might for its bigness, be compared to a whole Province) in Ashes in 48 Hours, but also consumed the Royal Palace, and near 160000 Souls; however we had the fortune to escape the fury of the flames thro' God's Mercy, tho' not without a great deal of danger.

Anno 1657, the 27th of *October*, I return'd out of *Japan* (c) in the Ship the *Flower Valley*, in Company of the head Factor, Mr. *John Bergens*, who had received

(a) Of this Voyage, *Nieuhoff*, p. 29. Hereupon it was resolv'd to send as Commissioners Mr. *Schedel* and Mr. *Wagener*, the first in the *Brown-fish*, the other in a Vessel call'd the *Shel-fish*. They set sail together from *Batavia*, and after a Voyage of four Weeks, came to the Western Point of *Haitamon*. From whence they went up the River *Kanton*, as far as *Wangloe*, three Leagues distant from *Kanton*, where having staid for some time, but in vain, in expectation of the *Mandarins* to Conduct them to *Kanton*, Mr. *Schedel* without leave from the Regency of *Kanton* and against the Advice of the Interpreters went to see his old Friend *Haitau*, in whom he much confided; being directed by him to go to see *Tautans*, he did accordingly, but finding neither him nor his Secretary at Home, was forced to come aboard again immediately, as not knowing where to lodge all that Night.

The same *Nieuhoff*, p. 32. Mr. *Wagener* finding all his Courtships to the *Mandarins* of no effect, he returned with both the Yachts to *Batavia*, he having not with all his Cunning, been able to settle a Commerce there for his Country men: What vexed him most, was, that these avaricious wretches had the impudence to demand so vast a Summ of Money, only to procure the Reception of his Letters, by the *Vice Roy*, without the least Promise of

entring afterwards into a Conference upon the proposed Commerce.

(b) Concerning this Commission, *Arnold Montan* says, p. 356. Next to this the Embassy performed by Mr. *Zachary of Mifnia*, is no less remarkable; and p. 369. Speaking of this Conflagration: Mr. *Wagener* returning early in the Morning into the City, found the whole Southern part of it in a flame: About Noon the fire got into the Imperial Palace, with such violence, that in an instant the strong Towers and Stone-Watch-houses were seen tumbling into the Ditch, where the fire stop'd on that side; but continuing on the other hand, the Emperor's Lodgings were consumed before Night, he having scarce time given him to retire with his chief Councillors to their Summer-Houses, built on the North side at some distance from the Palace: in short, in two days time above 100000 houses were laid in Ashes inhabited before the fire by 1000000 of Souls, together with a vast number of most Stately Palaces, and Pagodes or Pagan Temples.

(c) The same *Montan*, p. 377. In the mean while Mr. *Wagener*, taking a short Voyage to *Batavia*, soon returned to prepare for his second intended Embassy to *Japan*. Anno 1659 he had made all the necessary preparations for it.

agener.
Orders to go and Reside at *Tajoan* in the Quality of Deputy Governour to Mr. *Coyers*; we were put to no small trouble to get into the Road of that Place, where having stay'd six days, I set sail again thence, in Company of the *Hercules* and the *Watchman*, and came safely before *Batavia* the 18th of December, where we found several Dutch Ships (which on the 31st returned for *Holland*, under the Command of Mr. *John Camer*) Riding at Anchor.

Anno 1658, being ready to go a second time as Director to *Japan*, to take care of the Companies Interest there, Mr. *John Metzucker*, who succeeded Mr. *Reymers* as Governour General, was pleas'd to appoint me 100 Guilders per Month, without any limited time; I Embark'd immediately after, aboard the Ship call'd the *Venenburgh* at *Batavia*, and set forward with a Prosperous Gale till August, when being among the *Maccausche* Islands, upon the *Chinese* Coast, we were overtaken by so violent a Tempest, that we expected every Moment to be dash'd against the Rocks; but thro' God's Mercy this Storm lasted not above 12 hours; after which, the Wind proving pretty favourable, we continued our Voyage, and the 17th of September arriv'd safely in the Bay of *Nangasacki*. Our Commerce in *Japan* being establish'd upon a good foot, and all other matters settled to our satisfaction, I began to prepare for my return to *Batavia*, and in 1659, set sail in the Ship call'd the *Haverfen*, from the Bay of *Nangasacki*; but the Master of our Vessel being not well acquainted in those Seas, we got one Night among the Rocks de *Paraelles* (a branch of the Sea, formerly part of the Continent, but swallow'd up by the Waves) I was no sooner awake the next Morning, but seeing our selves among these Rocks, and that we had miss'd the Entrance of the Streight of *Banca*, I gave my self over for lost, and certainly had been so, if by the indefatigable Labour of the Seamen, and a favourable Gale, we had not made shift to get the 20 of December, into the Harbour call'd *Paulosingen*, where we were forced to stay four days before we could get out to make the said Streight, from whence we sail'd without any sinister accident, to *Batavia*.

Anno 1660, the 22d of August, Mr. *Jacob Carack*, and I were sent as Commissioners to *Macassar* in the *Postillion Yacht*, to treat with the King concerning a Peace, Pursuant to the Instructions given us for that purpose.

The 12th of November I remained alone in the same Vessel, in order to give an Account of my Negotiation there, Mr. *Carack* being oblig'd to stay behind about some business of Moment in our Fortress of *Pannebolla*.

In the beginning of the Year 1661, be-

ing without Employment, I thought fit to accept of the Surveyorship over the Buildings, vacant by the Death of Mr. *John Lisingen*, whereby I a third time obtained a Place in the Council of Justice; but finding this Office too burthenome for my Gouty Carcass, which was not able to endure such continual going from Place to Place, I quit- ted that Employment, and in lieu thereof was order'd to relieve the Commander in Chief on the Cape of good Hope, Mr. *John van Ricbeck*, who was to have been succeeded by Mr. *Gent van Hoom*, but he dying in his Voyage thither, I was pitch'd upon to supply his Place. Accordingly I left *Batavia* Anno 1662, the 30th of January, with all my Family, and with 2 Ships in 16 days time, with a Prosperous Gale, came in sight of the Cape, or utmost Point of *Africa*: As I was entering the Bay, we heard the unwelcome News, that of the seven Ships we saw at Anchor before *Batavia*, and parted thence about a Month before us, four were lost in a Storm near the Island of *St. Maurice*.

Anno 1663, in February I received Letters out of *Holland* from the Governours of the Company, wherein they not only confirm'd me in my Governours Place here, but also appointed me the same Allowance my Predecessor had enjoy'd.

Anno 1664, being Advertis'd by several Letters sent to me over Land from the Bay of *St. Helens*, by Captain *Henry van Wallen*, intimating that a Conspiracy had been discovered in the Ship call'd the *Arms of Horn*, and that he had been oblig'd to take in- to Custody the Master of the Ship and another Officer; I Embark'd the next day, with three Horses aboard, the Ship call'd the *Watercocks*, but not being able to go beyond the Cape of *Saranbia*, I land'd there, and with two Servants on Horse back, continued my Journey thither by Land; but were no sooner arriv'd there, when being inform'd by the *Hottentots* (Inhabitants of the Cape) that the said Ship was sail'd thence the day before, towards the Cape; we were forc'd to make the best of our way back to the Bay of *Saranbia*, where we arriv'd the 3d day, but to our great regret, found that the Captain had again quit- ted his first Station there, and was gone up two Leagues farther into the Bay; so that we saw our selves under an absolute neces- sity to take up our resting Place all that Night upon the Ground near the Sea shoar that were not a little surpris'd, when the next Morning we discovered in the Land the foot-steps of a great Lyon that had pass'd but a few Paces from us, without doing us any harm.

After my return to the Cape, viz. Anno 1666, my Wife, after a Months sickness, departed this Life, after I had lived with her

Wagener. her in Marriage 18 Years and 4 Months, but had no Children by her; I ordered a small Chappel to be built on the Cape, wherein she was interred. Not many Months after, viz. the 26th of September, Mr. Cornelius van Qualbergen, who was sent in the Ship the *Dordrecht* to succeed me in my Command, arrived at last on the Cape, after a most tedious and troublesome Voyage of 8 Months, in which they had lost 190 Men by the Scurvy and other Distempers. Having purfuant to the Orders sent me by the Council of 17. given the said Mr. Qualbergen, all the necessary Instructions, and surrendered the Government into his hands, I Embark'd with all my Moveables the 1st of October, in the beforementioned Ship the *Dordrecht*, together with my Daughter-in-Law, whose name was Mary Bucquoi, the relict of Cornelius Vorburgh, one of the head Factors of the Company, and with a very moderate and prosperous Wind, arrived safely at *Batavia*, where being lodged at Mr. John Bolan's Houfe, she and I shared the Inheritance of her Mother, according to the Determination of two Arbitrators chosen for that purpose.

Anno 1667, the 1st of September, I Embark'd at *Batavia* in the Ship call'd the *Erasmus*, being sent as an Envoy of the Company to the Emperour of great *Tava*, or of *Maceran*, with two very fine *Persian* horses, besides other Presents to renew the Ancient Friendship, and good Neighbourly Correspondency betwixt them; we came to an Anchor near the River *Samaran*, where leaving our Ship, we Travell'd in 6 or 7 days to the Capital City *Materan*, where having discharged my Commiffion, I return'd from thence by Land, with a numerous Attendance to *Samaran*, and from thence set sail towards *Japan*, where having stayed a few days to dispatch some Business of Moment, we Embark'd, and arrived the last day of November, with the same Yacht, we came in from *Batavia*, in that Road, where I gave an ample Account of my Transactions, to the Great Council of the Indies.

Having by this time spent 25 Years in the East India Companies Service, I took a full resolution to return to my Native Country, for which reason having desired my discharge from the just now mentioned Council, the Governour General, Mr. Maetzucker, would fain have prevail'd upon me to continue there for some time longer, offering me his Garden House without the Gate of *Batavia* for my Habitation.

But being resolv'd to return to my Native Country, I was forced to refuse his kind offer, and having obtain'd my Passport, I left *Batavia* in 1667, the 8th of December, a Squadron of 6 Ships, whereof John

vander Laan was Admiral, and my self carrying the Vice-Admiral's Flag, aboard the Ship call'd the *Arms*, bound for *Middleburgh* on Account of the Chamber of *Zeeland*. Having happily pass'd the Streights of *Sunda*, we arriv'd Anno 1668, the 22d of February, with fair Wind and Weather, in the Table Bay of the Cape of Good Hope, where, to our great satisfaction, we received the News of the late concluded Peace betwixt his Britannick Majesty, and the States General at *Breda*.

Whilst we lay at Anchor here, 4 more Ships that were left behind at *Batavia* to take in their Cargo, arriv'd likewise in the said Bay the 10th of March; as also not long after, the Ship call'd *Thuis de Telfen*, being sent from the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, having aboard 14 Conspirators, (for the most part Northern Country Men) who had laid a Plot to kill the Captain and the other Officers of their Ship whilst they were at Dinner, and afterwards to seize the Vessel; five of the Ringleaders of them were Sentenced to be hang'd on a Gibbet near the Fort; seven others to be whip'd, and burn'd with a Red-hot Iron, and the rest to be kept in Irons for their life time, and to work in such Places as should be appointed by the Company, which was put in Execution accordingly. Anno 1668, the 26th of March, we set sail from Table Bay with the whole Fleet, consisting of 10 Ships richly laden, viz. the *Holland Hayn*, the *Arms* of *Middleburgh*, the *Dordrecht*, *Liberty*, *Amerongen*, *Cattenburgh*, the *Spreckaw*, *Oufshorn*, the *Tiger*, and the *Young Prince*, and taking our Course betwixt the Continent and the Red Islands, pass'd the *Green Sea*, and so with a Prosperous Gale, continued our Voyage till the Month of July, when we arriv'd happily in *Holland*.

N. B. Mr. Zachary Wagener, being in the Month of July, arriv'd with 10 Ships as Vice-Admiral in *Zeeland*; found himself so much indisposed, that after some stay at *Middleburgh*, he thought fit to go to *Amsterdam* to take the Advice of the Physicians of that City; and having accordingly take up his Quarters at the Sign of the City of Prague, in the Warmer street, nothing was left unattempted to remove the indisposition of his Body; which notwithstanding, all the endeavours of the best Physicians not availing, he died, the 1st of October 1668, and was inter'd the 6th following, in the Old Church of *Amsterdam*. He was then 54 Years old and 4 Months, the greatest part of which he had spent in Travelling, by Sea and Land; having spent 7 Years in *Brasil*, and served the Dutch East India Company no less than 25 Years.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Actions
OF
Adm. *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*,
AND OF HIS
DISCOVERY
OF THE
WEST-INDIES,
CALL'D
The NEW WORLD,
Now in Possession of his *Catholick Majesty*.

Written by his own Son D. Ferdinand Columbus.

THE Author's Preface.

I Being the Son of the *Admiral Christopher Columbus*, a Person worthy of Eternal Memory, who discovered the West-Indies; and having my self sail'd with him some time, it seem'd to me but reasonable, that among other things I have writ, one and the chiefest should be his Life, and wonderful Discovery of the West-Indies, or New-World; because his great and continual Sufferings, and the Distempers he laboured under, did not allow him time to form his *Diaries and Observations* into a Method fit for History; yet knowing there were many others who had attempted this Work, I forbore, till reading their Books I found in them, that which is usual among Historians, viz. That they magnify some things, lessen others, and sometimes pass that over in Silence, which they ought to give a very particular Account of. For this reason I resolv'd to undergo the labour of this Task, thinking it better I should lie under the censure my Skill and Presumption shall be subject to, than to suffer the Truth of what relates to so Noble a Person to lie buried in Obscurity. For it is my Comfort, that if any Fault be found in this my undertaking, it will not be that, which most Historians are liable to, viz. That they know not the truth of what they write; for I promise to Compose the History of his Life, of such matter only as I find in his own Papers and Letters, and of those Passages of which I my self was an Eye witness. And whosoever shall imagine, that I add any thing of my own, may be assur'd, I am satisfied, I can reap no benefit thereby in the life to come; and that the Reader alone will have the benefit of it, if it be capable of yielding any.

The Author having given this Account of himself, I have not much to add, but to inform the Reader before he enters upon the Work, that in it he will find all the Reasons which induced the Admiral to such an undertaking; he will see how far he proceeded in Person upon the Discovery in four several Voyages he made; how Great and Honourable the Articles were, upon which the contract upon the Discovery, and which were afterwards confirm'd to him by those two famous Princes, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel or Elizabeth; how basely they were all violated; and how, after such unparalleled Services, most unhumanly treated; how far he settled the Affairs of the Island Hispaniola, the first place the Spaniards Planted in; what care he took that the Indians should not be oppress'd, but rather by good Usage and Example, prevail'd upon to embrace the Catholick Faith; also the Customs and Manners of the Indians; their Opinions and Practice as to Religious Worship; and in a Word, all that can be expected in a Work of this nature, the Foundation whereof was laid by so great a Man as was the Admiral, and finished by his own Son, who had all the Education that could contribute to make him capable of writing so notable a Life.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE WEST-INDIES,

BY
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

Together with his
LIFE and ACTIONS, &c.

CH A P. I.


*Of the Country, Original, and Name of Admiral
Christopher Columbus.*

Columbus's Original.

IT being a very material Point in the History of any Man of Note, to make known his Country and Original, because they are best look'd upon, who are born in Noble Cities and of Illustrious Parents, therefore some would have had me spent my time in shewing that the Admiral was Honourably descended, tho' his Parents, thro' the peevishness of Fortune, were fall'n into great Poverty and Want; and that I should have proved they were the Offspring of that *Junius Colon*, of whom *Tacitus* in his 12th Book says, That he brought King *Mithridates* Prisoner to *Rome*; for which Service the People assign'd him the Consular Dignity, the Eagle, or Standard and Consular Court. And they would have me give a large Account of those two Illustrious *Coloni*, his Predecessors, who, *Sabellius* tells us, gain'd a Mighty Victory over the *Venerians*, as shall be mentioned in the 5th Chapter: But I refused to undertake that Task, believing he was particularly chosen by Almighty God for so great an Affair as

that was to be perform'd; and because he was to be so truly his Apostle, as in effect he proved, it was his Will he should in this part be like the others, who were call'd to make known his Name from the Sea and Rivers, and not from Courts and Palaces, and so imitate himself, whose Progenitors being of the Blood Royal of *Jerusalem*; yet it pleas'd him that his Parents should not be much known. Therefore, as God gave him all the Personal Qualities for such an undertaking, so he would have his Country and Original ~~tho~~ hid and obscure. So it is that some, who would cast a Cloud upon his Fame, say he was of *Nervi*, others of *Caserta*, and others of *Bugisico*, all small Towns near the City of *Genoa*, and upon its Coast. Others, who were for exalting of him, say, he was a Native of *Savona*, others of *Genoa*, others, more vain, make him of *Piacenza*; in which City there are some Honourable Persons of his Family, and Tombs with the Arms and Inscriptions of the Family of *Columbus*; this being then the usual Surname of his Predecessors, tho'

His Name:


 tho' he, complying with the Country whither he went to live, and begin a new State of life, modell'd the World that it might be like the Ancient, and distinguish'd the Direct from the Colateral Line, calling himself *Colon*. This made me apt to believe, that as most of his Affairs were guarded by some special Providence, so this very particular, concerning his Name and Surname, was not without some Mystery. We may instance many Names which were given by secret Impulse, to denote the effects those Persons were to produce, as in his is foretold and expressed the Wonder he performed. For if we look upon the common Surname of his Ancestors, we may say he was true *Columbus* or *Columba*, for as much as he convey'd the Grace of the Holy Ghost into that New World which he discover'd; shewing those People who knew him not, which was God's beloved Son, as the Holy Ghost did in the figure of a Dove at *St. John's* Baptism; and because he also carried the Olive branch and Oyl of Baptism over the Waters of the Ocean, like *Noah's* Dove, to denote the Peace and Union of those People with the Church, after they had been shut up in

the Ark of Darknes and Confusion. And the Surname of *Colon* which he reviv'd, was proper to him, which in *Greek* signifies a Member, that his proper Name being *Christopher*, it might be known he was a Member of Christ; by whom Salvation was to be convey'd to those People. Moreover, if we would bring his Name to the *Latin* pronunciation, that is *Christopherus Colonus*; we may say, That as *St. Christopher* is reported to have bore that Name, because he carried Christ over the deep Waters, with great danger to himself; whence came the denomination of *Christopher*, and as he convey'd over the People whom no other could have been able to carry; so the Admiral, *Christopherus Colonus*, imploring the assistance of Christ in that dangerous Passage, went over safe himself and his Company, that those *Indian* Nations might become Citizens and Inhabitants of the Church Triumphant in Heaven; for it is to be believ'd, that many Souls, which the Devil expected to make a Prey of, had they not pass'd thro' the Water of Baptism, were by him made Inhabitants and Dwellers in the Eternal Glory of Heaven.

C H A P. II.

Of the Admirals Father and Mother, and their Quality, and of the false Account one Justiniani gives of his Employ before he had the Title of Admiral.

No certainty of Columbus's Parentage.

NOT to go upon the Etymology, Derivation and Meaning of the word Admiral; but to return to the Quality and Persons of his Progenitors; I say, That how considerable soever they were, being reduc'd to Poverty and Want by the Wars and Factions in *Lombardy*; I do not find after what manner they lived, tho' the Admiral himself in a Letter, says, That his Ancestors and he always Traded by Sea. For my further information in this particular, as I pass'd thro' *Cyprus*, I endeavoured to receive some information from two Brothers of the *Colombi*, who were the Richest in those Parts, and reported to be somewhat a Kin to him; but the Youngest of them being above 100 Years old, they could give me no Account of this Affair. Nor do I think that this is any Dishonour to us who defend from him, because I think it better that all the Honour be deriv'd to us from his Person, than to go about to enquire whether his Father was a Merchant or a Man of Quality that kept his Hawks and Hounds, whereas it is certain there have been a Thousand such in all Parts, whose Memo-

ry was utterly lost in a very short time among their Neighbours and Kindred; so as it is not known whether ever there were any such Men. But I am of Opinion that their Nobility can add less Lustre to me, than the Honour I receive from such a Father. And since his own Honourable Exploits made him not stand in need of the Wealth of his Predecessors, (who notwithstanding their Poverty, were not destitute of Virtue, but only of Fortune) he ought at least by his Name and Worth, to have been rais'd by Authors above the rank of Mechanicks and Handicrafts. Which yet *Justiniani* if any will affirm, grounding his Assertion on what one *Augustin Justiniani* writes in his Chronicle; I say, That I will not set my self to deny it begging time, or means to prove the contrary by Testimonials; for as much as *Justinian's* writing it does not make that to be look'd upon as an Article of Faith, which is no longer in the Memory of Man; so neither will it be thought undeniable, should I say I received the contrary from a Thousand Persons. Nor will I show his falsehood by the Histories others have

have writ of *Christopher Columbus*, but by *Columbus*, this same Author's Testimony, and Writing, in whom is verified the Proverb, *That Lyars ought to have good Memories*, because otherwise they contradict themselves, as *Justiniani* did in this Case; saying in his Comparison of the four Languages, upon that Expression of the Psalm, *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*, these very words, This *Christopher Columbus* having in his tender Years, attain'd some Elements of Learning; when he came to Manly Years, applied himself to the Art of Navigation, and went to *Lisbon in Portugal*, where he learn'd Cosmography, taught him by a Brother of his who there made Sea Charts; with which Improvement, and Discourfing with those that sail'd to *S. George de la Mira in Africk*, and his own reading in Cosmography, he entertain'd thoughts of Sailing to those Countries he Discover'd. By which words it appears, That he follow'd no Mechanick Employment, or Handicraft; since, he says, he employed his Childhood in Learning; his Youth in Navigation and Cosmography, and his riper Years in Discoveries. Thus *Justinian* convinces himself of falshood, and proves himself an inconsiderable, rash, and malicious Countryman; for when he speaks of a Renowned Person who did so much Honour to his Country, whose Historiographer *Justiniani* made himself, tho' the Admiral's Parents had been very mean, it had been more decent, to speak of his Origin, as other Authors in the like Case do; saying he was of low Parentage, or come of very poor Friends, than to use injurious words, as he did in his Plalter; and afterwards in his Chronicle, falsely calling him a Mechanick. And supposing he had not contradicted himself, Reason it self made it appear, that a Man, who had been employed in Art Manual or Handicraft, must be born

falshood of his Writing will be made out. The first therefore was, That the Admiral went to *Lisbon* to learn Cosmography of a Brother of his own that was there; which is quite contrary, because he liv'd in that City before, and taught his Brother what he knew. The second falshood is that at his first coming into *Castile*, their Catholick Majesty's *Ferdinand*, and *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* accepted of his Proposal, after it had been seven years bandy'd about and rejected by all Men. The third, That he set out to Discover with two Ships, which is not true, for he had three Caravals. The fourth, That his first Discovery was *Hispaniola*, and it was *Guarabani*, which the Admiral call'd *S. Salvador*, or *S. Saviour*. The fifth, That the said Island *Hispaniola* was Inhabited by *Canibals*, that eat Men's flesh; and the Truth is, The Inhabitants of it were the best People, and most civiliz'd of any in those Parts. The sixth, That he took by force of Arms, the Canou, or *Indian* Boat he saw, whereas it appears that he had no War that first Voyage with any *Indian*, and continued in Peace and Amity with them till the day of his departure from *Hispaniola*. The seventh, That he return'd by way of the *Canary* Islands, which is not the proper way for those Vessels to return. The eighth, That from the said Island he dispatch'd a Messenger to their Majesty's afore-said, whereas it is certain, that he was not first at that Island, as was observ'd, and he himself was the Messenger. The ninth, That the second Voyage he return'd with twelve Ships, and it is manifest he had seventeen. The tenth, That he Arrived at *Hispaniola* in twenty days, which is a very short time to reach the nearest Islands, and he perform'd it not in two Months, and went to others much farther distant. The eleventh, That he presently made from *Hispaniola* with two Ships, and it is known there were three he

which are, *Navigation*. But it is no wonder that *Justiniani* should dare to deliver an untruth in this particular, which is hidden, since in Affairs well known concerning his Discovery and Navigation, he has inserted above a dozen falshoods in half a Sheet of Paper in his Plalter, which I shall briefly hint at without staying to give him an Answer, to avoid interrupting the Series of the History, since by the very Course of it, and what others have writ on that Subject, the

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from *Hispaniola* to *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*. So that by his negligence and heedlessness, in being well inform'd and writing the Truth of these Particulars, which are so plain, we may plainly discern what inquiry he made into that which was so obscure, wherein he contradicts himself, as has been made appear. But laying aside this Controversie, wherewith I believe I have by this time tir'd the Reader, we will only add, That considering the many Mistakes

7 D and

Columbus. and Fallhoods found in the said *Justiniani's* History, and Pſalter, the Senate of *Genoa* has laid a Penalty upon any Perſon that ſhall read or keep it; and has cauſ'd it to be carefully ſought out in all Places it has been ſent to, that it may by Publick Decree be deſtrojd and utterly extinguiſh'd. I will return to our main deſign, concluding with this Aſſertion, That the Admiral was a Man of Learning and great Experience; that he did not employ his time in Handicraft or Mechanick Exerciſes, but in ſuch as became the Grandour and Renown of his

wonderful Exploits, and will conclude this Chapter with ſome words taken out of a Letter he writ himſelf to Prince *John* of *Caſtile's* Nurſe, which are theſe.

I am not the firſt Admiral of my Family, let them give me what Name they pleaſe; for when all is done, David, that moſt Prudent King, was firſt a Shepherd, and afterwards choſen King of Jeruſalem, and I am Servant to that ſame Lord, who rai'd him to ſuch Dignity.

CHAP. III.

Of the Admiral's Perſon, and what Sciences he learn'd.

The Admiral deſcrib'd. THE Admiral was well ſhap'd, and of a more than middling Stature, long Viſag'd, his Cheeks ſomewhat full, yet neither fat nor lean; he had a Hawk Noſe, his Eyes white, his Complexion white, with a lovely red: In his Youth his Hair was fair, but when he came to 30 Years of Age, it all turn'd grey. He was always modeſt and ſparing in his Eating, Drinking and his Dreſs. Among Strangers he was affable, and Pleaſant among his Domelticks, yet with Modeſty and an eaſy Gravity. He was ſo ſtrict in Religious Matters, that for Faſting and ſaying all the Divine Office he might be thought profeſt in ſome Religious Order. So great was his Averſion to Swearing and Curling, that I Proteſt I never heard him ſwear any other Oath, but by *S. Ferdinand*; and when in the greateſt Paſſion with any body, he would vent his Spleen by ſaying, *God take you for doing or ſaying ſo.* When he was to write, his way of trying his Pen

was by writing theſe words, *Jeſus cum Maria ſit nobis in via*, and that in ſuch a Character, as might very well ſerve to get his Bread. But paſſing by other Particulars of his Aſtions and Manners, which may be mention'd at their proper time in the Courſe of this Hiſtory; let us proceed to give an Account to what Science he moſt addict'd himſelf. In his tender years he apply'd himſelf ſo much to ſtudy at *Pavia*, as was ſufficient to underſtand Coſmography; to which ſort of reading he was much addict'd, for which reaſon he alſo apply'd himſelf to Aſtrology and Geometry, becauſe theſe Sciences are ſo link'd together, that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, and becauſe *Ptolemy* in the beginning of his Coſmography, ſays, That no Man can be a good Coſmographer unleſs he be a Painter too; therefore he learn'd to draw, in order to deſcribe Lands, and ſet down Coſmographical Bodies, Plains or Rounds.

CHAP. IV.

How the Admiral employ'd himſelf before he came into Spain.

Testimonies out of Columbus's own Writings. THE Admiral having gain'd ſome insight in Sciences, began to apply himſelf to the Sea, and made ſome Voyages to the Eaſt and Weſt; of which and many other things of theſe his firſt days, I have no perfect Knowledge, becauſe he died at ſuch time as I being confin'd by filial Duty, had not the boldneſs to aſk him to give an Account of things; or to ſpeak the truth, being but young, I was at that time far from being troubled with ſuch thoughts.

But in a Letter writ by him in the Year 1501, to their Catholick Majeſties, to whom he durſt not have writ any thing but the truth; he has theſe following words.

Moſt Serene Princes, ' I went to Sea very young, and have continued it to this day; ' and this Art inclines thoſe that follow it, to ' be deſirous to diſcover the Secrets of this ' World; it is now forty Years that I have ' been Sailing to all thoſe parts, at preſent fre- ' quented; and I have Deſt and Con- ' verted

Columbus.

‘verfied with wife People, as well Clergy
‘as Laity, Latins, Greeks, Indians and
‘Moors, and many others of other Sects;
‘and our Lord has been favourable to this
‘my Inclination, and I have received of
‘him the Spirit of understanding: He has
‘made me very skilfull in Navigation,
‘knowing enough in Astrology, and so in
‘Geometry and Arithmetick. God hath
‘given me a Genius and hands apt to
‘draw this Globe, and on it the Cities, Ri-
‘vers, Islands and Ports, all in their pro-
‘per Places. During this time I have seen,
‘and endeavoured to see, all Books of Cos-
‘mography, History and Philosophy, and
‘of other Sciences; so that our Lord has
‘sensibly opened my understanding, to the
‘end I may Sail from hence to the Indies,
‘and made me most willing to put this in
‘execution. Fill’d with this desire, I came
‘to your Highnesses. All that heard of my
‘undertaking, rejected it with contempt
‘and scorn. In your Highnesses alone,
‘Faith and Contancy had their Seat’. In
‘another Letter written from *Hispaniola*, in
‘January 1495, to their Catholick Majesties,
‘telling them the Errors and Mistakes com-
‘monly made in Voyages and Piloting; he
‘says thus, ‘It happened to me that King
‘*Ronce*, whom God has taken to himself,
‘sent to me to *Tunis* to take the Galeaffe
‘call’d *Fernandina*; and being near to the
‘Island of *St. Peter* by *Sardinia*, I was told
‘there were two Ships and a Barack with
‘the said Galeaffe, which compos’d
‘my Men, and they resolv’d to go no fur-
‘ther, but to return to *Marseilles* for ano-
‘ther Ship and more Men; and I perceiving
‘there was no going against their Wills,
‘without some contrivance, yielded to their
‘desires, and changing the point of the
‘Needle, set sail when it was late, and next
‘morning at break of day, we found our
‘selves near *Cape Carregna*, all aboard think-
‘ing we had certainly been sailing for *Mar-
‘seilles*. In the same manner in a *Memo-
‘randum*, or Observation he made to show, that
‘all the five Zones are Habitable, and prov-
‘ing it by Experience in Navigation, he says,
‘In February 1467, I sail’d my self an Hun-
‘dred Leagues beyond *Thule*, *Iseland*,
‘whose Northern part is 73 degrees distant

‘from the Equinoctial, and not 63 degrees
‘as some will have it to be; nor does it lie
‘upon the Line where *Ptolemy*’s West begins,
‘but much more to the Westward; and to
‘this Island which is as big as *England*, the
‘*English* Trade, especially from *Briftol*. At
‘the time when I was there, the Sea was
‘not Frozen, but the Tides were so great,
‘that in some Places it swell’d 26 Fathoms,
‘and fell as much’. The Truth is, That
‘the *Thule* *Ptolemy* speaks of, lies where he
‘says, and this by the Moderns is call’d *Frize-
‘land*. And then to prove that the Equino-
‘ctial or Land under it is Habitable, he says,
‘I was in the Fort of *St. George de la Mira*
‘belonging to the King of *Portugal*, which
‘lies under the Equinoctial, and I am a
‘Witness that ’tis not Inhabitable, as some
‘would have it’. And in his Book of his
‘first Voyage, he says, ‘He saw some Mer-
‘maids on the Coast of *Menegeta*, but that
‘they are not so like Ladies, as they are
‘painted’. And in another Place he
‘says, ‘I observed several times in Sailing
‘from *Lisbon* to *Guinea*, that a degree on
‘the Earth, answers to 56 Miles and two
‘Thirds’. And farther he adds, ‘That
‘in *Scio*, an Island of the *Archipelago*, he
‘saw Mastick drawn from some Trees’. In
‘another Place he says, ‘I was upon the Sea
‘23 Years, without being off it any time
‘worth the speaking of; and I saw all the
‘East and all the West, and may say towards
‘the North, or *England*, and have been at
‘*Guinea*; yet I never saw Harbours for
‘goodness, like those of the *West-Indies*.
‘And a little farther he says, ‘That he took
‘to the Sea at 14 Years of Age, and
‘ever after follow’d it’. And in the Book
‘of the second Voyage, he says, ‘I had got
‘two Ships, and left one of them at *Porto*
‘*Santo*, for a certain reason that
‘curr’d to me, where she continued one
‘day, and the next day after I join’d it at
‘*Lisbon*, because I light of a Storm and
‘contrary Winds at South West, and she
‘had but little Wind at North East, which
‘was contrary’. So that from these In-
‘stances we may gather, how much Experi-
‘ence he had in Sea Affairs, and how many
‘Countries and Places he Travel’d before he
‘undertook his Discovery.



C H A P. V.

The Admiral's coming into Spain, and how he made himself known in Portugal, which was the cause of his discovering the West-Indies.

Another
Colum-
bus.

AS concerning the cause of the Admiral's coming into Spain, and his being addicted to Sea Affairs, the occasion of it was a famous Man, of his Name and Family, call'd *Columbus*, renown'd upon the Sea, on Account of the Fleet he commanded against Infidels, and even in his own Country, inso-much that they made use of his Name to frighten the Children in the Cradle; whose Person and Fleet, it is likely were very considerable, because he at once took four *Venetian* Gallies, whose bigness and strength I should not have believ'd, had I not seen them fitted out. This Man was call'd *Columbus the Younger*, to distinguish him from another, who was a great Seaman before him. Of which *Columbus the Younger*, *Maro Antony Sabellicus*, the *Lives* of our Age, says in the eighth Book of his tenth Decade, 'That he lived near the time when *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick* the 3d. was chosen King of the *Romans*: *Jerome Donato* was sent Embassador from *Venice* into *Portugal*, to return thanks in the name of the Republick to King *John* the 2d, because he had clothed and relieved all the Crew belonging to the aforesaid great Gallies, which were coming from *Flanders*, relieving them in such a manner, as they were enabled to return to *Venice*, they having been overcome by the Famous Corsair *Columbus the Younger*, near *Lisbon*, who had strip'd and turn'd them ashoar. Which Authority of so Grave an Author as *Sabellicus*, may make us sensible of the aforesaid *Justinian's* Malice, since in his History he made no mention of this Particular, to the end it might not appear, that the Family of *Columbus* was less Obscure than he would make it. And if he did it thro' ignorance, he is nevertheless to blame; for undertaking to write the History of his Country, and omitting so remarkable a Victory, of which its Enemies themselves make mention. For the Historian, our Adversary, makes so great Account of his Victory, that he says, Ambassadors were sent on that Account to the King of *Portugal*. Which same Author in the aforesaid eighth Book, says, what further, as one less obliged to inquire into the Admiral's Discovery, makes mention of it, without adding those twelve lies which *Justinian* inserted. But to return to the matter in hand, I say, That whilst the Admiral sail'd with the aforesaid *Columbus the Younger*, which was a long time; it fell

out that understanding the beforementioned four great *Venetian* Gallies were coming from *Flanders*, they went out to seek, and found them beyond *Lisbon*, about Cape St. Vincent, which is in *Portugal*, where falling to blows, they fought furiously, and grappled, beating one another from Vessel to Vessel with the utmost rage, making use, not only of their Weapons, but Artificial Fire-works; so that after they had fought from Morning till Evening, and abundance were kill'd on both sides; the Admiral's Ship took fire, as did a great *Venetian* Galley, which being fast grappled together with Iron Hooks and Chains, used to this purpose by Sea faring Men, could neither of them be relieved, because of the confusion there was among them, and the fright of the fire, which in a short time was so increased, that there was no other remedy, but for all that could, to leap into the Water, so to die sooner, rather than bear the torture of the fire. But the Admiral being an excellent swimmer, and seeing himself two Leagues or a little further from Land, laying hold of an Oar, which good Fortune offered him, and sometimes reiting upon it, sometimes swimming, it pleased God, who had preserved him for greater ends, to give him strength to get to shoar; but so tired and spent with the Water, that he had much ado to recover himself. And because it was not far from *Lisbon*, where he knew there were many *Genoeses* his Countrymen, he went away thither as fast as he could, where being known by them he was so courteously received and entertain'd that he set up House and Marry'd a Wife in that City. And for as much as he behav'd himself honourably, and was a Man of a Comely Presence, and did nothing but what was just; it happened that a Lady whose name was *Donna Felipa Moniz*, of a good Family and Pensioner in the Monastery of all Saints, whither the Admiral used to go to Mass, was so taken with him, that she became his Wife. His Father-in-Law *Peter Moniz Perestrello*, being dead, they went to live with the Mother-in-Law, where being together, and she seeing him so much addicted to Cosmography, told him that her Husband *Perestrello* had been a great Sea faring Man, and that he with two other Captains, having obtained the King of *Portugal's* leave, went to make discoveries

coveries, upon Condition, that dividing what they found into three parts, they were to cast Lots who should choofe first. Being thus agreed, they sail'd away to the South West, and arriv'd at the Island of *Madera* and *Porto Santo*, Places never before discovered. And because the Island of *Madera* was biggest; they divided it into two Parts, the Island of *Porto Santo*, being the 3d which fell to the Lot of the said *Pereftrello*, *Columbus's* Father-in-Law, who had the Government of it till he died.

The Admiral being much delighted to hear such Voyages and Relations, his Mother-in-Law gave him the Journals and Sea Charts left her by her Husband, which still more inflam'd the Admiral; and he enquired into the other Voyages the *Portugueses* then made to *St. George de la Mira*, and along the Coast of *Guinea*, being much pleased to discourse with those that had sail'd thither. To say the Truth, I can not certainly tell whether whilst this Wife lived, the Admiral went to *Mira* or *Guinea*, as I said above, the reason seems to require it. However it was, as one thing leads to another, and one consideration to another, so

whilst he was in *Portugal*, he began to reflect, that as the *Portugueses* Travel so far Southward, it were no less proper to sail away Westward, and Land might in reason be found that way. That he might be the more certain and confident in this Particular, he began to look over all the *Cosmographers* again, whom he had read before, and to observe what *Astrological* Reasons would corroborate this Project; and therefore he took notice of what any Persons whatsoever spoke to that purpose, and of Sailers particularly, which might any way be a help to him. Of all which things he made such good use, that he concluded for certain, that there were many Lands West of the *Canary* Islands, and *Cabo Verde*; and that it was possible to sail to, and discover them. But that it may appear from what mean Arguments he came to deduce, or make out so vast an undertaking, and to satisfy many who are desirous to know particularly, what Motives induc'd him to Discover these Countries, and expose himself in so dangerous an undertaking, I will here set down what I have found in his Papers relating to this Affair.

C H A P. VI.

The Principal Motives that inclin'd the Admiral to believe he might discover the West-Indies.

Three reasons for the Discovery.

BEING about to deliver the Motives that inclin'd the Admiral to undertake the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, I say they were three, viz. Natural Reason, Authority of Writers, and the Testimony of Sailers. As to the first, which is Natural Reason, I say, he concluded that all the Sea and Land compos'd a Sphere or Globe; which might be gone about from East to West, Traveling round it, till Men came to stand feet to feet one against another in any opposite Parts whatsoever. Secondly, he gave it for granted, and was satisfied by the Authority of approved Authors, that a great part of this Globe had been already Travelled over, and that there then only remained to discover the whole, and make it known, that Space which lay between the Eastern bounds of *India*, known to *Ptolemy* and *Marinus*, round about Eastward, till they came thro' our Western Parts to the Islands *Azores*, and of *Cabo Verde* the most Western Parts yet Discovered. Thirdly, He considered, that this Space lying between the Eastern limits known to *Marinus*, and the aforesaid Island of *Cabo Verde*, could not be a

Argument from reason.

bove a third part of the great Circumference of the Globe, since the said *Marinus* was already gone 15 Hours, or 24 Parts into which the World is divided towards the East; and therefore to return to the said Isles of *Cabo Verde*, there wanted about eight Parts; for the said *Marinus* is said to have begun his Discovery towards the West. Fourthly he reckoned, that since *Marinus* had in his said *Cosmography*, given an Account of 15 Hours, or Parts of the Globe towards the East, and yet was not come to the end of the Eastern Land, it followed of course, that the said end must be much beyond that; and consequently, the farther is extended Eastward, the nearer of it came to the Islands *Cabo Verde*, towards our Western Parts; and that if such space were Sea, it might easily be sail'd in a few days, and if Land, it would be sooner discovered by the West, because it would be nearer to the said Islands. To which reason may be added, That given by *Strabo* in the 15th Book of his *Cosmography*, that no Man with an Army ever went so far as the Eastern Bounds of *India*, which *Ctesias*

Columbus. writes is as big as all the rest of *Asia*; *One-sicritus* affirms, it is the third part of the Globe; and *Nearchus*, that it is four Months Journey in a strait Line; besides that, *Pliny* in the 17th Chapter of his 6th Book, says, That *India* is the third part of the Earth: Whence he argu'd, that being so large, it must be nearer *Spain* by way of West. The 5th Argument that induced him to believe, that the distance that way was small, he took from the Opinion of *Alfraganus* and his followers, who make the Circumference of the Globe, much less than all other Writers and Cosmographers, allowing but 56 Miles and two Thirds to a Degree. Whence he would infer, that the whole Globe being small, that extent of the third Part must of necessity be small, which *Marinus* left as unknown; therefore that Part might be sail'd in less time than he assign'd; for since the Eastern bounds of *India* were not yet discovered, those bounds must lie near to us Westward, and therefore the Lands he should discover, might properly be call'd *Indies*. By this it plainly appears, how much

Why call'd
in *Indies*.

one Mr. *Roderick*, Arch-Deacon of *Seville*, was in the wrong as well as his Followers, who blame the Admiral; saying, He ought not to have call'd those Parts *Indies*, because they are not so, whereas the Admiral did not call them *Indies*, because they had been seen or discover'd by any other Person, but as being the Eastern Part of *India* beyond *Ganges*, to which no Cosmographer ever assign'd bounds, or made it border on any other Country Eastward, but only upon the Ocean; and because these were the Eastern unknown Lands of *India*, and have no particular name of their own; therefore he gave them the name of the nearest Country, calling them *West-Indies*, and the more because he knew all Men were sensible of the Riches and Wealth of *India*; and therefore by that name he thought to tempt their Catholick Majesties, who were doubtful of his undertaking, telling them he went to discover the *Indies* by way of the West. And this mov'd him rather to desire to be employed by the King of *Castile*, than by any other Prince.

C H A P. VII.

The second Motive inducing the Admiral to discover the West-Indies.

A second
Motive
from Au-
thors.

THE second Motive that encouraged the Admiral to undertake the afore-said Enterprize, and which might reasonably give occasion to call the Countries he should so Discover *Indies*, was the great Authority of Learned Men, who said that it was possible to sail from the Western Coast of *Africk* and *Spain*, Westward to the Eastern bounds of *India*, and that it was no great Sea that lay between them, as *Aristotle* affirms, at the end of his 2d Book of *Heaven* and the *World*; where he says, That they may sail from *India* to *Cadiz* in a few days. Which some think *Averroes* proves, writing upon that Place. And *Seneca* in his first Book of *Nature*, looking upon the Knowledge of this *World*, as nothing in respect of what is attain'd in the next life; says, a Ship may sail in a few days with a fair Wind, from the Coast of *Spain*, to that of *India*. And if as some would have it, this same *Seneca* writ the *Tragedies*; we may conclude it was to the same Purpose, that in the Chorus of his *Medea*, he speaks thus;

Venient annis
Sacula feris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Patent tellus, Typhusque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit serris
Ultima Thule.

That is, There will come an Age in later Years, when the Ocean will loose the bonds of things, and a great Country be discovered, and another like *Typhus* shall discover a new *World*, and *Thule* shall no longer be the last Part of the Earth. Which is now most certain has been fulfill'd in the Person of the Admiral. And *Strabo* in the first Book of his *Cosmography*, says, the Ocean encompasses all the Earth; that in the East, it washes the Coast of *India*, and in the West, those of *Mauritania* and *Spain*, and that if the vastness of the Atlantick did not hinder, but they might soon sail from the one to the other upon the same Parallel. The same he repeats in the second Book. *Pliny* in the second Book of his *Natural History*, Chap. III. adds, That the Ocean surrounds

Columbus. surrounds all the Earth, and that the extent of it from East to West, is from *India* to *Cadix*. The same Author, Book the 6th. Chap. 31, and *Solimus*, Chap. 68, of the remarkable things in the World, say, That from the Islands *Gorgones*, supposed to be those of *Cabo Verde*, was forty days sail on the Atlantick Ocean, to the Islands *Hesperides*, which the Admiral concluded were those of the *West-Indies*, *Marcus Polus Venetus*, and *John Mandeville* in their Travels say, They went much farther Eastward, than *Ptolemy* and *Marinus* mention, who perhaps do not speak of the Eastern Sea; yet by the Account they give of the East, it may be argued, That the said *India* is not far distant from *Africk* and *Spain*. *Peter Aliacus* in his Treatise, *De imagine mundi*, Chap. 8. *De quantitate terre habitabilis*, & *Julius Capitolinus*, *de locis habitabilibus*; and in several other Treatises, say, That *Spain* and *India* are Neighbours Westward. And in the 19th Chapter of his Cosmography, he has these Words; according to the Philosophers and *Pliny*, the Ocean that stretches between the Western borders of *Spain*

and *Africk*, and from the beginning of *India* Eastward, is of no great Extent, and there is no doubt but it may be sail'd over in a few days, with a fair Wind, and therefore the beginning of *India* Eastward, can not be far distant from the end of *Africk* Westward. These and the like Authorities of such Writers, inclined the Admiral to believe that the Opinion he had conceived was right, and one Mr. *Paul* Physician to Mr. *Dominick* of *Florence*, Contemporary with the Admiral, much encouraged him to undertake the said Voyage. For this Mr. *Paul* being a Friend to one *Ferdinand Martinez*, a Canon of *Lisbon*, and they writing to one another concerning the Voyages made in the time of King *Alphonso* of Portugal to *Guinea*, and concerning what might be made Westward; the Admiral who was most curious in these affairs, got Knowledge of it, and soon by the means of *Laurence Girardi*, a Florentine residing at *Lisbon*, writ upon this Subject to the said Mr. *Paul*, sending him a small Sphere, and acquainting him with his design. Mr. *Paul* sent his Answer in *Latin*, which in *English* is thus.

C H A P. VIII.

A Letter from Paul, a Physician of Florence, to the Admiral, concerning the Discovery of the Indies.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wishes Health.

I Perceive your Noble and Earnest desire to sail to those Parts where the Spice is produced; and therefore in Answer to a Letter of yours, I send you another Letter, which some days since I writ to a Friend of mine, and Servant to the King of Portugal, before the Wars of Castile, in Answer to another he writ to me by his Highnesses order, upon this same Account, and I send you another Sea Chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The Copy of that Letter is this.

To Ferdinand Martinez Canon of Lisbon, Paul the Physician wishes Health.

A Letter concerning the discovery Westward. I Am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most Serene and Magnificent King, and though I have very often discoursed concerning the short way there is from hence to the Indies; where the Spice is produced, by Sea, which I took upon to be shorter than that you take by the Coast of *Guinea*; yet you now tell me, that his Highness would have me make out and demonstrate

it, so as it may be understood and put in Practice. Therefore, tho' I could better show it him with a Globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the Figure of the World; yet I have resolved to render it more easie and intelligible, to show this way upon a Chart, such as are used in Navigation; and therefore I send one to his Majesty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the West from Ireland, in the North, to the furthest part of *Guinea*, with all the Islands that lie in the way: opposite to which Western Coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the Islands and Places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the North Pole towards the Equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many Leagues you may sail before you come to those Places most fruitfull in all sorts of Spice, Jewels and Precious Stones. Do not wonder if I term that Country where the Spice grows West, that product being generally ascrib'd to the East, because those who shall sail Westward, will always find those Places in the West; and they that Travel by Land Eastward, will ever find those places in the East. The Strait Lines that lie lengthways in the Chart, show the distance there

there is from West to East, the other cross them, show the distance from North to South.

I have also mark'd down in the said Chart, several Places in India, where Ships might put in upon any Storm or contrary Winds, or any other accidents unforeseen. And moreover, to give you full information of all those Places, which you are very desirous to know; you must understand, that none but Traders live or reside in all those Islands, and that there is there as great a Number of Ships and Seafaring People with Merchandice, as in any other part of the World, particularly in a most noble Part call'd Zacton, where there are every Year an Hundred large Ships of Pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other Ships that take in other Spice. This Country is mighty Populous, and there are many Provinces and Kingdoms, and innumerable Cities under the Dominion of a Prince call'd the Great Cham, which Name signifies King of Kings, who for the most part Resides in the Province of Cathay. His Predecessors were very desirous to have Commerce, and be in Amity with Christians; and 200 Years since, sent Embassadors to the Pope, desiring him to send them many Learned Men and Doctors to teach them our Faith; but by reason of some Obstacles the Embassadors met with, they returned back without coming to Rome. Besides there came an Embassador to Pope Eugenius IV. who told him the great Friendship there was between those Princes, their People and Christians. I discours'd with him a long while upon the several Matters of the Grandeur of their Royal Structures, and of the Greatness, Length and Breadth of their Rivers, and he told me many wonderful things of the multitude of Towns and Cities founded along the banks of the Rivers, and that there were 200 Cities upon one only River, with Marble Bridges over it of a great Length and Breadth, and adorn'd with abundance of Pillars. This Country deserves as well as any other, to be discover'd; and there may not only be great Profit made there, and many things of Value found, but also Gold, Silver, all sorts of Precious Stones, and Spices in abundance, which are not brought into our Parts. And it is certain that many wise Men, Philosophers, Astrologers, and other Persons skill'd in all Arts and very Ingenious, Govern that mighty Province, and Command their Armies. From Lisbon directly Westward, there are in the Chart 26 Spaces, each of which contains 250 Miles, to the most noble and vast City of Quila, which is 100 Miles in Compass, that is 35 Leagues; in it there are 10 Marble Bridges: The name signifies a Heavenly City, of which wonderfull things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the People, the Buildings and Revenues. This Space above mentioned, is almost the third part of the Globe. This City is

in the Province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the King for the most part Resides. From the Island Antilia, which you call the seven Cities, and whereof you have some Knowledge, to the most noble Island of Cipango, are ten Spaces, which make 2500 Miles, or 225 Leagues, which Island abounds in Gold, Pearls, and Precious Stones: and you must understand, they cover their Temples and Palaces with Plates of pure Gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all these things are hid-den and conceal'd, and yet may be gone to with safety. Much more might be said, but having told you what is most Material, and you being Wise and Judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it, but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more Prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your Curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my Business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness to the utmost, in all the Commands he shall lay upon me.

Florence, June 25.

1474-

After this Letter, he again writ to the Admiral as follows;

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Pyhician wishes Health.

I Received your Letters with the things you Annot sent me, which I take as a great Favour, and Lett^{re} commend your noble and ardent desire of Sailing ^{the A} from East to West, as it is mark'd out in the Chart I sent you, which would demonstrate it self better in the Form of a Globe. I am glad it is well understood, and that the Voyage laid down is not only possible, but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by Experience and Practice, as I have had in great Measure, and by the solid and true Information of Worthy and Wise Men, who are come from those Parts to this Court of Rome, and from Merchants who have Traded long in those Parts, and are Persons of good Reputation. So that when the said Voyage is perform'd, it will be to Powerful Kingdoms, and to most noble Cities and Provinces, Rich, and abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of Spice in great quantities, and store of Jewels. This will moreover be Grateful to those Kings and Princes, who are very desirous to Converse and Trade with Christians of these our Countreies, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have Communication with the Wise and Ingenious Men of these Parts, as well in point of Religion, as in

in all Sciences, because of the extraordinary Account they have of the Kingdoms and Government of these Parts. For which reasons and many more that might be alledg'd, I do not as all admire, that you who have a great Heart, and all the Portuguese Nation, which has ever had notable Men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this Voyage.

This Letter, as was said before, encourag'd the Admiral much to go upon his Discovery, tho' what the Doctor there writ was false, as believing that the first Land they should meet with, would be *Cashay*, and the Empire of the Great *Cham*, with the rest he there relates; since as Experience has made appear, the distance from our *Indies* to that, is greater than from hence to our *Indies*.

CHAP. IX.

The third Motive and Inducement, which in some measure excited the Admiral to Discover the West-Indies.

A third Motive from the hope of finding some Land, before un- heard of.

THE third and last Motive the Admiral had to undertake the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, was the hopes of finding, before he came to *India*, some very beneficial Island or Continent, from whence, he might the better pursue his main design. This his Hope was grounded upon, the Authority of many Wise Men and Philosophers, who look'd upon it as most certain, that the greatest part of this Terraqueous Globe was Land, or that there was more Earth than Sea; which if so, he argued, that between the Coast of *Spain* and the bounds of *India* then known, there must be many Islands, and much Continent, as experience has since demonstrated, which he the more readily believed, being impos'd upon by many Fables and Stories, which he heard told by several Persons and Sailors, who Traded to the Islands and Western Sea, and to *Madera*; which Testimonies making somewhat to his purpose, they were sure to gain a Place in his Memory. Therefore I will not forbear relating them, to satisfy those that take delight in such Curiosities. It is therefore requisite to be understood, That a Pilot of the King of *Portugal*, whose Name was *Martin Vicente*, told him, that he being once 450 Leagues Westward of Cape *S. Vincent*, found and took up in the Sea, a piece of Wood ingeniously wrought, but not with Iron; by which, and the Winds having been West for many days, he guessed that piece of Wood came from some Island that way. Next one *Peter Correa*, who had Married the Admiral's Wife's Sister, told him, That in the Island of *Porto Santo* he had seen another piece of Wood brought by the same Winds, well wrought, as that above mentioned; and that there had been Canes found so thick, that every joint would hold above four quarts of Wine. Which he said he affirm'd, the King of *Portugal* himself dis-

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courting with him about these Affairs, and that they were shown him, and there being no Place in our Parts, where such Canes grow, he look'd upon it as certain, that the Wind had brought them from some Neighbouring Islands, or else from *India*. For *Ptolemy* in the first Book of his Cosmography, Chap. 17. says, There are Canes in the Eastern Parts of *India*: And some of the Islanders, particularly the *Azores* told him, That when the West Wind blew long together, the Sea drove some Pines upon those Islands, particularly upon *Gratiola* and *Fayal*, there being no such in all those Parts. And that the Sea cast upon this Island of *Flores*, another of the *Azores*, two dead Bodies of Men, very broad faced, and differing in Aspect from the Christians. At Cape *Verga* and thereabouts, they say, they once saw some cover'd *Almadies* or Boats, which it is believed were drove that way by strels of Weather, as they were going over from one Island to another. Nor were these only the Motives he then had, which yet seem'd reasonable; but there were those that told him they had seen some Islands, among whom was *Anthony Leme*, married in the Island of *Madera*, who told him, that having made a considerable run in a Caraval of his own Westward, he had seen three Islands. These he did not give Credit to, because he found by their own words and discourse, that they had not sail'd 100 Leagues to the Westward, and that they had been deceived by some Rocks, taking them for Islands; or else Perhaps they were some of those floating Islands that are carried about by the Water, call'd by the Sailors *Aguadas*, whereof *Rising* makes mention, the first Book, Chap. 97. of his Natural History; where he says, That in Northern Parts the Sea discover'd some of Land, on which there are Trees of Roots, which parcels of Land are carried

Floating Islands.

7 F about

The First Discovery of

about like Floats, or Islands upon the Water. *Seneca* undertaking to give a Natural Reason why there are such sort of Floats; says in his 3d Book, that it is the Nature of certain spongy and light Rocks, so that the Islands made of them in *India*, swim upon the Water. So that were it never so true, that the said *Ambony Leme* had seen some Island, the Admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them, such as those call'd of *St. Brandam* are supposed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been seen. There is also an Account of others that lie much Northward, and always burn. *Juvenius Fortunatus* Relates, That there is an Account of two Islands towards the West, and more Southward than those of *Cabo Verde*, which swim along upon the Water. These and the like grounds might move several People of the Islands of *Feyro*, and *la Gomera*, as also of the *Azores*, to affirm that they saw Islands towards the West every Year, which they look'd upon as most certain, and many Persons of Reputation swore it was true. He says moreover, That in the Year 1484, there came into *Portugal*, one from the Island of *Madera* to beg a *Caraval* of the King to go to discover a Country, which he swore he saw every Year, and always after the self-same manner, agreeing with others, who said they had seen it from the Islands *Azores*. On which Grounds in the Charts and Maps formerly made, they placed some Islands therabouts; and particularly because *Aristotle* in his Book of wonderful Natural things, affirms, it was reported that some *Carthaginian* Merchants had sail'd through the Atlantick Sea, to a most fruitful Island, as we shall declare more at large hereafter, which Island some *Portugueses* inserted in their Maps, calling it *Antilla*, tho' they did not agree in the Situation with *Aristotle*, yet none placed it above 200 Leagues due West from the *Canaries* and *Azores*, which they conclude to be certainly the Island of the seven Cities, Peopled by *Portugueses* at the time that *Spain* was Conquer'd by the *Moor* in the Year 714. At which time they sent seven Bishops with their People Embark'd, and Sail'd to this Island, where each of them built a City, and to the end, none of their People might think of returning to *Spain*; they burnt the Ships, Tackle and all things necessary for Sailing. Some *Portugueses* discoursing about this Island, there were those that affirm'd, several *Portugueses* had gone forth, who could not find it to it again. For the time of Henry

Men went alhoar, and were led by the Islanders to their Church, to see whether they were Christians, and observed the Roman Ceremonies, and perceiving they did, they desired them not to depart till their Lord came, who was then absent, would make very much of them, and give them many Presents, and to whom they would presently send advice; but the Master and Seamen, were afraid of being detain'd, suspecting those People had not a mind to be discovered, and might therefore burn their Ship, and for that reason they sail'd back to *Portugal*, hoping to be rewarded for what they had done by the *Infante*. He reprov'd them severely, and bid them return quickly; but the Master for fear, run away from *Portugal* with the Ship and Men: and it is reported, that whilst the Seamen were at Church in the said Island, the Boys of the Ship gathered Sand for the Cook-room, the third part whereof they found to be pure Gold. Among others that set out to discover this Island, was one *James de Fiene*, whose Pilot *Peter Velasquez*, of the Town of *Palos de Moguer*, told the Admiral in the Monastery of *St. Mary de la Rabida*, that they set out from *Fajal*, and sail'd above 150 Leagues South-West, and in their return discovered the Island *Flores*, being led to it by abundance of Birds they saw fly that way, because those being Land and not Sea-Fowls, they judg'd they could not rest but upon Land: After which they sail'd so far North East, till they came to Cape *Clare*, in the West of *Ireland*, where they met with stiff Westerly Winds, and yet a smooth Sea, which they imagin'd was caused by some Land that shelter'd it towards the West. But it being then the Month of *August*, they would not turn towards the Island, for fear of Winter. This was above 40 Years before our *Indies* were discovered. This Account was confirm'd by the Relation a Mariner at Port *St. Mary* made, telling him that once making a Voyage into *Ireland*, he saw the said Land, which he then thought to be part of *Tartary*, sailing off towards the West, which it's like was the Land we now call *Bacallao*, and that they could not make up to it by reason of the bad Weather. This he said agreed with what one *Peter de Velasco* of *Gallicia* affirm'd to him in the City of *Murcia* in *Spain*, which was, that sailing for *Ireland*, they went away so far to North-West, that they discovered Land West of *Ireland*, which Land he believes to be the same, that one *Fernand Alburquerque*, attempted to

ters upon slight grounds. *Gonzalo de Oviedo*, in his History of the Indies, writes, That the Admiral had a Letter, wherein he found the Indies describ'd, by one that had before discovered them, which was not so, but thus: *Vincent Dear*, a Portuguese of *Tavira*, Returning from *Guinea* to the *Tercera* Islands, and having pass'd the Island of Ma-

Sevil, to fit out a Ship with all speed for the said Pilot. But the said *Francis* making a jest of such an undertaking, *Luke de Cazana* set out a Vessel in the *Tercera* Island, and the Pilot went out three or four times to seek the said Island, sailing from 120 to 130 Leagues, but all in vain, for he found no Land. Yet for all this, neither

rainly concluded to be *Spain*, being come to the *Tercera* Island, he told it to one *Luke de Cazana*, a Genoese Merchant, who was very Rich, and his Friend, persuading him to fit out some Vessel to Conquer that Place; which he was very willing to do, and obtain'd Licence for it of the King of Portugal. He writ therefore to his Brother *Francis de Cazana*, who Resided at

it, that he knew two Sons of the Captain that discovered the *Tercera* Island, their names *Michael* and *Jasper Cortereal*, who went several times to discover that Land; and at last in the Year 1502, Perish'd in the Attempt, one after another, without ever being heard of, and that this was well known to many.

CHAP. X.

Proving it to be false, that the Spaniards had formerly the Dominion of the Indies, as Gonzalo de Oviedo endeavours to make out in his History.

IF all we have said above, concerning so many imaginary Islands and Countries, appears to be a meer Fable and Folly, how much more Reason have we to look upon that as a falsehood, which *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* conceits in his Natural History of the Indies, looking upon his own imagination as a certain Truth, and saying he has fully made out, that there was another Discoverer of this Navigation of the Ocean, and that the Spaniards had the Dominion of those Lands, alledging to make out his Assertion; what *Aristotle* writes of the Island *Atlantis*, and *Sebosus* of the *Hesperides*. This he affirms upon the judgment of some Persons, whose Writings we have duly weigh'd and examin'd, and I would have omitted to talk on this Subject, to avoid condemning some, and tiring the Reader, had I not consider'd, that some Persons, to lessen the Admiral's Honour and Reputation, make great account of such Notions. Besides I thought I did not perform my Duty fully, by setting down with all Sincerity the Motives and Inducements that inclin'd the Admiral to undertake his unparallel'd Enterprize; if I should suffer such a Falsehood, which I know to be so, to pass uncensur'd. Therefore, the better to discover his Mistake, I will in the first place, set down what *Aristotle*, as related by one *F. Theophrastus de Ferrariis*, says as to this Point; which *F. Theophrastus*

lus among *Aristotle's* Problems Collected by him, brings in a Book call'd, *De Admirandis in Natura auditis*, a Chapter with these following words: Beyond *Hercules's* Pillars, it is reported there was formerly found an Island in the Atlantick Sea, by certain *Carthaginian* Merchants, which had never before been inhabited by any but brute Beasts. It was all Wooded and covered with Trees, had a great many Navigable Rivers, and abounded in all things Nature usually duces, tho' removed not many days sail from the Continent. It happened that some *Carthaginian* Merchants coming to it, and finding it a good Country, as well for the richness of the Soil, as temperature of the Air, they began to People it. But the Senate of *Carthage* being offended at it, soon made a Publick Decree, That for the future, no Person upon pain of Death, should go to that Island, and they that went first were put to Death; to the end that other Nations should not hear of it, and some more Powerful People take Possession of it; by which means it might become an Enemy to their Liberty. Now I have faithfully quoted this Authority, I will give the Reasons that induced me to say, That *Oviedo* has no just cause to affirm that this Island was *Hispaniola* or *Cuba*, as he asserts. In the first Place, because *Gonzalo de Oviedo* not understanding *Latin*, he of necessity took such Interpretation of this Place, as some body

A mistake in Account of a Spanish Author disproved.

body made him; who, by what we see did not well know how to Translate out of one Language into another, since he alter'd and chang'd the *Latin* Text in several Particulars, which perhaps deceiv'd *Oviedo*, and inclin'd him to believe that this Quotation spoke of some Island in the *Indies*, because we do not read in the *Latin* Text, that these People went out of the Straights of *Gibraltar*, as *Oviedo* writes; nor much less, that the Island was large, nor its Trees great, but that it was an Island much wooded. Nor is it found there, that the Rivers were wonderful; nor does it speak of its fatness, or say it was more remote from *Africa* than *Europe*, but in plain Terms, says, it was remote from the Continent: Nor does it say any Towns were built there, for Traders who happened upon it could build but little: Nor is it said to be famous, but that they were afraid its Fame would spread abroad into other Nations. So that the Expositor who interpreted this Place to him, being so ignorant, it caus'd *Oviedo* to imagine it to be another thing than really it and if he should say, that it is other-

sides, He writes of a thing not then new, but which had happened long before; sayings. It is reported, that formerly an Island was found, and therefore it may well be said according to the Proverb, *That in great Travels there are great Iyes*: Which Proverb is now verifi'd, for in that Narration there are Circumstances no way agreeable to Reason, for as much as it says, That this Island abounded in all things, but had never been Inhabited, which is not consonant, nor likely, for as much as fruitfulness in Land proceeds from its beginning, cultivated by the Inhabitants, and where there are no Inhabitants, the Land is so far from producing any thing of it self, that even those things which Art produces, grow wild and useless. Nor is it more likely, that the *Carthaginians* should be displeased, because their People had found such an Island, and should put to death the discoverers; for if it was so remote from *Carthage* as the *Indies* are, it was a folly to fear that those who should come to Inhabit there would Conquer *Carthage*, unless, that as *Oviedo* affirms, the *Spaniards* possess'd those Islands before. He

gave him Authority to bestow so many Kingdoms on whom he pleases, and to rob one of his Honour, who has gain'd it so fairly; and tell him he ought not to have been satisfied with reading that Authority as it lies in the Friar's Pamphlet, but should have seen it in the Original, that is, in *Aristotle's* Works. Besides, That he was misinform'd in this Case, for tho' *Theophilus* in all his other Books following *Aristotle*, delivering the substance and summ of what he says; yet he did not so in his Book *De Admirandis*, he himself owning in the beginning, that he does not in that his Book Abridge *Aristotle*, as he has done in the others; but that he there inserts all the Text word for word, and therefore it cannot be said there was either more or less in *Aristotle*, than what he set down. Add to this, That *Anthony Beccaria of Verona*, who Translated this Book out of *Greek* into *Latin*; of which Translation *Theophilus* made use, did not render it so faithfully, but that he insert'd several Matters differing from the *Greek* Original, as will appear to any Man that shall observe it.

In the second place I say, that tho' *Aristotle* had writ so, as *Theophilus* delivers it, yet *Aristotle* himself quotes no Author, but speaking as of a thing, for which there is no good Authority, says, *Ferrus*, which implies that what he delivers concerning this Island, he writes as doubtfull and ill grounded. Be-

Emperor taking *Tunis* or *Carthage*, with the Money brought from the *Indies*, which I am satisfied he would have said, to gain more Favour by telling such News, than he did, but that his Book was Publish'd before. So that any judicious Person may conceive it is a folly to say, that Island was never more heard of, because the *Carthaginians* quitted the Dominion of it, for fear any other Nation should take it from them, and come afterwards to destroy their Liberty; for they ought to have fear'd this much more from *Sicily* or *Sardinia*, that lay but two days sail from their City, than from *Hispaniola*, between which and them, there lay one third of the World. And if it should be objected that they apprehended the Wealth of that Country, might empower their Enemies to do them harm; I answer, they had more cause to hope, that being themselves Masters of those Riches, they might Oppose and Subdue whom they pleas'd, and that if they left that Island unpeopled, they left it in the Power of another to discover it; whence the same mischief might follow, which they feared. And therefore they ought rather to Fortify it and secure their Trade to it, as we know they did another time upon the like occasion; for having found the Islands which they then call'd *Cassiterides*, and now we call the *Azores*, they kept that Voyage very Private, because of the Tin they brought from thence; as *Strabo* tells us at the

the latter end of the 3d Book of his *Columbus* *Geography*: Wherefore, Granting it were true what *Aristotle* had writ in this Fable, it might be said he meant it of the Voyage to the Islands *Azores*, which either for want of better understanding, and the great Antiquity of the Testimony, or through affection which blinds Men, *Ovid* argues, should be understood of the *Indies* we now possess, and not of the said Islands *Azores*, or any of them. If it should be reply'd that this cannot be, because *Strabo* does not say they were the *Carthaginians* who were possessors of the Islands *Azores*, but the *Phœnicians*: I Answer, That the *Carthaginians* being come from *Phœnicia* with their Queen *Dido*, therefore she and they were call'd *Phœnicians* at that time, as the Christians born in the Islands are now call'd *Spaniards*. And should it be again urg'd, that the Place of *Aristotle* which speaks of this Island, says, it had many Navigable Rivers, which is not to be found in the Islands *Azores*, but in *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*: I Answer, That if we will take notice of this Particular, they add, That there were abundance of Beasts in them, which there is not in *Cuba* or *Hispaniola* and it may well be, that in a thing of such Antiquity, there might be some Mistake in Relating that Particular, as often happens in many of these uncertain and so far distant Antiquities: Observe that neither *Cuba* nor *Hispaniola*, have any deep Navigable Rivers, as the Place quoted intimates; and that any Ships may enter the Mouths of the biggest Rivers of those Islands, but not conveniently sail up them. Besides that, as has been said, how great soever *Aristotle's* Authority may be, the word might possibly be corrupted, and it might be writ *Navigandum*, instead of *Posandum*, which better agreed with what he treated of, commending it for Plenty of drinking Water, as well as fruitfulness in producing things to eat. This might well be verifi'd of any one of the *Azores*, and with more reason, because neither *Cuba* nor *Hispaniola* lie so, as that the *Carthaginians* could be carried to them either by reason of their nearness, or by any Mischance; for, if those who went purposefully with the Admiral to discover, thought the way so long, that they would have turn'd back, how much longer must it seem to them who design'd no such tedious Voyage, and who, as soon as the time would permit, had turn'd back towards their Country. Nor does any Storm last so long, as to carry a Ship from *Cadix* to *Hispaniola*; nor is it likely, that because they were Merchants, they should have any mind to run further from *Spain*, or *Carthage*, than the Wind oblig'd

them, especially at a time when Navigation was not come to that perfection as now it is. For which reason very inconsiderable Voyages were then look'd upon as great, as appears by what we read of, *Jason's* Voyage to *Celebes*, and that of *Ulysses*, thro' the *Mediterranean*, in which so many Years were spent; and therefore they were so famous, that the most excellent Poets have given an Account of them, because of the little Knowledge they had then of Sea Affairs, whereas it has been so approv'd of late in our Age, that there has been those, who have had the boldness to sail round the World, which has contradicted the Proverb that said, *He that goes to Cape Nam, will either return or nat*, which Cape is in *Africk*, not very much distant from the *Canaries*. Besides, it is a notorious Mistake to think the Island, whither those Merchants were carried, could be either *Cuba* or *Hispaniola*, for it is well known, that with all the Knowledge we have at this present, 'tis almost impossible to come at them without meeting with any other Islands that encompass them all round. But if we would say that Land or Island, was none of the *Azores*, as has been said above, one eye ought to be grafted upon another, by alledging that it was the same Island of which *Seneca* in his 4th Book, makes mention, where he tells us, that *Thucydides* speaks of an Island call'd *Atlantica*, which in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War was all, or mostly drowned. Whereof also *Plato* makes mention in his *Timæus*. But because we have discoursed too long concerning these Fables, I will proceed to the next Point, where it is said, that the *Spaniards* had entirely the Dominion of the said Island, which Opinion is grounded upon what *Statius* and *Sebosus*, say, That certain Islands call'd *Hesperides* lay, 40 days sail West of the Islands *Gorgones*; and hence it is argu'd, that since those must of necessity be *Indies* and are call'd *Hesperides*; that name came from *Hesperus*, who was King of *Spain*, who of consequence, and the *Spaniards*, were Lords of that Country. So that rightly considering his words, he endeavours from uncertain Premises to deduce three infallible Consequences, contrary to *Seneca's* Rule, who in his 6th Book of *Nature*, speaking of such like things, says it is hard to affirm any thing as sure and certain upon Grounds that are no other than Conjectures, as here *Ovid* does; for as much as only *Sebosus* is said, to have made mention of those Islands *Hesperides*, declaring towards what part they lie, but not mentioning that they were the *Indies*, or of whom they took the Name, or by whom Conquer'd. And if *Ovid* out of *Herodotus*, affirms that *Hesperus*

Hesperides none of the *Indies*.

were King of *Spain*; I grant it to be true but not that he gave the name to *Spain*, or *Italy*. But he like a true Historian, owning that *Berosus* fails him in this particular, took up with *Higinus*, yet cautiously without mentioning in what Book or Chapter; and thus he conceals his Authority, for in short, no Place is to be found where *Higinus* speaks of any such matter; but on the contrary in one only Book of his that is extant, Entitul'd, *De Poetica Astronomia*; he not only has no such words, but in three several Places where he speaks of these *Hesperides*, he says thus: *Hercules* is painted as Killing the Dragon that guarded the *Hesperides*. And somewhat further he says, That *Hercules* being sent by *Euristheus* for the Golden Apples to the *Hesperides*, and not knowing the way thither, he went to *Prometheus* on Mount *Caucasus*, and intreated him to shew him the way, whence follow'd the Death of the Dragon. Now according to this we shall have other *Hesperides* in the East, to whom also *Oviedo* may say, *Hesperus* King of *Spain* gave his Name. *Higinus* says further, in the Chapter of Planets, that it appears by several Histories, that the Planet *Venus* is called *Hesperus*, because it sets soon after the Sun. From all which we may infer, that if we ought to make use of any Testimonies, or Quotations from Persons us'd to relate Poetical Fables, as *Higinus* does, that very same which *Higinus* says, rather

makes against *Oviedo* than for him; and we may suppose and affirm, they were call'd *Hesperides* from a certain Star. And as the *Greeks* for the same reason call'd *Italy*, *Hespera*, as many write; so we may say, *Sebosus* call'd these Islands *Hesperides*, and made use of the same Conjectures, and some Reasons to shew whereabouts they lay, which we said above, mov'd the Admiral to believe for certain, that there were such Islands Westward. Thus we may conclude that *Oviedo* did not only presume to Counterfeit Authorities for what he said, but that either through inadvertency, or to please him who told him these things, (for it is certain he did not understand them himself) he maintain'd two contradictions, the disagreement between which were sufficient to discover his Error. For if the *Carthaginians* who as he says, arriv'd at *Cuba* or *Hispaniola*, found that Country Inhabited by none but Brute Beasts; How could it be true that the *Spaniards* had been possess'd of it long before, and that their King *Hesperus* gave it his Name? unless perhaps he will say, That some Deluge unpeopled it; and that afterwards some other *Noah* restored it to that condition it was discovered in by the Admiral: but because I am quite tired with this Dispute, and methinks the Reader is cloy'd with it, I will not dilate any more upon this Point, but follow on our History.

CHAP. XI.

How the Admiral was disgusted by the King of Portugal on Account of the Discovery he propos'd to him.

Proposals made to the King of Portugal.

THE Admiral now concluding that his Opinion was excellently well ground-ed, he resolv'd to put it in Practice, and to sail the Western Ocean in quest of those Countries. But being sensible that such an undertaking was only fit for a Prince, who could go through with and maintain it; he resolv'd to propose it to the King of *Portugal*, because he liv'd under him. And tho' King *John* then Reigning, gave ear to the Admiral's Proposals, yet he seem'd backward in imbracing them, because the great trouble and expence he was at upon Account of the Discovery and Conquest of the Western Coast of *Africk* call'd *Guinea*, without any considerable Success as yet, or being as yet able to weather the Cape of Good Hopes, which Name some say was given it instead of *Ageingue*, its proper Denomination, because that was the furthest they hop'd to extend their Discoveries and Conquests,

or as others will have it, because this Cape gave them hopes of better Countries and Navigation. Be it as it will, the aforesaid King had but little inclination to lay out more Money upon Discoveries; and if he gave any ear to the Admiral, it was because of the excellent Reasons he gave to prove his Opinion, which so far prevail'd upon him, that there remained only to grant the Admiral those Terms he demanded. For the Admiral being a Man of a Noble and Generous Spirit, would Capitulate to his great Benefit, and Honour, that he might leave behind him such a Reputation, and so considerable a Family, as became his great Actions and Merits. For this Reason the King by the Advice of one Doctor *Calzadilla*, of whom he made great Account, resolv'd to send a Caraval privately, to attempt that which the Admiral had propos'd to him; because in case those Countries were

so discovered, he thought himself not oblig'd to bestow any great Reward, which might be demanded on Account of the Discovery. Having thus speedily equip'd a Caraval, and going out, it was to carry supplies to the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, he sent it that way the Admiral had propos'd to go. But those he sent wanted the Knowledge, Constancy and Spirit of the Admiral: After wandering many days upon the Sea, they turn'd back to the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, Laughing at the undertaking, and saying, It was impossible there should be any Land in those Seas. This being come to the Admiral's Ear, and his Wife Dead, he took such an Aversion to that City and Nation, that he resolv'd to go to *Castile*, with a little Son he had left him by his Wife, call'd *D. James Columbus*, who Inherited his Father's Estate. But fearing, least if the King of *Castile* should not Consent to his Undertaking, he might be forced to propose it to some other Prince, which would take up much time, he sent a Brother he had with him, call'd *Bartholomew Columbus*, into *England*, who tho' he was no *Latin* Scholar, was a skilful and judicious Man in Sea Affairs, and could make Sea Charts, Globes and other Instruments fit for that Profession, having been taught by the Admiral his Brother. *Bartholomew Columbus* being on his way for *England*, it was his fortune to fall into the hands of Pyrates, who strip'd him and the rest of his Company. For this Reason and being Sick and Poor in that Country, it was a long time before he could deliver his Message, till having got some Supply by making Sea Charts, he began to make some Proposals to King *Henry* the VIIIth, then Reigning, to whom he presented a Mapp of the World, on which were these Verses, which I found among his Papers, and shall be here insertcd, rather for their Antiquity than Elegancy.

King Henry VIII. of England.

*Terrarum quicunque cupis feliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctæ pictura docebit,
Quando Strabo, affirmat, Ptolemaeus, Plinius, atq;
Isidorus, non una tamen sententia quisque.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.
Pro auctore, sive Pictore.*

And a little lower.

*Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de terra Rubra, opus edidit istud,
Londinii Ann. Dom. 1480, aq; insuper Anno:
Octava Decimæque die cum tertia mensis
Febr. Laudes Christo cantentur abunde.*

The Sense of the first Lines is to this effect. Whosoever thou art, that desirest to know the Coasts of Countries, must be taught by this Draught, what *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny* and *Isidorus* assert, tho' not agreeing in all Points. Here is also set down, the formerly unknown *Torrid Zone*, now known to many. For the Author or Painter. The second Verses imply'd, That his Name was *Bartholomew Columbus* of the Red Earth, a *Genoese*, Publish'd this Work at *London*, Anno 1480, the 21st of February. Praise to God.


And because it may be observed that he says, *Columbus of the Red Earth*; I must acquaint the Reader, that I have seen some Subscriptions of the Admiral's, before he had that Title, where he writ *Columbus de terra rubra*. But to return to the King of *England*; I say, That he having seen the Map, and what the Admiral offer'd him, readily accepted of it, and order'd him to be sent for. But God having reserv'd it for *Castile*, the Admiral had at that time gone his Voyage and was return'd with Success, as shall be shown in its Place.

C H A P. XII.

The Admiral's Departure from Portugal, and the Conferences that he had with their Catholick Majesties, King Ferdinand, and Queen Isabel or Elizabeth.

I Will now forbear Relating how *Bartholomew Columbus* proceeded in *England*, and will return to the Admiral, who about the end of the Year 1484, stole away privately out of *Portugal*, with his Son *James*, for fear of being stopped by the King; for he being sensible how faulty they were, whom he had sent with the Caraval, had

a mind to restore the Admiral to his Favour, and desired he should renew the Discourse of his Enterprize; but not being so diligent to put this in Execution, as the Admiral was in getting away; he lost that good opportunity, and the Admiral got into *Castile* to try his Fortune, which was there to favour him. Therefore leaving his Son in

 a Monastery at *Palos*, call'd *la Rabida*, he presently went away to the Catholick King's Court, which was then at *Cordova*, where being affable, and of Pleasant Conversation, he contracted Friendship with such Persons, as he found most inclinable to his Undertaking, and next to persuade the King to embrace it; among whom was *Lens de Santangel* an *Aragonian* Gentleman, Clerk of the Allowances in the King's Household, a Man of great Prudence and Reputation. But because the matter required to be handled with Learning, rather than empty words and favour, their Highnesses committed it to the Prior of *Prado*, afterwards Archbishop of *Granada*, ordering him together with some Cosmographers to take full information in this Affair, and report their Opinions therein. But there being few Cosmographers at that time; those that were call'd together were not so skilful as they ought to be; nor would the Admiral so far explain himself as that he might be serv'd as he had been in *Portugal*, and be depriv'd of his Reward. For this Reason, the Answer they gave their Highnesses was as various as were their Judgments and Opinions. For some said, That since in so many Thousand Years as had pass'd since the Creation, so many skilful Sailors had got no Knowledge of such Countries; it was not likely that the Admiral should know more than all that were then, or had been before. Others, who inclin'd more to Cosmographical Reason, said the World was so prodigious great, that it was incredible three Years Sail would bring him to the end of the East, whither he design'd his Voyage, and to Corroborate their Opinion, they brought the Authority of *Seneca*, who in one of his Works by way of Argument, said, That many Wise Men among them disagreed about this Question, whether the Ocean were infinite, and doubted whether it could be sail'd, and tho' it were Navigable, whether Habitable Lands would be found on the other side, and whether they could be gone to. They added, That of this Lower Globe of Earth and Water, only a small Compass was Inhabited, which had remained in our Hemisphere above Water, and that all the rest was Sea, and not Navigable, but only

Reasons against his Undertaking.

near the Coasts and Rivers. And that Wise Men granted it was possible to sail from the Coast of *Spain* to the furthest part of the West. Others of them argu'd almost after the same manner as the *Portugueses* had done about sailing to *Guinea*, saying, That if any Man should sail straight away Westward, as the Admiral propos'd, he would not be able to return into *Spain*, because of the roundness of the Globe, looking upon it as most certain, that whosoever should go out of the Hemisphere, known to *Ptolemy*, would go down, and then it would be impossible to return, affirming it would be like climbing a Hill, which Ships could not do with the stiffest Gale. Tho' the Admiral sufficiently solv'd all these Objections, yet the more Powerful his Reasons were, the less they understood him thro' their ignorance, for when a Man grows old upon ill Principles in Mathematicks he cannot conceive the true, because of the false Notions at first imprinted in his Mind. In short, All of of them holding to the *Spanish* Proverb, which, tho' it be contrary to Reason, commonly says, *Dubitat Augustinus*, St. *Augustin* questions it, because the said Saint in his 21st Book and 9th Chapter of the City of God, denies and looks upon it as impossible that there should be *Antipodes*, or any going out of one Hemisphere into the other; and further urging against the Admiral those Fables that are current about the five Zones, and other untruths which they looked upon as most certainly true, they resolv'd to give Judgment against the Enterprize, as vain and impracticable; and that it became not the State and Dignity of such great Princes, to be moved upon such weak information. Therefore after much time spent upon this Subject; their Highnesses answered the Admiral, That they were then taken up with many other Wars and Conquests, and particularly the Conquest of *Granada*, which they had then in hand, and therefore could not conveniently attend that new Undertaking, but that in time there would be more conveniency to Examine and Execute that which he propos'd. And to conclude, their Majesties would not give Ear to the great Proposals the Admiral made.

Columbus.

CH A XIII.

*How the Admiral not agreeing with t King of Castile, resolv'd to go else-
where to offer his Service.*

The Admi-
ral meets
with more
disappoint-
ment.

WHILST this was in agitation their Catholick Majesties had not been always settled in one Place, because of the War they made in *Granada*, for which Reason it was a long time before they came to a Resolution and gave their Answer. The Admiral therefore went to *Sevil*, and finding their Highnesses no way resolv'd more than at first; he concluded to give the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* an Account of his Project. But after many Conferences, seeing there was no likelihood of coming to such conclusion as he wish'd for in *Spain*, and that the Execution of his Design was too much delay'd, he resolv'd to apply himself to the King of *France*, to whom he had already writ concerning this Affair, designing, if he were not admitted there, to go into *England*, next to seek out his Brother, of whom he had as yet no manner of News. Being so resolv'd to set out for the Monastery of *Rabida*, to send his Son *James*, whom he had left there, to *Cordova*, and then proceed on his Journey. But to the end what God had Decreed, should not be disappointed, he put it into the Heart of *F. John Perez*, Guardian of that House, to con-

tract such Friendship with the Admiral, and be so taken with his Project, that he was concern'd at his Resolution, and for the loss *Spain* would sustain by his Departure. Therefore he intreated him by no means to put his Design in Execution, for that he would go to the Queen, of whom he hoped, that he being her Father Confessor, she would give Credit to what he should say to her. Tho' the Admiral was quite out of Hopes and disgust'd to see so little Resolution and Judgment in their Highnesses Councillors, yet, being on the other side very desirous that *Spain* should reap the Benefit of his Undertakings, he complied with the Father's Desires and Request, because he now look'd upon himself as a Natural born *Spaniard*, because he had so long Resided there: whilst he was following his Project, and because he had got Children there, which was the Cause he reject'd the Offers made him by other Princes, as he declares in a Letter he writ to their Highnesses in these words, *That I might serve your Highnesses, I have refused to take up with France, England and Portugal, the Letters from which Princes your Highnesses may see in the hands of Doctor Villan.*

CH A P. XIV.

How the Admiral return'd to the Camp before Granada, and took his leave of their Catholick Majesties, having concluded nothing with them.

The Admi-
ral's de-
mands.

THE Admiral departing from the Monastery of *Rabida* near *Palos*, together with *F. John Perez*, to the Camp of *St. Faith*, where their Catholick Majesties then were to carry on the Siege of *Granada*; the said Father further inform'd the Queen, and press'd the business so home, that Her Majesty was pleas'd the Conferences about the Discovery should be renew'd. But the Opinions of the Prior of *Prado* and others of his Followers varying, and on the other side, *Columbus* demanding to be made Admiral and Vice-Roy, besides other Matters of great Consequence; it was thought too much to grant him, because if what he propos'd succeeded, they judg'd his Demand too considerable, and in Case it did not, they thought it a folly to give such Titles, which made the business come to nothing. I

cannot forbear declaring that I make great Account of the Admiral's Wisdom, Resolution and Foresight, for he being so unfortunate in this Affair, having so earnest a desire, as I have said before, to remain in this Kingdom, and being reduced to such a Condition, that he ought to take up with any thing; it was a greatness of Spirit in him not to accept of any but great Titles and Honours, demanding such things as if he had foreseen and been most certainly assur'd of the Success of his Project, he could not have Articul'd better, or more Honourably than he did, so that at last they were forced to grant, that he should be Admiral on the Ocean, and enjoy all the Allowances, Privileges and Prerogatives, that the Admirals of *Castile* and *Leon* had in their several Seas, and that all Civil Employ-

Columbus. ments, as well of Government as Administration of Justice, in all the Islands and Continent should be wholly at his Disposal, and that all Governments should be given to one or three Persons he should name; and that he should appoint Judges in all parts of *Spain* Trading to the *Indies*, who should decide all Matters relating to those Parts. As for Profit and Revenue, he demanded, over and above the Salary and Perquisites of the aforesaid Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour, the tenth of all that was bought bartered, found, or got within the bounds of his Admirallship, abating only the Charge of the Conquest; so that had there been

1000 Ducats in an Island, one Hundred were to be his. And because his Adversaries said he ventured nothing in that Undertaking, but had the Command of a Fleet as long as it lasted, he demanded the eighth part of what he should bring home in his Fleet, and he would be at the eighth part of the Expence. These being Matters of such great Consequence and their Highnesses refusing to grant them; the Admiral took leave of his Friends and went away towards *Cordova*, to take Order for his Journey into *France*, for he was resolved not to return to *Portugal*, tho' the King had writ to him, as shall be said.

C H A P. XV.

How their Catholick Majesties sent after the Admiral, and granted him all he demanded.

*Reasons
that pre-
vail'd with
the Queen.*

IT was now the Month of *January*, in the Year 1492, when the Admiral departed from the Camp of *St. Faith*, and that same day *Lewis de Santangel* before mentioned, who did not approve of his going away, but was very desirous to prevent it; went to the Queen, and using such words as his inclination suggested to persuade and reprove her at once, said, He wonder'd to see that Her Highness, who had always a great Soul for all Matters of Moment and Consequence, should now want the Heart to venture upon an Undertaking, where so little was ventured, and which might redound so much to the Glory of God and propagation of the Faith, not without great Benefit and Honour to Her Kingdoms and Dominions, and such in short, that if any other Prince should undertake it, as the Admiral offered; the Damage that would accrue to her Crown was very visible, and that then she would with just cause be much blam'd by her Friends and Servants, and reproach'd by her Enemies, and all People would say, she had well deserv'd that Misfortune, and tho' she herself should never have cause to repent it, yet her Successors would certainly feel the smart of it. Therefore, since the matter seem'd to be grounded upon Reason, and the Admiral who propos'd it was a Man of Sense and Wisdom, and demanded no other Reward but what he should find, being willing to bear part of the Charge, besides venturing his own Person; Her Highness ought not to look upon it as such an impossibility as those Scholars made it, and that what they said that it would be a Reflection on her if the Enterprize did not succeed, as the Admiral propos'd, was a

folly, and he was of a quite contrary opinion, rather believing they would be look'd upon as Generous and Magnanimous Princes, for attempting to Discover the Secrets and Wonders of the World, as other Monarchs had done, and it had redounded to their Honour. But tho' the event were never so uncertain, yet a considerable sum of Money would be well employ'd in clearing such a doubt. Besides that, The Admiral only demanded 2500 Crowns to fit the Fleet, and therefore she ought not to despise that Undertaking, that it might not be said it was the fear of spending so small a sum that kept her back. The Queen knowing the sincerity of *Santangel's* words, Answered, Thanking him for his good Advice, and saying, She was willing to admit of the Proposals, upon condition the Execution were respit, till she had a little Breathing after the War. And yet if he were of another Opinion, she was content that as much Money as was requisite for fitting out the Fleet should be borrow'd upon her Jewels. But *Santangel* seeing the Queen had upon his Advice condescended to what she had refused to all other Persons, reply'd, There was no need of Pawning her Jewels, for he would do her Highness that small Service as to lend his Money. Upon this Resolution the Queen immediately sent an Officer Post, to bring the Admiral back, who found him upon the Bridge of *Pinos*, two Leagues from *Granada*; and tho' the Admiral was much concern'd at the Difficulties and Delays he had met with in his Enterprize, yet understanding the Queens Will and Resolution, he return'd to the Camp of *St. Faith*, where he was well entertain'd by their Catholick

*The
ral's
mand.
grant*

Columbus. lick Majesties, and his Dispatch and Articles committed to the Secretary *John Columbus*, who by their Highnesses Command and under their Hand and Seal, granted him all

the Articles and Clauses we said above, he had demanded, without Altering or Diminishing any thing in them.

C H A P. XVI.

How the Admiral fitted out three Caravals to go upon his Discovery.

The Admiral sets out.

THE aforesaid Articles being granted by their Catholick Majesties, he set out from *Granada* on the 12th of *May*, this Year 1492, for *Palos*, the Port where he was to fit out his Ships, that Town being oblig'd to serve their Highnesses three Months with two Caravals, which they ordered should be given to the Admiral. These and another Ship he fitted out with all Care and Diligence. The Ship he went in was call'd the *St. Mary*, another was *La Pinta*, whereof *Martin Alonso Pinzon* was Captain, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, Brother to *Alonso*, both of the Town of *Palos*, of the 3d which was call'd *La Nina*, and had square Sails. They being furnish'd with all Necessaries, and 90 Men, set sail directly towards the *Canaries*, on the 3d of *August*, and from that time forwards, the Admiral was very careful to

keep an exact Journal of all that happened to him during the Voyage, specifying what Wind blew, how far he sail'd with every Wind; what Currents he found, and what he saw by the way, whether Birds, or Fishes, or other things; which he always did in four Voyages he made from *Spain* to the *Indies*. I will not write all those Particulars, for tho' to give an Account of his Voyage, and to show what Impressions and Effects Answered the Course and Aspects of the Stars, and to relate what difference there is between that and our Sea and our Countries, would be now very beneficial; yet I do not think all those particulars would now be pleasing to the Reader, whom such long and superfluous Relations must tire. Therefore I shall only Discourse of those things I shall think necessary and convenient.

C H A P. XVII.

The Admiral arriv'd at the Canary Islands, and there furnish'd himself compleatly with all he wanted.

The Rudder of a Caraval gives way.

THE next day after the Admiral's Departure for the *Canary Islands*, being Saturday the 4th of *August*, the Rudder of one of the Caravals, call'd *La Pinta*, broke loose, and being therefore forced to lie by, the Admiral soon came by her side, but the Weather blowing hard could give no assistance; yet Commanders at Sea are oblig'd so to do, to Encourage those that are in Distress. This he did the more readily, as misdoubting this had happened by the contrivance of the Master, to avoid going the Voyage, as he attempted to do before they set out. *Pinzon* the Captain being an able Seaman, soon repaired that fault with the help of some Ropes, so that they were able to continue their Voyage, till on Tuesday following, the Weather being rough, the Ropes broke, and they were forced again to lie by to mend what had given way. From which Misfortune of breaking of the Rudder twice, any body that had been superstitious, might have foreboded its future disobedience to the Admiral, when thro' the Malice of *Pinzon*, it twice

got away from him, as shall be mentioned hereafter.

To return to what we have in hand, They apply the best remedy they could for the present, that they might at least reach the *Canary Islands*, which all three Ships discovered on Thursday the 9th of *August* about break of day, but the Wind being contrary, they could not come to an Anchor at *Gran Canaria*, tho' very near it, that day nor the two following. Here the Admiral left *Pinzon*, that going ashore he might endeavour to get another Ship; and he to the same purpose went away to the Island *Gomera*, with the Caraval call'd *La Nina*, that if they sail'd of a Vessel in one Island, they might find it in the other. Thus he came to *Gomera* on the Sunday fol-

The Admiral as Gomer.

lowing, being the 12th of *August*, and sent his Boat ashore, which returned in the Morning, with the News that there was never a Vessel in the Island at that time, but that they hourly expected the Lady *Beatrix de Bobadilla*, Proprietress of that same Island, who was then at *Gran Canaria*, and

Columbus. and had hired a Vessel of 40 Tun, belonging to one *Gradema* of *Seville*, which being fitt for the Voyage he design'd, he might have taken. Therefore the Admiral resolv'd to expect him in that Port, believing that if *Pinzon* had not been able to repair his own Vessel, he might himself have got another at *Gomera*. Having stay'd there the two following days, and the Vessel above mentioned not appearing, he sent a Man aboard a Bark that was bound from *Gomera* to *Gran Canaria*, to acquaint *Pinzon* where he lay, and assist him in fixing his Rudder, writing to him that he did not go himself to assist him, because that Vessel could not sail. But it being long after the departure of that Bark, before the Admiral received any Answer; he resolv'd on the 23d of *August* to return with his two Vessels to *Gran Canaria*, and sailing the next day, met in the way the aforementioned Bark, which was not yet arriv'd at *Gran Canaria*, by reason of the contrary Winds. Having taken out the Man he had sent aboard the Bark, that Night he sail'd close by *Tenerife*, where they saw flames gush out of the high Rock commonly call'd the *Peake*, or rather *El Pico*, which his Men admiring at, he told them the occasion of

At Gran
Canaria.

that fire, proving what he said by the Example of *Mount Etna* in *Sicily*, and of many others like it. Leaving that Island they arriv'd at *Gran Canaria* upon *Saturday* the 25th, whither *Pinzon* with much difficulty was got in but the day before. By him he was inform'd that the Lady *Beatrix* was sail'd the *Monday* before, with that Vessel he took such pains to get, and the others being much troubled at it, he made the best of whatever happen'd; affirming, that since it did not please God he should meet with that Vessel, it was perhaps because in finding it, he would at the same time have met with some obstacle or opposition in pressing of it, and have lost time in shipping and unshipping the Goods, which would be a hindrance to his Voyage: For this reason, fearing if he returned to seek it at *Gomera*, he might miss of it by the way; he resolv'd to repair his Caravel the best he could at *Gran Canaria*, making a new Rudder, she having lost hers, and to change the Sails of the other Caravel call'd *La Nina*, which were square, to round, that she might follow the other Ships with less danger and agitation.

C H A P. XVIII.

How the Admiral set sail from the Island of Gran Canaria upon his Discovery, and what happened to him on the Ocean.

The Admiral sails Westward. **W**hen the Ships were refitted and in order to sail on *Friday*, (this by what follows ought to be *Saturday*) the first of *September*; in the Afternoon the Admiral weighed Anchor, and departed from *Gran Canaria*, arriving the next day at *Gomera*, where four days more were spent in laying in Provisions, Wood and Water; so that next *Thursday* in the Morning, which was on the 6th of *September* 1482, which may be accounted the first setting out upon the Voyage on the Ocean, the Admiral departed from *Gomera*, and stood away to the Westward, but made but little way by reason of the Calm. On *Sunday* about day, he found himself nine Leagues West of the Island *Ferre*, where they lost sight of Land, and many fearing it would be long before they should see it again, sigh'd and wept, but the Admiral after comforting them all with great promises of Lands, and Wealth to raise their Hopes and lessen the Fear they had conceived of the length of the way, tho' they sail'd 18 Leagues that day, he pretended by his Computation it was but 15, resolving all the Voyage to keep short in his reckoning,

that his Men might not think themselves so far from *Spain* as they were, if he should truly set down the way he made, which yet he privately mark'd down. Continuing thus his Voyage, on *Wednesday* the 12th of *September*, about Sun-setting, being about 150 Leagues West of the Island *Ferre*, he discovered a large Body of the Mast of a Tree of 120 Tun, which seem'd to have been a long time upon the Water. There and somewhat further the Current set strong towards the North East, but when he had run 50 Leagues farther Westward, on the 13th of *September*, he found that at Night fall, the Needle vary'd half a point towards the North-East, and at break of day, half a point more, by which he understood that the Needle did not point at the North Star, but at some other fix'd and visible point. This variation no Man had observ'd before, and therefore he had occasion to be surpriz'd at it, but he was more amaz'd the 3d day after, when he was almost 100 Leagues further, for at Night the Needles vary'd about a Point to the North-East, and in the Morning they pointed upon the Star. On *Saturday*

day

day the 15th of September, being almost 300 Leagues West of Ferro; at Night they saw a wonderful flash of Light fall from the Sky, into the Sea, about four or five Leagues distance from the Ships; towards the South-West, tho' the Weather was then fair, like April, the Wind favourable at North East, the Sea still, and the Current setting North-East. The Men aboard the Caraval call'd *la Ninna*, told the Admiral they had the Friday before, seen a Heron and another sort of Bird, which the Spaniards call *Rabo de Funco*, which they were amaz'd at, those being the first Birds they had seen: but they were more surpris'd the next day, which was Sunday, at the great abundance of Weeds between Green and Yellow, that appeared upon the Water, which seem'd to be newly wash'd away from some Island or Rock. They saw enough of these Weeds the next day, which made many affirm they were already near Land, especially because they saw a small Lobster alive among those Weeds, which they said somewhat resembled the Herb *Star-wort*, but that the Stalk and Branches were long, and it was all full of small seeds. Afterwards they observed that the Sea-water was but half as salt as before: besides, that Night abundance of Tunny Fishes

He sees
Birds and
Sea-weeds

follow'd them, running along, and sticking so close to them, that those aboard the Caraval *Ninna*, kill'd one with a bearded Iron. Being now 360 Leagues West of Ferro, they saw another of those Birds the Spaniards call *Rabo de Funco*, because of a long Feather their Tale consists of, and in Spanish, *Rabo* signifies a Tale, as *Funco* is a Rush, so that *Rabo de Funco* imports Rush Tale. On Tuesday following, being the 18th of September, Martin Alonso Pinzon, who was gone a-head with the Caraval call'd *Pinta*, which was an excellent Sailer, lay by for the Admiral, and told him he had seen a great Number of Birds fly away Westward, for which reason he hop'd to find Land that Night, and he thought he saw the Land to the Northward, 15 Leagues distant; that day about Sun-setting, looking very dark and cloudy. But the Admiral knowing for certain it was no Land, he would not lose time to discover it, as all his Men would have had him; for as much as he was not yet come to the Place where he expected by his Computations to find Land, therefore they took in their Top-sails at Night, because the Wind freshned, having for eleven days never abated one handful of Sail, going still before the Wind Westward.

CHAP. XIX.

How all the Men carefully observed what signs they discovered, being eager to discover Land.

ALL the Men aboard the Ships being unacquainted with that Voyage, and fearful of the Danger, because far from any Relief, there were some that began to mutter, and seeing nothing but Sky and Water, carefully observed every thing that appear'd, at greater distance from Land, than any had been before. For which Reason I will relate all they made any Account of, and this only in the first Voyage; for I shall not mention lesser Tokens generally seen upon such occasions. On the 19th of September, in the Morning, a Fowl call'd *Alcatraz*, which is a sort of Sea Gull, flew over the Admiral's Ship, and others in the Afternoon, which made him conceive hope of Land, he imagining they would not fly very far from it. Upon these hopes, as soon as the Wind abated, they sound'd with 200 Fathom of Line; and tho' they found no bottom, they perceived the Current now set South-West. On Thursday the 22d, two hours before Noon, two *Alcatrazes* came to the Ship, and another sometime after; besides, they took a Bird like a Heron, but that it was black, and had a white tuft on the head, the feet

and
in-

like a Duck, as commonly Water-fowls have; they also caught a little Fish, and saw abundance of Weeds; and about Evening there came aboard three Land-fowls singing, but at break of day they flew away, which was some comfort to them, considering that the other Fowls being large, and used to the Water, might better go far from Land, but that these little ones could not come from any far distant Country. Three hours after they saw another *Alcatraz*, that came from the W. N. W. and the next day after Noon, they saw another *Rabo de Funco* and an *Alcatraz*, and there appear'd more Weeds than before, towards the North, as far as they could see; which things sometimes were a Comfort to them, believing they might come from some near Land, and sometimes they caus'd dread, because they were so thick, that in some measure they staid the Ships, and fear making things worse than they are, they apprehended that might befall them, which is fabulously reported of St. Amaro in the Frozen Sea, who is said not to suffer Ships to stir backwards or forwards, and therefore they steer-

Columbus. ed away from those Shoals of Weeds, as much as they could. But to return to the Tokens, The next day they saw a Whale and on Saturday following, being the 22^d of September, some small Birds, and the Wind those days blew at South-West, sometimes more and sometimes less West, which tho' contrary to their Voyage, the Admiral said he look'd upon as very good, and a help to them, because the Men continually muttering, among other things that increased their fear, said this was one, That since the Wind was always right a Stern, they should never in those Seas have a Gale to carry them back, and tho' sometimes they found the contrary; they alledg'd that it was no settled Wind, and that not being strong enough to swell the Sea, it would never carry them back so far as they had to sail. Whatsoever the Admiral could say, telling them that the reason was,

*Muttering
among the
Seamen.*

C H A P. XX.

How the Men mutiny'd to turn back, and seeing other Signs and Tokens of Land, went on well enough satisfied.

*The Men
mutiny.*

THE more the aforesaid Tokens were found vain, the more they took occasion to apprehend and mutter; caballing together, and saying, the Admiral out of a foolish fancy of his own, had designed to make himself a great Lord at the Expence of their Lives and Danger; and since they had done their Duty in trying their Fortune, and had gone farther from Land and any Succour than any others had done, they ought not to destroy themselves, nor proceed in that Voyage, since if they did, they should have cause to repent; for Provisions would fall short, and the Ships fail, which they knew were already so faulty, that it would be hard to get back so far as they were gone, and that none would condemn them for so doing, but they would rather be look'd upon as very brave Men, for going upon such a design, and venturing so far; and that the Admiral being a Foreigner, and having no favour at Court, and so many Wife and Learned Men having condemn'd his Opinion, there would be no body now to favour and defend him, and they should sooner find Credit if they accused him of Ignorance and Mismanagement, than he whatsoever he could say for himself. Nor did there want some who said, that to end all dispute, in case he would not acquiesce to them, they might make short, and throw him over-board, and give out, that as he was making his Observations he dropped into the Sea, and no Man would go about to enquire into the Truth of it, which was the readiest way for them to return home and secure themselves. Thus

the Lands being now near, which did not suffer the Waves to rise, and using the best Argument he could, yet he affirms he stood in need of God's particular assistance, as Moses did when he led the Israelites out of Egypt, who forbore laying violent hands upon him, because of the Prodigies God wrought by his means. So said the Admiral, it happened to him in that Voyage; for upon Sunday following, the Wind started up at W. N. W. with a rowling Sea, as the Men wish'd, and three hours before Noon, they saw a Turtle fly over the Ship, and about Evening an *Alcatraz*, a River Fowl, and other white Birds, and some Crabs among the Weeds; and the next day they spy'd another *Alcatraz*, and several small Birds that came from the West, and small Fishes, whereof the Men of the other Vessels stuck some with Harping Irons, because they would not bite at the Hook.

they went on from day to day, Muttering, Complaining and Consulting together: nor was the Admiral without Apprehensions of their Inconstancy, and ill intentions towards him. Therefore sometimes with good words, and sometimes with a full resolution to expose his Life; putting them in mind of the Punishment due to them if they obstructed the Voyage: He in some Measure quell'd their Apprehensions, and suppress'd their ill designs. To confirm the hope he gave them, he put them in mind of the aforesaid Signs and Tokens, assuring them they would soon find Land; which signs they were so attentive to, that they thought every Hour a Year till they saw Land. On Tuesday the 25th of September, about Sun-setting, as the Admiral was discoursing with Pinzon, whose Ship was very near, the said Pinzon on a sudden cry'd out, Land, Land Sir! Let not my good News miscarry: And show'd him towards the South-West, a bulk which look'd very like an Island, about 25 Leagues from the Ships. This was so pleasing to the Men, that they returned thanks to God; and the Admiral who had given no Credit to these words, to please the Men and that they should not obstruct his Voyage, stood that way a great part of the Night. Next Morning they perceived that what they had seen were only Clouds, which often look like Land, for which reason, to the great dissatisfaction of most of the Sailors, they turn'd the Sterns of their Ships Westward, as they had always done, except when the Wind hindered. Continuing still

still attentive to the Signs, they saw an *Alcatraz*, a *Rabo de Funco* and others Birds, like those above mention'd. On *Thursday* the 27th of *September* in the Morning, they saw another *Alcatraz* coming from the West, and sailing Eastward, and abundance of Fishes with gilt backs appeared, whereof they struck one with a Harping Iron. A *Rabo de Funco* flew by them, and they found that the Currents, for those last days, were not so regularly fixt, as they used to be before, but turn'd with the Tide, and there were not so many Weeds as before. On *Friday* following, all the Ships took some Fishes with gilt backs, and on *Saturday* they saw a *Rabo de Funco*, which tho' it be a Sea-fowl does not rest on it, but flies always in the Air, pursuing the *Alcatrazes*, till it makes them drop their exertment for fear, which it catches in the Air for its Nourishment, and thus it maintains its self on the Sea, and it is reported there are many of them about the Islands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after, they saw two other *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of flying Fishes, which are about a span long, and have two little wings like a Bat; they fly about a Pike high from the Water, and a Musquet shot in length, more or less, and sometimes they drop upon the Ships. Afternoon they saw abundance of Weeds lying in length North and South, as they had

done before, besides three *Alcatrazes* and a *Rabo de Funco* that pursued them.

On *Sunday* Morning, four *Rabo de Funco's* came to the Ship, by reason of whose coming so together, it was thought the Land was nearer, especially because soon after there flew by four *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of Weeds were seen in a line lying W.N.W. and E.S.E. and also a great Number of those Fishes they call *Emperadores*, which have a very hard skin, and are not fit to eat. How much sower the Admiral regarded these Tokens, yet he never forgot those in the Heaven, and the Course of the Stars. He therefore observed in this Place, to his great Admiration, that the *Charles Wain* at Night appeared in the West Point, and in the Morning they were directly N.E. by which he gather'd, that their whole Nights Course was but 3 Lines or 9 Hours, that is, so many Parts of 24, and this he made out every Night. He also perceived, that at Night fall the Compass vary'd a whole Point to the North-West, and at break of day it came right with the Star. These things confounded the Pilots, till he told them the cause of it was the Compass the Star took about the Pole, which was some satisfaction to them; for this variation made them apprehend some Danger in such an unknown distance from Home, and such strange Regions.

CHAP. XXI.

How they saw not only the aforementioned Signs and Tokens, but others better than they, which were some Comfort to the Men.

They disagree in their Computations.

ON *Munday* the 1st of *October*, after Sun-rising, an *Alcatraz* came to the Ship, and two more about ten in the Morning, and long streams of Weeds lay from East to West. That day in the Morning, the Pilot of the Admiral's Ship, said, they were 578 Leagues West of the Island *Ferro*, the Admiral said by his Account, they were 584 Leagues, but in Private he concluded it was 707, which is 129 Leagues more than the Pilot reckoned. The other two Ships differed very much in their Computations, for the Pilot of the Caravel *Ninna* on *Wednesday* following, after Noon, said, they had sail'd 540 Leagues, and the other of the Caravel *Pinta*, said 634. Adding all they had sail'd during those three days, they were still much short of Truth, for they went always before the Wind, and had run much more. But the Admiral as has been said, wink'd at this gross Mistake, that the Men might not be quite dejected, being so far from home. The next day, being the 2d of *October*, they saw abundance of Fish, catch'd

a small Tunny, and saw a white Bird, and many other small ones, and the Weeds they saw were withered and almost fallen to Powder. The next day after, seeing no Birds but some Fish, they mistrusted they had left some Islands on both hands, and were slip'd between without discovering them; guessing that those many Birds they had seen were passing from one Island to another. They were very earnest to steer either one way or the other, to seek out those Lands they imagin'd; but the Admiral would not consent, being unwilling to lose the fair Wind that carry'd him away to Westward, which he accounted his surest Course; and besides, because he thought it was a lessening the Reputation of his Undertaking, to run from one Place to another, seeking that which he always affirm'd he well knew where to find. For this reason the Men were ready to Mutiny, continuing to Murder and Conspire against him; but it pleas'd God, as was said above, to assist him by the means of fresh Tokens, for on *Thursday*

day

day, the 4th of *October*, after Noon, above
Columbus forty Sparrows together, and two *Alcatrazes*
 flew so near the Ships, that a Seaman killed
 one of them with a Stone; and before this
 they had seen another Bird like a *Rabo de*
Junco, and another like a Swallow, and a
 great many flying Fishes fell into the Ships.
 Next day there came a *Rabo de Junco*, and
 an *Alcatraz*, from the Westward, and abun-
 dance of Sparrows were seen. On *Sunday*,
 the 7th of *October*, about Sun-rising, some
 signs of Land appear'd Westward, but be-
 ing imperfect, no Man would speak of it;
 not so much for the shame that would fol-
 low of asserting what was not, as for fear
 of losing 30 Crowns a Year, their Catho-
 lick Majesties had promised for Life, to him
 that should first discover Land; and to
 prevent their crying Land, Land at every
 turn, as they might do without cause at e-
 very turn, out of Covetousness of that Al-
 lowance, it was ordered, that whosoever
 said he saw Land, if it were not made out
 in three days after, should lose the Reward,
 tho' afterwards he should prove the first
 Discoverer. All aboard the Admiral being
 thus forewarn'd, none of them durst cry
 out Land, but those in the Caraval *Ninna*,
 which was a better sailer, and kept a head, be-
 lieving it to be certainly Land, fired a Gun,
 and put out their Colours in token of Land.
 But the further they sail'd, the more their Joys
 vanish'd, till that Appearance quite vanish'd,
 tho' it pleas'd God soon after to give them
 some manner of Comfort, for they saw great
 flights of great Fowl, and others of small Land-
 birds, flying from the West, towards the South-
 West. Therefore the Admiral being now so far
 from *Spain*, and sure that such small Birds
 would not go far from Land; he alter'd his
 Course, which till then was West, and stood to
 the South-West, saying, That if he changed his
 Road, it was, because he deviated but little
 from his first design, and because he would
 follow the Example of the *Portugueses*, who

The Admi-
 ral alters
 his Course.

had Discovered most of their Islands by
 means of such Birds, and the more because
 those they saw follow'd almost the same way,
 he had always propos'd to himself to find
 Land, according to the Place they were
 then in; since as they well knew he had
 often told them, he never expected to find
 Land till he was 750 Leagues to the West-
 ward of the *Canaries*; within which distance
 he had further said, he should discover *Hi-*
spaniola, which he then call'd *Cipango*, and
 there is no doubt but he had found it,
 had not he known it was reported to lie in
 length from North to South: For which
 reason he had not inclin'd more to the South
 to run upon it, and therefore that and o-
 thers of the *Caribbee* Islands lay now on his
 Larboard side, South of him, whither those
 Birds were directing their Course. Being
 so near to Land, was the reason they conti-
 nually saw such abundance of Birds; and on
Munday the 8th of *October*, there came to
 the Ship 12 Singing-birds of several Colours,
 and after flying a turn about the Ship, they
 held on their way. They also saw from the
 Ships many other Birds, flying towards the
 South-West, and that same Night abun-
 dance of large Fowls were seen, and flights
 of small Birds coming from the Northward,
 and flying after the rest. Besides, they saw
 a good Number of Tunny Fish. In the
 Morning they spy'd a Jay, an *Alcatraz*, Ducks
 and small Birds, flying the same way the o-
 thers had done; and they perceiv'd the Air
 to be fresh and odoriferous, as it is at *Sevil*
 in *April*. But they were now so eager to
 see Land, that they had Faith in no Signs
 whatsoever; so that tho' on *Wednesday* the 10
 of *October*, they saw abundance of Birds
 pass by both Day and Night, yet the Men
 did not cease to complain, nor the Admiral
 to blame their want of Courage; declaring
 to them, that right or wrong they must
 go on in discovering the *Indies*, their Catho-
 lick Majesties had sent them to.

C H A P. XXII.

*How the Admiral discovered the first Land, which was an Island
 call'd de los Lucayos.*

THE Admiral being no longer able to
 withstand so many as oppos'd him,
 it pleas'd God, that on *Thursday* the 11th of
October, after Noon the Men took heart and
 rejoiced, having Manifest Tokens that they
 were near Land, which were that those a-
 board the Admiral, saw a green Rush swim
 by the Ship, and then a great green Fish of
 that sort, that goes not far from the Rocks.
 Those aboard the Caraval *Pinta* saw a Cane

Other
 Tokens.

and a Staff, and took up another Staff cu-
 riously wrought, and a small Board, and a-
 bundance of Weeds fresh wash'd away from
 the Banks. Those in the Caraval *Ninna*
 saw other such like Tokens, and a Branch
 of a Thorn full of red Berries, which seem'd
 to be newly broke off. By these Tokens,
 and Reason it self, the Admiral being as-
 sured he was near Land; at Night, after
 Prayers, he made a Speech to all the Men
 in

Columbus. in general, putting them in mind how great a Mercy it was that God had brought them so long a Voyage, with such fair Weather, and comforting them with Tokens, which every day were plainer and plainer; therefore he prayed them to be very watchful that Night, since they well knew, that in the first Article of the Instructions he gave each Ship at the *Canary Islands*, he ordain'd that when they had sail'd 700 Leagues to the Westward, without discovering Land, they should lie by from Midnight till Day. Therefore, since they had not yet obtain'd their desires in discovering Land, they should at least express their Zeal in being watchful. And for as much, as he had most assured hopes of finding Land that Night, every one should watch in his Place; for besides the Gratuity their Highnesses had promised of 30 Crowns a Year, for Life, to him that first saw Land, he would give him a Velvet Doublet. After this, about ten at Night, as the Admiral was in the great Cabin, he saw a light afoar, but said it was so blind, he could not affirm it to be Land, tho' he call'd one *Peter Gutierrez*, and bid him observe whether he saw the said Light, who said he did; but presently they call'd one

Roderick Sanchez, of *Segevia* to look that way, but he could not see it, because he came not up time enough where it might be seen; nor did they see it afterwards above once or twice, which made them judge it might be a Candle, or Torch belonging to some Merchant or Traveller, who lifted up, to let it fall down; or perhaps that they were People going from one House to another, because it vanish'd and suddenly appear'd again; so that few would guess by that they were near Land. Being now very much upon their Guard, they still held on their Course, till about two in the Morning the Caraval *Punta*, which being an excellent Sailer, was far a-head, gave the signal of Land, which was first discovered by a Sailer, whose Name was *Roderick de Triana*, being two Leagues from shoar. But the 30 Crowns a Year was not granted by their Catholick Majesties to him, but to the Admiral, who had seen the Light in the midst of Darkness, signifying the Spiritual Light he was then spreading in those Dark Regions. Being now near Land, all the Ships lay by, thinking it a long time till Morning, that they might see what they had so long desired.

C H A P. XXIII.

How the Admiral went afoar, and took Possession for their Catholick Majesties.

St. Salvador the first Island discover'd. DAY appearing, they perceived it was an Island 15 Leagues in Length, Plain, without Hills and full of Green Trees, and Delicious Waters, with a great Lake in the middle, Inhabited by abundance of People, who ran down to the shoar, astonished and admiring at the sight of the Ships, believing them to be some living Creatures, and were impatient to know certainly what they were. Nor were the Christians less hasty to know them, whose curiosity was soon satisfied, for they soon came to an Anchor; the Admiral went afoar with his Boat well Arm'd, and the Royal Standard display'd, as did the Captains of the other two Ships in their Boats with their Particular Colours of this Enterprize, which were a Green Cross with an F on the one side; and on the other, the Names of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* or *Elizabeth* Crown'd. Having all given Thanks to God, Kneeling on the shoar, and kiss'd the Ground with Tears of Joy, for

the great Mercy receiv'd; the Admiral stood up, and call'd that Island *St. Salvador*. After that he took Possession for their Catholick Majesties in the usual words, and with the Solemnity proper in those Cases; abundance of the Natives that were come out, being Present, and consequently the Christians admitted him as Admiral and Viceroy, and swore to obey him as representing their Highnesses Persons, and with such expressions of Joy, as became their mighty Success; all of them begging his Pardon for all the Affronts they had done him thro' their Fear, and Irresolution. Abundance of the *Indians* being come down to this rejoycing, and the Admiral perceiving they were Peaceable, Quiet and very Simple People, he gave them some red Caps, and strings of Glass Beads, which they hung about their Necks, and other things of small value, which they valued as if they had been Stone of high Prize.



C H A P. XXIV.

The Manners and Customs of those People, and what the Admiral saw in that Island.

Deſcription of the Islanders.

THE Admiral being gone off to his Boats, the *Indians* follow'd him to them and to the Ships swimming, and others in their Canoes, carrying Parrots, bottoms of spun Cotton, Javelins, and other such Trifles to barter for Glaſs-Beads, Bells, and other things of ſmall value. Like People in their Original Simplicity, they went Naked as they were born, and a Woman that was among them had no other Cloathing. Moſt of them were young, not above 30 years of Age; of a good Stature, their Hair lank, thick, very black and ſhort, being cut above their Ears, except ſome few who had let it grow down to their Shoulders, and had ty'd it with a ſtrong Thread about their head like Womens Trefles. Their Countenances were pleaſant, and their Features good, but their too high Foreheads made them look ſomewhat wild. They were of a middle Stature, well ſhaped, plump, but of an Olive Colour, like the People of the *Canaries*, or Peaſants that are Sun-burn'd. Some were Painted with black, ſome with white, and others with red; ſome only the Faces, others the whole Body, and others nothing but the Eyes and Noſe. They had no Weapons like our Men, nor knowledge of them; for when the Chriſtians ſhow'd them a Naked Sword, they took it ſimply by the edge. Nor had they any Knowledge of Iron, and therefore they made their Javelins we mentioned, of Wands, with the Points hardened at the fire, Arming them with a Fiſh bone inſtead of Iron. Some of them having Scars of Wounds about them, and being ask'd by ſigns how they came by 'em, they answered by ſigns, that People came from other Iſlands to take them away, and they received thoſe Wounds in their own defence. They ſeem'd ingenious and of a voluble Tongue, for they eaſily repeated the words they once heard. There were no ſort of Creatures there but Parrots, which they carried to barter among the other things we have ſpoke of, and in this Trade they continued till Night. Next day being the 13th of October in the Morning, many of them came down to the Shoar, and went aboard in their Boats called Canoes, which were made of one Piece, being the Body of a Tree hollow'd like a Tray. The biggeſt of them

Canoes.

were ſo large, they contain'd 40 or 45 Men, and ſo leſs and leſs, till ſome would hold but one. They row'd with a Paddle like a Baker's Peal, or thoſe they uſe in dreſſing Hemp; true it is, that the Oars are not fix'd on the ſide with Pins to turn as ours are, but they dip them in the Water, and pull back as if they were digging. Theſe Canoes are ſo light and ſo Artificially built, that if they overſet they ſoon turn them right again ſwimming, and empty the Water by throwing the Veſſel from ſide to ſide like a Weaver's Shuttle, and when it is above half out, they lade out what remains with dry'd Calabaſhes cut in two, which they carry for that purpoſe. That day they brought ſuch things to barter for, as they had the day before, giving all they had for any ſmall thing they could get. Jewels or any ſort of Metal were not ſeen among them, except ſome ſmall Plates of Gold which hung at their Noſtrils, and being ask'd whence they had that Gold, they answered by ſigns, towards the South, where there was a King who had abundance of Pieces and Veſſels of Gold; expreſſing that towards the South and South-Weſt, there were many other Iſlands and large Countries. Being very Covetous of any thing of ours, and being themſelves but poor, and having nothing to give in Exchange, as ſoon as they came aboard, if they could lay their hands on any thing, tho' it were but a piece of a broken Earthen glazed Diſh or Porringer, they leap'd into the Sea and ſwam aſhoar; and if they brought any thing aboard, they would give it for any trifling thing of ours, or bit of broken Glaſs, ſo that ſome of them gave 16 bottoms of Cotton for three ſmall pieces of *Portugueſe* Braſs Coin not worth a Farthing; theſe bottoms weighed 25 pounds, and the Cotton was very well ſpun. Thus they ſpent the day, and at Night they all went aſhoar. It is to be obſerved, that their Liberality in Dealing did not proceed from the great Value they put upon thoſe things themſelves, which they had of our Men, but becauſe they valued them as being ours, looking upon it as moſt certain, that our Men were come down from Heaven, and therefore they earneſtly deſired to have ſomething left them as a Memorial.

Columbus.

CHAP. XXV.

How the Admiral departed from that Island, and went to discover others.

NEXT Sunday, being the 15th of October, the Admiral run along the Coast of the Island, towards the North-West, in his Boats, to discover something about it; and that way he went, he found a large Bay or Harbour, capable of containing all the Ships in Christendom. The People seeing him scour along, ran after, along the shoar, crying out, and promising to give him Provisions, calling others to come to see the People drop'd from Heaven upon Earth, and lifted up their Hands to Heaven, as it were giving thanks for their coming. Many of them swimming, or in their Canoes, as best they could, came to the Boats, asking by signs, whether they were come down from Heaven, and Praying them to Land and rest themselves. The Admiral gave them all Glass Beads, Pins, and other Trifles, rejoicing at their great simplicity, till he came to a Peninsula, which made a good Port, and where a good Fort might be made. There he saw six Houses of the Indians with Gardens about them, as Pleasant as they are in *Castile in May*. But his Men being weary of rowing, and he plainly perceiving that was none of the Land he look'd for, nor so Beneficial, as that he should make any longer stay there, he took seven of those Indians to serve him as Interpreters; and returning to his Ships, sail'd for other Islands that could be discovered from the Peninsula, and appear'd to be Plain, Green and very Populous, as the Indians themselves affirm'd. The next day being Munday, the 16th of October, he came to one that was seven Leagues from the other, and call'd it *St. Mary of the Conception*. That side of this Island next *St. Salvador* extended North-West five Leagues in Length, but the Admiral went to that side which lies East and West, and is above 10 Leagues in length; and being come to an Anchor towards the West, Landed to do as he had done in the other. Here the People of the Island ran together to see the Christians, admiring as the others had done. The Admiral perceiving this was the same thing as the last: The next day being Tuesday, sail'd Westward to another Island considerably bigger, and Anchored upon the Coast of it, which runs North-West and South-East, above 28 Leagues. This was like the others, Plain, had a fine Strand, and was call'd *Fernandina*. Before they came to this Island, and that of the *Conception*, they found a Man in a small Canoe, who had a piece of their Bread, and

a Calabash of Water, and a little Earth like Vermillion, wherewith those People Paint their Bodies, as was said above; and some dry Leaves which they value, as being of a sweet scent and wholesome; and in a little Basket he had a string of Beads of Green Glass, and two small pieces of Portuguese Money, by which it was guess'd that he was coming from *St. Salvador*, that he had pass'd by the *Conception*, and was going to *Fernandina* to carry News of the Christians: But because the way was far, and he weary, he came to the Ships, was taken up with his Canoe, and courteously treated by the Admiral, designing as soon as he came to Land to send him ashore, which he did, that he might spread the News. The good Account he gave, caus'd the People of *Fernandina* to come aboard in their Canoes, to exchange the same sort of things the others had done before, for these People were like the rest; and when the Boat went ashore for Water, the Indians very readily show'd where it was, and carry'd the small Cask full on their Shoulders to fill the Hogsheds in the Boat. They seem'd to be a Wiser and Discreeter People than the first, and as such bargain'd harder for what they exchange'd, had Cotton Cloath in their Houses, and Bed-Cloaths; and the Women covered their Privities with short hanging Cotton-Cloaths, and others with a sort of Swathe. Among other Notable things they saw in that Island, were some Trees which seem'd to be Grafted, because they had Leaves and Branches of four or five several sorts, and yet were Natural. They also saw Fishes of several shapes and fine Colours, but no sort of Land Creatures but Lizards and Snakes. The better to discover the Island, they sail'd away North-West, and came to an Anchor at the Mouth of a beautiful Harbour; at the entrance whereof was a small Island, and therefore they could not get in, there being but little Water; nor did they much care, because they would not be far from a Town that appeared at a distance: for in the biggest Island they had yet seen they had not found above 12 or 15 Houses together, built like Tents, in which they saw no other Ornaments or Moveables, but what they carry'd to the Ships to Exchange. Their Beds were like a Net, drawn together in the nature of a Sling ty'd to two Posts in their Houses, in which they lie. Here they saw some Dogs like Mastives, and others like Beagles, but none of them bark'd.

CHAP.



C H A P. XXVI.

How the Admiral sail'd by other Islands that were in sight where he was.

Island Isabella.

Finding nothing of value in this Island, *Fernandina*, on Friday the 19th of October, they sail'd away to another, call'd *Saonotto*, to which he gave the Name of *Isabella*, to proceed regularly in his Names; for the first which the *Indians* call'd *Guana-bani*, he call'd *St. Salvador*, or *St. Saviour*, in Honour of God, who had shew'd it and delivered him from many Dangers. The second for his particular Devotion, to the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*; and because she is the great Patroness of Christians, he call'd *St. Mary of the Conception*; the third he call'd *Fernandina*, in Honour of the Catholick King, and the fourth *Isabella*, in Memory of the Catholick Queen; and the next after it which was *Cuba*, he stiled *Joanna*, in respect to Prince *John*, Heir of *Castile*, having in these Names regard both to Spirituals and Temporals. True it is, that as to Goodness, Extent, and Beauty, he said this *Fernandina* far exceeded the others, for besides that, it abounded in delicious Waters, Pleasant Meadows and Trees, among which were many of *Aloes*: There were in it some Hills, which the others wanted, being very Plain. The Admiral enamour'd with its Beauty, and to perform the Ceremony of taking Possession, Land-ed upon some Meadows as Pleasant and Delightful as they are in *Spain* in April; and there was heard the singing of Nigh-

tingals and other Birds, so sweet, that he could scarce depart. Nor were they only about the Trees, but flew thro' the Air in such swarms, that they darkened the Sun, and most fol them differ'd much from our Birds. There being abundance of Waters and Lakes; near to one of them they saw a sort of Alligator seven foot long, and above a foot wide in the Belly, which being disturb'd by our Men, threw its self into the Lake, but it not being deep, they kill'd it with their Spears, not without dread and admiration, because of its fierce and frightful look. Time afterwards made them look upon this as a dainty, it being the best food the *Indians* had; for as much as when that horrid Skin, and the Scales that cover it are taken of, the Flesh is very white and very delicious, the *Indians* call them *Tunas*.^{Yva} Being very desirous to know more of that Country, and it being then late, they left that Creature for the next day, when they kill'd another, as they had done the first; and Travelling up the Land, found a Town, the People whereof fled, carrying away as much of their Goods as they could. The Admiral would not suffer any thing of what they had left to be taken away, lest they should look upon the Christians as Thieves. Therefore their fear being soon over, they came of their own accord to the Ships to Barter, as the others had done.

C H A P. XXVII.

How the Admiral discovered the Island of Cuba, and what he found there.

Island of Cuba.

THE Admiral having learn'd the secrets of the Island *Isabella*, its Product, and the Manners of the People, would lose no more time among those Islands, because they were many and like one another, as the *Indians* said. He therefore set sail with a fair Wind for a very large Country, much applauded by them all, call'd *Cuba*, which lay towards the South, and on Sunday the 28th of October, he came up with the Coast of it, on the North side. This Island at first sight appeared to be better and Richer than those before nam'd, as well by reason of the Beauty of its Hills and Mountains, as for the variety of Trees, the large Plains, and the greatness and extent of its Coasts and Rivers. Therefore to get some Knowledge of its People, he came to an Anchor in a large River, where the Trees were very thick

and tall, adorn'd with Fruit and Blossoms, differing from ours, and where there was abundance of Birds, the place most delicious, for the Grass was high, and nothing like ours; and tho' there were several sorts of Herbs known to us, yet the great variety made our Men not know them. Going to two Houses that were not far off, they found the People were fled for fear, and had left their Nets, and all other Fishing tackle, and a Dog that did not bark. As the Admiral had ordered, nothing was touch'd, for it was enough for him at present to see what their Food and Necessaries were. Returning to their Ships they held on their Course Westward, and came to another River, which the Admiral call'd *de Mares*, or of Seas. This much exceeded the other, because a Ship could turn

Columbus.

it up, and the Banks were much Inhabited ; but the People seeing the Ships, fled towards the Mountains, which appear'd, and were high, round, and covered with Trees and Pleasant Plants, whither the *Indians* convey'd all they could carry away. The Admiral being disappointed, by the Peoples fear, of Learning any thing of the Nature of the Island, and considering if he Land'd with many Men, it would increase their Terrour, he resolv'd to send two Christians, with one of the *Indians* he brought from St.

Salvador, and with one of that Country, who ventured to come aboard in his Canoe. These he ordered to Travell up into the Country, making much of the Natives they met by the way, and that no time might be lost, whilst they were going, he order'd the Ship to be lay'd ahoar to *Caeren her*, where they observ'd that all the fire they made was Mastick, whereof there was plenty all the Country over. This Tree is in all respects like our Mastick Tree, but much bigger.

C H A P. XXVIII.

How the two Christians return'd, and the Report they made of what they had seen.

Town
uba.

THE Ship being Repaired and ready to Sail, the Christians returned with two *Indians* on the 5th of November, saying, they had Travell'd twelve Leagues up the Land, and came to a Town of 50 Pretty large Houses, all of Timber covered with Straw, and made after the manner of Pavillions, like the others ; that they contain'd about 1000 People, because all that were of one Family liv'd in a House, that the Principal Men of the Place came out to meet them, and led them by the Arms to their Town, giving them one of those great Houses to Lodge in, where they made them sit down upon Seats made of one Piece, in strange shapes, and almost like some Creature that had short Legs, and the Tail lifted up to lean against, which is as broad as the Seat for the conveniency of Leaning, with a Head before, and the Eyes and Ears of Gold. These Seats they call *Duchi*, where the Christians being seated, all the *Indians* sat about them on the Ground, and then came one by one to kiss their Hands and Feet, believing they came from Heaven ; and they gave them some boild Roots to eat, not unlike Chestnuts in taste ; earnestly intreating them to stay there among them, or at least to rest themselves 5 or 6 days, because the two *Indians* they took with them, gave those People an excellent Character of the Christians. Soon after, many Women coming in to see them ; the Men went out, and these with no less respect, kiss'd their Feet and Hands, offering them what they brought. When their time came to return to the Ships, many *Indians* would go along with them ; but they would admit only of the King, his Son and one Servant, whom the Admiral did much Honour to ; and these Christians told him, that in their way out, and return, they had found several Towns, where they were en-

certain'd with the same Courtesy, but that there were not in them above five Houses together : Besides, That by the way, they met many People, who always carried a lighted Firebrand, to light fire, and Perfume themselves with certain Herbs they carried along with them, and to Roast some of those Roots they gave them ; for as much as that was their Principal Food. They also saw very many sorts of Trees and Plants, which were not to be seen about the Sea-Coast ; and great variety of Birds, far differing from ours, but that among them there were Partridges and Nightingals. As for Four-footed Creatures, they had seen none but dumb Dogs. That there was a great deal of Till'd Land, some sow'd with those Roots, a sort of Beans, and a sort of Grain they call *Maiz*, which was well fasted, Bak'd, or Dry'd and made into Flour. they saw vast quantities of Cotton well spun, in Bottoms, insomuch that in one House only, they saw above 12500 Pounds of it. The Plants it comes from are not set, but grow Naturally about the Fields, like Roses, and open of themselves, when they are Ripe, but not all at the same time ; for upon one and the same Plant, they had seen a little young Bud, another open, and a third coming Ripe. Of these Plants the *Indians* afterwards carried great Quantities aboard the Ships, and gave a Basket full for a Thong of Leather ; yet none of them make Use of it to Cloath themselves, but only to make Nets for their Beds, which they call *Hamaca*, and in weaving Aprons for Women to cover their Nakedness. Being ask'd whether they had Gold or Pearls, or Spice, they made Signs that there was great Plenty towards the East, in a Country they call'd *Bobio*, which is the Island *Hispaniola*, but it is not yet certainly known what Place they meant.



C H A P. XXIX.

How the Admiral desisted from following the Western Coast of Cuba, and turn'd Eastward towards Hispaniola.

*Conjugal
affection in
an Indian.*

THE Admiral having this Account, and resolving to stay no longer in that River, order'd some Natives of that Island to be taken, designing to carry some from all Parts into *Spain*, to give an Account of his Country; and accordingly 12 were seiz'd, Men, Women, and Children, and this so peaceably and without any disturbance, that when they were ready to sail with them, the Husband of one of the Women, and Father of two Children that had been carry'd aboard, came to the Ships in a Canoo desiring he might be taken along with them, and not parted from his Wife and Children, which extremely pleas'd the Admiral, who order'd he should be receiv'd, and they all well us'd and made much of. That same day, being the 13th of *November*, he came about to the Eastward, designing for the Island they call'd *Bobio*. The Wind blowing hard at North, he was forced to come to an Anchor again in the same Island of *Cuba*, among some high Islands, lying near a large Port, which he call'd *del Principe*, or the Princes Port, and the Sea, Our Ladies. These Islands lay so thick and close, that there was not above a quarter of a League distance between them at furthest, and but a Musquet shot for the most part. The Channels were so deep, and so well adorn'd with Trees and Greens, that it was very delightful going among them; and among the Multitude of other Trees, there were abundance of Mattick, Aloes and Palm, the Trunk green and smooth, and other Plants of sundry sorts. And tho' these Islands were not

Inhabited, yet there appeared the Tokens of many fires made by Fishermen, for as it afterwards appear'd, the People of *Cuba* went together in great Number, in their Canoes over to these Islands, and abundance more that lie hereabouts Uninhabited, and live upon the Fish they catch, upon Birds, Crabs, and other things they find on the Earth, for as much as generally the *Indians* eat abundance of filthy things, such as great Spiders, ^{Foot} Worms that breed in rotten Wood and other Corrupt Places, and abundance of Fish almost raw; for as soon as taken, before they roast it, they digg out the Eyes to eat, and many other such things they feed on, which besides that, they are nauseous would kill any of us should we eat them. They follow this Fishing and Birding according to the Season, sometimes in one Island, sometimes in another, as one that changes his Diet, being weary of the last. But to return to the Islands of our Ladies Sea, in one of them the Christians, with their Swords, kill'd a Beast like a Badger, and in the Sea found much Mother of Pearl; and casting their Nets, among many other sorts of Fish they caught, one was like a Swine, all cover'd with a very hard skin, no part whereof was soft but the Tail. They also observ'd that in this Sea, and the Islands, the Tide swell'd and fell much lower than in other Places, where they had been till then, and their Tides were quite contrary to ours; for it was low Water when the Moon was S. W. and by S.

C H A P. XXX.

How the Admiral set sail again Eastward for Hispaniola, and one of the Ships forsook him.

ON *Munday* the 19th of *November*, the Admiral departed from the Princes Port in *Cuba*, and the Sea of our Lady, Steering Eastward for the Island of *Bobio* and *Hispaniola*, but the Wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the Island *Isabella*, which the *Indians* call *Senoro*, and the said Princes Port, which lie almost North and South, about 25 Leagues distant, in which Sea he still found long Traces of those Weeds he had seen in the Ocean, and he perceived they swam along the Current, and never lay athwart it. During this time *Martin Alonso Pin-*

zon being inform'd by certain *Indians* he had conceal'd aboard his Caraval, that in the Island *Bobio*, which we said was *Hispaniola*, there was great plenty of Gold; Covetously blinding him, on *Wednesday* the 21st of *November*, he went away from the Admiral without any stress of Weather, or any other occasion, for he could have come up to him before the Wind, but would not, and so making as much way as possibly he could, his Vessel being an excellent sailer, he made forwards all *Thursday*, whereas they had sail'd in sight of one another all the day before, and Night coming on, he quite vanisht.

with'd. Thus the Admiral was left only with two Ships, and the Weather not being it for his Vessels to sail over towards *Hispaniola*, he was forced to return to *Cuba*, to another Port not far from the Princes, which he call'd *St. Catharines*, there to take in Wood and Water. In this Port he accidentally saw signs of Gold on some Stones in the River where they were Watering, and up the Country there were Mountains full of such tall Pine Trees, as would make Masts for the biggest Ships. Nor was there any want of Wood for Planks, to build as many Ships as they would, and among them Oaks and others like those in *Castile*. But perceiving that all the *Indians* directed him to *Hispaniola*, he run along the Coast 10 or 12 Leagues farther towards the South-East, meeting all the way excellent Harbours, and many large Rivers. The Admiral says so much of the Delightfulness and Beauty of that Country, that I have thought fit here to set down his own words, speaking of the Mouth of a River, which makes an Harbour by him call'd *Puerto Santo*, or Holy Harbour. Thus he says, When I went with the Boats before me to the Mouth of the Harbour towards the South, I found a River, up whose Mouth a Gally could easily row, and the way up it was such, that it was not to be discover'd but close by: The Beauty of it invited me to go up a Boats length, where I found from 5 to 8 Fathom Water; and proceeding, I went a considerable way up the River in the Boats; because, as well the Beauty and Delightfulness of the River, and the clearness of the Water, thro' which I could see the Sand at the bottom; as the abundance of Palm Trees of several sorts, the finest and highest I had yet met with; the other, infinite Number of large green

Trees, the Birds and the verdure of the Plain, tempted me to fix there for ever. This Country, Most Serene Princes, is so wonderfully fine, and as far exceeds all other Beauty and Delightfulness, as the Day in brightness exceeds the Night. Therefore I often told my Companions, that tho' I should never so much endeavour to give your Highnesses a Perfect Account of it my Tongue and Pen would always fall short of the Truth. And to say the Truth, I was astonish'd to see so much Beauty, and know not how to express it; for I have writ of the other Countries, of their Trees and Fruits, of the Plants and Ports, and of all that belong'd to them, as largely as I was able, yet not as I ought, since all Men affirm'd it was impossible any other Country could be more delicious. Now I am silent, wishing this may be seen by others, who will write of it, that they may prove how little Credit is to be got more than I have done in Writing or Speaking of that Place considering what it deserves. The Admiral going on with his Boats, saw a Canoo among the Trees in the Port, drawn upon Land under a Bower, which Canoo was made of the Body of one Tree, and as big as a twelve Oar Barge, and in some Houses hard by, they found a Ball of Wax, and a Man's Skull in two Baskets hanging at a Post. The same they afterwards found in another House, which made our Men judge, they were the Skulls of the Founders of those Houses. No People appeared to receive any Information of, for as soon as ever they saw the Christians, they fled from their Houses to other Parts. Afterwards they found another Canoo about 70 Foot long, that would carry 50 Persons, made like the other we spoke of before.

Two vast Canoes.

C H A P. XXXI.

How the Admiral sail'd over to Hispaniola, and what he saw there.

THE Admiral having sail'd 106 Leagues Eastward along the Coast of *Cuba*, came to the East Point of it, which he call'd *Ayupia*, and on Wednesday the 5th of December, struck off to sail over to *Hispaniola*, distant 16 Leagues from *Cuba* Eastward, and by reason of some Currents, could not reach it till the next day, when he put into Port *St. Nicholas*, so call'd by him in Memory of that Saint, whose Festival was that day. This Port is large, deep, safe, and encompass'd with many tall Trees, but the Country is more Rocky, and the Trees are less, that is, like those of *Castile*, among which there were small Oaks, Mirtle and other Shrubs, and a Pleasant River ran along a

Plain towards the Port, all about which, there were large Canoes like 15 Oar Barges. The Admiral not being able to meet with any of those People, ran along the Coast Northward, till he came to a Port he call'd the *Conception*, which lies almost due South of a small Island about the bigness of *Gran Canaria*, which was afterwards call'd *Tortuga*. Perceiving that this Island *Bohio* was very large, and that the Land and Trees were like those of *Spain*; and that at one draught of a Net they had taken several Fishes, like those of *Spain*, as Soles, Salmon, Pilchards, Crabs, and some others, therefore on Sunday the 9th of December, they gave it the Name of *Esplanada*, as call'd

Tortuga.

Columbus. in *English*, *Hispaniola*. All of them being very desirous to enquire into the Nature of this Island; whilst the Men were fishing on the Shoar, three Christians Travelled along the Mountain, and lighted on a Company of *Indians*, as Naked as those they had seen before, who seeing the Christians draw near them, in a great fright, ran into the thickest of the Wood, as having no Cloaths to hinder them. The Christians to get some information, ran after them, but could only overtake a young Woman, who had a Plate of Gold hanging at her Nose. She was carried to the Ships, where the Admiral gave her several Baubles, as Bells and Glafs, and then sent her ashoar without the least disgust offer'd her, ordering three *Indians* of those he brought from the other Islands to go with her, and three Christians, to the Town where she dwelt. The next day he sent 11 Men ashoar well Arm'd, who having Travell'd four Leagues, found a sort of Town or Village of above 1000 Houses scattered about a Valley, the Inhabitants whereof seeing the Christians, all fled to the Woods. But the *Indian* Guide, whom our Men brought from *St. Salvador*, went after them, and said such things to them of the Christians, affirming they were People come from Heaven, that he perswaded them to turn back quietly and without any Fear. Afterwards full of Astonishment they would lay their Hands on our Mens Heads by way of Honour, brought them to eat, and gave them all they desired, without asking any return, praying them to stay that Night in their Village. The Christians would not accept of the invitation, but returned to their Ships carrying the News that the Country was very Pleasant, abounding in their Provisions: that the People were whiter and handsomer than any they had yet seen in the other Islands, and that they were Tractable and Courteous, and told them the Country where the Gold was found, lay farther Eastward. The Admiral hearing this Account, set sail immediately, tho' the

Wind was contrary, and on Sunday following, being the 15th of December, as he was plying between *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, he found one *Indian* alone in a little Canoo, which they all wonder'd was not swallowed by the Sea, the Wind and Waves were so high. He took him into the Ship, carried him to *Hispaniola*, and set him ashoar with several Gifts. He told the *Indians* how kindly he had been used, and spoke so well of the Christians, that abundance of them came presently aboard, but they brought nothing of value, except some small grains of Gold hanging at their Ears and Nostrils, and being ask'd whence they had that Gold, they made signs there was a great deal higher up. The next day there came a great Canoo from the Island *Tortuga*, which was near the Place where the Admiral lay at Anchor, with 40 Men in it, at such time as the *Cacique* or Lord of that Port of *Hispaniola* was upon the shoar, Bartering a Plate of Gold he had brought. When he and his saw the Canoo, they all fate themselves down upon the Ground, as a sign they would not fight. Immediately almost all those in the Canoo Landed, against whom the *Cacique* of *Hispaniola* got up alone, and with threatening words made them return to their Canoo. Then he threw Water after them, and taking up Stones off the Strand, cast them into the Sea towards the Canoo. But when they were all in submissive manner return'd to their Canoo, he took up a Stone and delivered it to one of the Admiral's Officers, to throw at those in the Canoo, to exprefs that he took the Admiral's part against the *Indians*, but the Officer did not throw, [seeing they presently went off in their Canoo. After this, discoursing about the Affairs of that Island, which the Admiral had call'd *Tortuga*, he affirm'd there was more Gold in it than in *Hispaniola*, and that in *Bobio* there was more than in any other, which was about 15 days Journey from the Place where they were.

C H A P. XXXII.

How the Principal King of the Island came aboard, and of the State he came in.

ON Tuesday the 18 of December, the King that came the day before, where the Canoo of *Tortuga* was, and who lived 5 Leagues from the Place where the Ships lay, came in the Morning to the Town near the Sea, some of the *Spaniards* at the same time being there by the Admiral's Order to see whether they brought any more Gold. These seeing

the King come, went to acquaint the Admiral, saying he brought above 200 Men along with him, and that he came not a Foot but was carry'd on a sort of Palanquine by four Men with great respect, tho' he was very Young. This King being at a small distance from the Ships, having rested a little, drew near with all his Men, concern-
ing

Columbus.

ing which, the Admiral himself writes thus: There is no doubt but your Highnesses had been very much pleas'd to have seen his Gravity, and the Respect his People pay'd him, tho' all Naked. When he came aboard, and understood I was under Deck, being then at Dinner, he surpris'd me, sitting down by me, without giving me time to go out to receive him, or rise from Table. When he came down he made signs to all his Followers to stay above, which they did with great Respect, sitting down upon the Deck, except two Ancient Men that seem'd to be his Councillours, that sat down at his Feet. They said this Man was a Cacique. I order'd such Meat as I was eating, to be brought him; they just tast'd of every thing, and sent the rest to their Men, who all eat of it. The same they did as to drinking, for they only kiss'd the Cup and gave it about. They were all wonderful Grave, and spoke but few words, and those they utter'd, by what I could gather, were very deliberate and staid. The two old Men observ'd the King's Mouth, and spoke for and to him. After eating, one of his Gentlemen with great Respect brought him a Girdle, not unlike those us'd in *Castile*, tho' differently wrought, which he took in his hand, and gave me with two pieces of wrought Gold very thin. Of which Gold I believe there is little here, and I guess'd that place was near to where they took it, which produced very much. I believing he would like a Carpet or Counterpane that lay on my Bed, gave it him, together with some fine Amber Beads I had about my Neck, with a pair of red Shoes, and a Bottle of Orange-flower Water, with which he was wonderfully pleas'd, and both

he and his Councillours exprest'd much concern because they did not understand me, nor I them, tho' I made out, that if I wanted any thing, all the Island was at my Command. I presently brought out a Letter-Case, in which I carry'd a Gold Medal weighing 4 Ducats, on which your Highnesses Effigies are cut, and shew'd it him, saying over again, that your Highnesses were Mighty Princes, and Possess'd the best part of the World, and shew'd him the Royal Standard, and the other of the Cross, which he made great Account of. Therefore turning to his Councillours, he said, Your Highnesses were certainly Mighty Princes, since you had sent me so far as from Heaven thither, without any fear. Much more pass'd between us, which I did not understand, but perceiv'd they admir'd at every thing they saw; but it being then late, and he desiring to be gone, I sent him ashore very Honourably in my Boat, and caus'd several Guns to be fired, and he being ashore got into his Palanquine, attended by above 200 Men, and a Son of his was carried on a Man of Note's Shoulders. He order'd all the *Spaniards* that were ashore, to have Meat given them, and to be very Courteously us'd. Afterwards a Sailer that met him on the way, told me, that every one of the things I had given him, were carry'd before him by a Man of great worth, and that his Son went not along with him on the Road, but at some distance behind him with as many more Attendance as he had, and a Brother of his a Foot, with near as many more, two great Men leading him under the Arms, to whom I had given some small Matters when he came aboard after his Brother.

C H A P. XXXIII.

How the Admiral lost his Ship upon the Flats thro' the carelessness of the Sailers, and the assistance he receiv'd from the King of that Island.

THE Admiral continuing the Relation as above, says, That on *Monday* the 24th of *December*, the Weather was very calm, without any Wind hardly, but so much as carried him from *St. Thomas's* Sea, to *Punta Santa*, or the Holy Cape, off which he lay by about a League, and about 11 of the Clock at Night he went to take his Rest, for he had not slept in two Days and a Night; and the Weather being Calm, the Seaman that was at the Helm, left it to a Grummet, which (says the Admiral) I had forbid during the whole Voyage, bidding them, whether the Wind blew or not, never to leave the Helm to a Grummet. And

the Admiral's Ship

to say the Truth, I thought my self safe from Flats and Rocks, for that *Sunday* I sent my Boats to the King, they went at least three Leagues and a half beyond the said *Punta Santa*, and the Seamen had view'd all the Coast, and the Shoals that lie three Leagues E. S. E. of that Cape, and observ'd which way to sail, which I had not done during the Voyage; and it pleas'd our Lord, that at Midnight, seeing me gone to Bed, and we being in a dead calm and the Sea as still as the Water in a Dish, all the Men went to rest, leaving the Helm to a Grummet. Thus it came to pass, that the Current easily carried away the Ship upon one

Columbus.

of those Shoals, which tho' it was Night, made such a roaring Noise, that they might be heard and discover'd a League off. Then the Fellow who felt the Rudder strike and heard the Noise, began to cry out, and I hearing it, got up immediately, for none had yet perceived that we were a Ground. Presently the Master, whose Watch it was, came out, and I order'd him and other Sailors to take the Boat, and carry out an Anchor a Stern; whereupon he and others leap'd into the Boat, and I believing they would have done as I ordered, they row'd way, flying with the Boat to the other Caraval, which was half a League off. I then perceiving they ran away with the Boat, that the Water Ebb'd, and the Ship was in Danger, caus'd the Masts to be cut down, and lightned her as much as I could to see to get her off; but the Water still Ebbing, the Caraval could not budge, but turning athwart the Streams the scames opened, and all below Deck was full of Water. Mean while the Boat returned from the Caraval to relieve me, for the Men aboard perceiving the Boat fled, would not receive it, which oblig'd it to return to the Ship. No hopes of saving the Ship appearing, I went away to the Caraval to save the Men, and because the Wind blew from the Land, and great part of the Night was spent, and yet we knew not which way to get from among those Flats; I lay by with the Caraval till day appeared, and then I drew towards Land within the Shoals, having first sent James de Arana the Provost, and Peter Gutierrez your Highnesses Secretary, to acquaint the King with what had happened, telling him, That as I was going to visit him in his own Port, as he had desired the last Saturday, I had lost my Ship opposite to his Town, and a League and a half from

it upon a Flat. The King understanding it, with Tears in his Eyes, expressed much Grief for our Loss, and immediately sent board all the People in the Place, with many large Canoos. So they and we began to unload, and in a short time carried off all that was upon Deck. The Assistance this King gave was great; and afterwards he himself, with his Brothers and Kindred, took all possible Care both aboard and ashore, that all things might be done orderly; and from time to time he sent some of his Kindred Weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had. I do assure your Highnesses, better Order could not have been taken in any part of *Castile*, to secure our things, for we lost not the value of a Pin, for he caus'd all our Cloaths to be lay'd together near his Palace, where he kept them till the Houses were voided, which he had appointed for us. He placed Armed Men to keep them, who stood there all Day and all Night, and all the People Lamented, as if, our Loss had concern'd them much; so loving, tractable and free from Covetousness they are, that I swear to your Highnesses, there are no better People, nor a better Country in the World. They love their Neighbour as themselves, and their Conversation is the sweetest in the Universe, being Pleasant and always Smiling. True it is, both Men and Women go as Naked as they were born, yet your Highnesses may believe me, they have very commendable Customs, and the King is serv'd with great State, and he is so staid, that it is a great satisfaction to see him, as it is to think what good Memories these People have, and how desirous they are to know every thing, which moves 'em to ask many Questions, and to enquire into the Cause and Effects of every thing.

Great Kindness the Spaniards

C H A P. XXXIV.

How the Admiral resolved to plant a Colony where the King Resided, and call'd it the Nativity.

ON Wednesday the 26th of December, the Chief King of that Country came aboard the Admiral's Caraval, and expressing much Grief and Sorrow, Comforted him, offered all he would have, and saying he had already given the Christians three Houses to lay up all they got out of the Ship, and that he had given them many more, had they stood in need of them. In the mean while a Canoo came with some Indians from another Island, bringing some Plates of Gold to exchange for Bells, which they valued above any thing. Besides the

Seamen came from Shoar, saying abundance of Indians resorted from other Places to the Town, who brought several things in Gold and gave them for Points, and other things of small value, offering to bring much more if the Christians would. Which the great Cacique perceiving was pleasing to the Admiral, he told him he would cause a great quantity to be brought from *Cibao*, a Place that yielded much Gold. Being ashore, he invited the Admiral to eat *Axu* and *Caxabi*, which is their Principal Diet, and gave him some Vizor Masks, with

Columbus.
The Admiral builds a Fort and leaves Men in the Island.

with the Eyes, Nose and Ears of Gold, and other pretty things which they hung about their Necks. Then complaining of the *Carribbes*, who carried away his Men to make Slaves and eat them, he was much Comforted, when the Admiral comforting him, shew'd him our Weapons, saying, he would defend him with them. He was much Astonish'd at our Canon, which so terrified them, that they fell down as if they were Dead, when they heard the Report. The Admiral therefore finding so much kindness among those People, and such signs of Gold, almost forgot the grief conceiv'd for the loss of his Ship; thinking God had permitted it that he might fix a Colony there, and leave Christians to Trade, and get further Knowledge of the People and Country, learning the Language, and conversing with the Natives, that when he returned from Spain with Succours, he might have some body to direct him in his Affairs, for Peopling and Subduing that Country. To this he was the more inclin'd, because many voluntarily offered themselves to stay and inhabit there. For this reason he resolv'd to build a Tower with the Timber of the Ship that was wreck'd, whereof he lost no part, but made use of it all. To forward his design, the next day being *Thursday*, the 27th of *December*, News was brought, that the *Caraval Pinta*, was in a River towards the East Point of the Island. To be assured of it, the Cacique, whose Name was *Guacana-gari*, sent a Canoo with some *Indians*, who carried a Christian thither: He having gone 20 Leagues along the Coast, returned without any News of it, which was the Reason that no Credit was given to another *Indian*, who said he had seen her some days before. Nevertheless the Admiral did not alter his Resolution of leaving some Christians in that Place who were all still more sensible of the Good-

ness and Wealth of the Country, the *Indians* bringing Masks and other things of Gold to give them, and telling them of several Provinces in the Island where it was found. The Admiral being now ready to depart, and discoursing with the King concerning the *Carribbes*, or *Canibals*, of whom they complain'd and were in great dread, therefore to please him with leaving some Christians there, and at the same time make him afraid of our Arms, he caused a Gun to be fired against the side of the Ship, which shot quite thro' it, and the Bullet fell into the Water, which not a little terrified the Cacique Besides, he shew'd him all our other Weapons, and how they offended with them, and defended themselves, telling him, that since such Weapons were left to defend him, he need not to fear the *Carribbes*, for the Christians would destroy them all, and he would leave them for his Guard, and return himself to *Castile* for Jewels and other things to give him. Then he particularly recommended to him *James de Arana*, Son to *Roderick de Arana* of *Cordova*, of whom mention has been made above. To him, and *Peter Gutierrez* and *Roderick de Eskovedo*, he left the Government of the Fort, and Command of 36 Men, with abundance of Commodities, Provision, Arms and Cannon, and the Boat that belong'd to the Ship, with Carpenters, Caulkers, and all other Necessaries for settling there, also a Surgeon, Gunner, and such like Persons. This done he repaired with all Possible speed to return directly to *Castile*, without making any more Discoveries, fearing, since he had but one Ship left, lest some other Misfortune might befall him, which might hinder their Catholic Majesty's coming to the Knowledge of those Kingdoms he had newly acquired for them.

C H A P. XXXV.

How the Admiral set out to return to Spain, and found the other Caraval commanded by Pinzon.

Where the first Christmas was Colonoized.

ON *Friday* the 4th of *January*, at Sunrise, the Admiral set sail, with the Boats a-head, standing North-West, to get out of shoal Water, that was about the Port where he left the Christians, by him call'd the Port of the *Nativity*, because on *Christmas* day he had Land'd, escaping the danger of the Sea, and begun to build that Colony. Those Flats reach from Cape *Santo* to Cape *Serpé*, which is six Leagues, and run out above three Leagues to Sea, and all the Coast North-West and South-East is

an open Strand, and Plain for four Leagues up the Country, where there are then high Mountains, and abundance of large Villages, in comparison of what is in the other Islands. Then he sail'd towards a high Mountain, which he call'd *Monte Christo*, and lies 18 Leagues E. of Cape *Santo*. So that whosoever would come to the City of the *Nativity*, when he discovers *Monte Christo*, which is round like a Pavillion, and looks almost like a Rock, must keep out at Sea two Leagues from it, and sail West till he

comes

comes to Cape Santo, when the City of the *Nativity* will be five Leagues from him, and he must pass thro' certain Channels among the Flats, which lie before it. The Admiral thought fit to mention these Marks, that it might be known where the first Habitation of Christians was in those Western Parts. Having sailed East of *Monte Christo* with Contrary Winds, on Sunday the 6th of January, in the Morning, a Sailer from the round Top discovered the Caraval *Pinta* that was sailing Westward, right before the Wind. As soon as it came up with the Admiral, *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, the Captain, coming aboard the Admiral's Caraval, began to show some Reasons, and give excuses for his leaving of him, saying it had happened against his Will. The Admiral, tho' he very well knew the contrary, and was satisfied of the Man's Evil Inclination, remembering his bold manner of proceeding before in the Voyage, yet conniv'd at him, and bore with all, for fear of ruining his Undertaking, which might easily have been done, because most of his Crew were *Martin Alonso's* Countrymen, and several of them his Relations. And the truth is, that when he forsok the Admiral, which was at *Cuba*, he

The other
Caraval
found.

went away with a design to sail to the Island *Bobio*, because the *Indians* aboard his Caraval told him, there was abundance of Gold there. When he was there and found nothing of what had been told him, he was returning towards *Hispaniola*, where other *Indians* had told him there was much Gold, and thus he had spent 20 days in sailing not above 15 Leagues East of the *Nativity*, to a River which the Admiral call'd of *Grace*, and there *Martin Alonso* had lain 16 days, and had got Gold enough, as the Admiral had done at the *Nativity*, giving things of small value for it. Of this Gold he distributed one half among his Crew, to gain and please them, that he as Captain might keep the rest, and afterwards he would persuade the Admiral that he knew nothing of all this. He now following on his way to come to an Anchor at *Monte Christo*; the Weather not permitting him to proceed further, he went in his Boat up a River, South-West of the Mount, where in the Sand he discovered signs of Gold dust, and therefore called it the *River of Gold*. This River lies 17 Leagues East of the *Nativity*, and is not much less than the River *Guadalquivir* that runs by *Cordova*.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Of the first Skirmish between the Christians and Indians, which happened about the Gulph of Samana in Hispaniola.

Fierce In-
dians.

ON Sunday the 13th of January, being near the Cape call'd *Enamorado*, or the *Lovers Cape*, the Admiral sent the Boat ashore, where our Men found some *Indians* with fierce Countenances on the shoar, with Bows and Arrows, who seemed to be ready to engage, but at the same time were in a Consternation. However, having some Conference with them, they bought two of their Bows and some Arrows, and with much difficulty prevail'd to have one of them go aboard the Admiral. Their Speech was suitable to their fierceness, which appeared greater than any People they had yet met with had shown, for their Faces were all daub'd over with Charcoal, it being the Custom of all those People to Paint themselves, some black, some red, and some white, some one way, and some another; their Hair was very long, and hung in a Bag made of Parrots Feathers. One of them standing before the Admiral, as Naked as he was born, as all the others there till then discovered were, he said in a lofty tone, they all went so in those Parts. The Admiral thinking this was one of the *Caribbes*, and that the Bay parted them from *Hispani-*

ola; he ask'd of him where the *Caribbes* dwelt, who pointed with his Finger, in another Island Eastward, and that there were Pieces of *Guanin*, as big as half the Stern of the Caraval; and that the Island *Matinino* was all Inhabited by Women, with whom the *Caribbes* went and lay at a certain time of the Year; and if afterwards they brought forth Sons, they gave them to the Fathers to carry away. Having Answered to all the Questions put to them, partly by signs, and partly by that little the *Indians* of *St. Salvador* could understand of their Language, the Admiral gave them to eat, and some Bawbles, as Glass Beads, and green and red Cloath, which done, he sent them ashore, that they should cause Gold to be brought if the others had any. The Boat being ashore, they found on the shoar among the Trees 55 of them, all Naked, with long Hair, as the Women in *Spain* wear it, and behind on the Crown of the Head, they had Plumes of Parrot's or other Birds Feathers, and all of them Arm'd with Bows and Arrows. When our Men Landed, the *Indian* that had been aboard made the others lay down their Bows and Arrows

Columbus.

A Day with the Indians.

Arrows, and a great Cudgel they carry instead of a Sword, for, as has been said, they have no Iron at all: when they came to the Boat, the Christians stept a shoar, and having begun to Trade for Bows and Arrows by Order of the Admiral, the *Indians* who had already sold two, not only refused to sell any more, but with scorn, made as if they would seize the Christians, and ran to their Bows and Arrows where they had left them, taking up with them Ropes to Bind our Men; they being upon their Guard seeing them come in that fury, tho' they were but seven, fell Courageously upon them, and cut one with a Sword on the Buttock, and shot another with an Arrow in the Breast. The *Indians* astonish'd at the resolution of our Men, and the Wounds our Weapons made, fled, most of them leaving their Bows and Arrows; and many of 'em had been kill'd, had not the Pilot of the Caraval, who Commanded the Boat, protected them. The Admiral was not at all displeased at this Skirmish, imagining these were the *Caribbes* all the other *Indians* so much dreaded, or that at least they Bordered on them, they being a Bold and Resolute People, as appeared by their Aspect, Arms and Actions, and he hop'd that the *Islanders* hearing how seven Christians had behav'd themselves against 55 Fierce *Indians*

of that Country, they would the more Respect and Honour our Men that were left behind at the *Nativity*, and would not dare to offend them. Afterwards, about Evening, they made a smock at Land to show their Courage, wherefore the Boat went again to see what they would have, but they could never be brought to venture themselves, and so the Boat returned. The Bows were of Yew, almost as big as those in *France* and *England*, the Arrows of small Twigs growing out of the ends of the Canes, which are Maitive and very streight, about the length of a Man's Arm and a half; the head is made of a small Stick hardened at the Fire, about a quarter of a Yard and half long; at the end whereof they fix a Fishes Tooth, or Bone, and Poison it. For this reason the Admiral gave that Gulph the Name of *Golpho de Flethas*, that is, *Gulph of Arrows*, whereas the *Indians* call'd it *Samana*. There appear'd a great deal of fine Cotton, and *Axi*, which is the Pepper they use, and is very hot, some of it long and some round. Near Land, where there was little Water, grew abundance of those Weeds our Men saw in long strings upon the Ocean, whence they concluded it all grew near Land, and when ripe, broke loose, and was carried out to Sea by the Current.

C H A P. XXXVII.

How the Admiral set out for Spain, and the Caraval Pinta was parted from him in a great Storm.

Discover-
ers return
towards
Spain.

ON Wednesday, the 16th of January, 1493. the Admiral set forward with a fair Wind from the aforesaid Gulph of Arrows, now call'd *Samana*, towards *Spain*, because now both the Caravals were very Leaky, and they took much pains to keep them up: Cape *Sautelmo* being the last Land they saw; 20 Leagues North-East of it, there appeared abundance of Weeds, and 20 Leagues still farther, they found all the Sea covered with small Tunny-fishes, whereof they saw great Numbers the two following days, which were the 19th and 20th of January, and after them abundance of Sea-Fowls, and all the way the Weeds ran with the Current in long Ropes, lying East and West, for they had already found, that the Current takes these Weeds a great way off, and that they keep not on long in the same way, for sometimes they go one way, and sometimes another, and this they saw almost every day, till they were almost half Seas over. Holding on their Course with a fair Wind, they made so much way, that

in the Opinion of the Pilots, on the 9th of February, they were South of the Islands *Azores*; but the Admiral said they were 150 Leagues short, and this was the Truth, for they still found abundance of Weeds, which as they went towards the *Indies*, they did not see till they were 263 Leagues West of the Island of *Ferro*. As they sailed on thus with fair Weather, the Wind began to rise more and more every day, and the Sea to run so high, that they could scarce live upon it. For which reason, on Thursday the 14th of February, they drove which way soever the Wind would carry them; and the Caraval *Pinta*, Commanded by *Pinzon*, not being able to lie athwart the Sea, run away due North, before the South Wind, the Admiral Steering North-East to draw nearer to *Spain*, which the Caraval *Pinta* could not do, by reason of the Darkness, tho' the Admiral had always his Light out. Thus when day appeared, they had quite lost sight of one another, each looking upon it as most certain, that the other was

A terrible
Storm.

Columbus.

lost; therefore betaking themselves to Prayers and Religious Acts; those aboard the Admiral cast Lots, which of them should go in Pilgrimage for the whole Crew to our Lady of *Guadalupe*, which fell to the Admiral. Afterwards they drew for another to go to *Loretto*, and the Lot fell upon one *Peter de Villa*, a Seaman of *Port St. Mary*. Then they cast Lots for a third, who was to Watch a Night at *St. Olave of Moguer*, and the Storm still increasing, they all made a vow to go barefoot and in their Shirts at the first Land they came to, to some Church of our Lady. Besides these general Vows, several others were made by Private Men, because the Tempest was now vehement, and the Admiral's Vessel could scarce withstand it for want of Ballast, which was fallen short, the Provisions being spent. To supply which want, they thought convenient to fill all the Vessels in the Ship with Sea-Water, which was some help, and made the Ship bear more upright, and be in less danger of oversetting. Of this violent Storm, the Admiral has these Words. I had been less concern'd for the Tempest, had I alone been in danger, for I know I owe my Life to the Supreme Creator, and because I have been other times so near Death, that only the least part was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely Grieved and Troubled me was the consideration, that as it had pleased our Lord to give me Faith and Assurance to go upon this undertaking, wherein I had now been successful; so now that those who oppos'd it were to be convinced, and your Highnesses served by me with Honour and Increase of your Mighty State, his Divine Majesty should please to obstruct all this by my Death, which had yet been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loss of all those Men I had carried with me, upon promise of Happy Success. They seeing themselves in that affliction did not only Curse their setting out, but the fear and awe my Perswasions infused into them, to dissuade their Return when outward Bound, as they had several times resolv'd to do. But above all my Sorrow was double, when I remembered two Sons

I had left at School at *Cordova*, destitute of Friends, in a strange Country, before I had done, or at least could be known to have done any Service, which might be believed to incline your Highnesses to remember them. And tho' on the one side I Comforted myself with the Faith, that our Lord would not permit a thing which was so much for the exaltation of his Church, to be left imperfect, when I had with so much opposition and trouble, almost brought it to Perfection: yet on the other side I considered, it was his Will, that because of my Demerits he would not permit me to obtain such Honour in this World, but snatch'd it from me. Being in this inward Confusion, I remembered your Highnesses good Fortune, which tho' I were dead, and the Ship lost, might find some means that a Conquest so near achiev'd should not be lost, and that it was possible the Success of my Voyage should by some means or other, come to your Knowledge. For this reason as briefly as the time would permit. I writ upon Parchment, that I had discovered those Lands, I had promis'd, as also in how many days, and what way I had done it, the goodness of those Lands, the Nature of the Inhabitants, and how your Highnesses Subjects were left in Possession of all I had Discovered; which Writing folded and Seal'd, I Supercrib'd to your Highnesses, promising in Writing upon it a 1000 Ducats to him, that should deliver it seal'd to you; to the end, that if any Foreigners found it, the promised Reward might prevail with them, not to give that Intelligence to another. Then I caus'd a great Cask to be brought to me, and having wrapped the Writing in an Oyl'd Cloath, and then put it into a Cake of Wax, I dropt it into the Cask, and having stop'd the Bung close, cast it into the Sea, all the Men fancying it was some Act of Devotion. And apprehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and the Ship still sailing nearer to *Spain*, I made another Pacquet like the first, and placed it at the top of the Poop, to the end that when the Ship sunk, the Cask might take its chance, remaining still above Water.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

How the Admiral arriv'd at the Islands Azores, and the People of the Island of St. Mary took away his Boat and the Men in it.

They spy Land.

Sailing on in such mighty danger, and so great a Storm, on *Friday the 15 of February*, at break of day, one *Ruy Garcia*, from the Round Top, saw Land bearing N. E. from them. The Pilot and Seamen judg'd it was the Rock of *Lisbon*, but

the Admiral concluded it was one of the *Islands Azores*, and tho' they were at no great distance from it, yet they could not come to an Anchor that day because of the Weather. Thus plying about because the Wind was East, they lost sight of that Island

Columbus.

Island and discover'd another, about which they ran struggling against Wind and Weather, with continual Labour and no respite, now being able to get to Land. Wherefore the Admiral in his Journal says, On Saturday the 16th of February, I arrived at one of those Islands at Night, and by reason of the bad Weather, could not tell which of them it was. That Night I took a little rest, because from Wednesday till then, I had never slept, and was lame of both my Legs, having been continually in the open Air and wet, nor was it little that I suffered by Provisions. Upon Monday Morning, being at an Anchor, I understood from some of the Inhabitants, that it was the Island of St. Mary, one of the Azores, and all of them admired I had escap'd, considering the terrible Storm, which had held for 15 days without intermission in those Parts. These People understanding what the Admiral had discovered, seem'd to rejoyce, giving Praise to God, and three of them came aboard with some fresh Provisions and many Complements from the Commander of the Island, who was far from thence at the Town; for about this Place, there was nothing to be seen but a Hermitage, which as they said, was

Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Thereupon the Admiral and all his Crew remembering they had made a Vow the Thursday before, to go barefoot and in their Shirts, the first Land they came at, to some Church of our Lady; they were all of Opinion they ought here to perform it, especially it being a Place where the People and Governour express'd so much Affection and Tenderness for our Men, and belonging to a King, who was so great a Friend to him of Castile. Therefore the Admiral desired those three Men to repair to the Town, and cause the Chaplain to come that had the Keys of that Hermitage, that he might say Mass there. These Men consenting, they went into the Caravels Boat, with half the Ship's Crew, that they might begin to perform their Vow, and being come back, the rest might go to do their Part. Being Landed barefooted and in their shirts, as they had Vow'd to do, the Governour, with abundance of People from the Town, who lay in Ambush, on a sudden rush'd out upon them and made them Prisoners, taking their Boat, without which he thought the Admiral could never get away from him.

A treacherous AB.

CHAP. XX.

How the Admiral Weathered another Storm, and at last recovered his Boat and Men.

The Portuguese thought to secure the Admiral.

THE Admiral thinking they stay'd too long, who were gone ashore in the Boat; it being then Noon, whereas they went off by break of Day, he suspected some misfortune had befallen them, either at Land or at Sea. Therefore not being able from the Place where he lay, to discover the Hermitage they were gone to, he resolv'd with his Ship to sail about a Point, whence the Church could be seen. Being come near, he saw abundance of People a Horseback, who dismounting, went into the Boat to attack the Caravel. The Admiral therefore mistrusting what might happen, ordered his Men to be in a readiness and Arm'd, but make no show of resistance, that the Portuguese might come the nearer. When they were near, the Admiral, the Captain of them stood up, demanding to Parley, which the Admiral granted, thinking he would come aboard, and might be secur'd without breach of Faith, since he had seiz'd his Men without Provocation. But the Portuguese durst not come nearer than to be heard, when the Admiral told him, he admired at his irregular manner of Proceeding, and that none of his Men came in the Boat since they were gone ashore upon a safe Conduct, and

offers of Relief, especially since the Governour himself had sent to welcome him. He therefore desired him to consider, that besides his doing an Action which Enemies would not be guilty of, and against the Laws of Honour, the King of Portugal would be highly offended at it, whose Subjects were, when they Landed, in the Dominions of their Catholick Majesties, or resided there, made much of, and treated with all manner of Civility, and were safe without any safe Conduct, as if they were in Lisbon; besides that their Highnesses had given him Letters of Recommendation to all Princes, Potentates, and other Persons in the World, which he would show him if he drew near. Therefore since such Letters were receiv'd with Respect in all Parts, and he and the King's Subjects well treated on their Account, much more they ought to be so in Portugal, their Princes being so near Neighbours and Allies, especially, he being their great Admiral of the Ocean and Vice-Roy of the Indies he had discovered, all which he was ready to show him under their Highnesses Hands and Seals. Accordingly at that distance he show'd his Commissions, and told him he might draw near without any Apprehension, for

Columbus. for as much as in regard to the Peace and Amity betwixt their Catholick Majesties and the King of Portugal, they had Commanded him to pay the utmost Civility to such Portuguese Ships as he met; adding, that though he should obstinately persist in keeping his Men, yet that would not prevent his returning to Spain, he having still Men enough to Sail to Sevil, and to do him harm, if need were, whereof he himself would be the occasion, and such Punishment would be adjudged well deserved of him, besides that his King would Punish him, as giving cause for a War between him and their Catholick Majesties. The Captain and his Men Answered, that they neither knew their Catholick Majesties, nor their Letters, nor did they fear them, and would make him know what Portugal was. By this Answer the Admiral suspected, there had some Breach happened between the two Crowns since his Departure, and therefore gave him such an Answer as his Folly deserv'd. At last when they were Parting, the Captain stood up, and at a great distance said, he might go to the Harbour with his Caraval, for that all he did, was by Order of the King his Master. The Admiral hearing it, call'd all that were aboard to bear witness, and calling to the Captain and Portuguese, swore he would never go off the Caraval, till he had taken an 100 Portuguese to carry them into Castile, and to destroy all that Island. This said, he again came to an Anchor in the Port, where he was at first, the Weather obliging him to it. But the next day the Wind still increasing, and the Place where he lay being unsafe, he lost his Anchors, and was forced to stand out to Sea, towards the Island of St. Michael, where in Case he could not come to an Anchor, he had resolved to run it out at Sea, not without

much Danger, as well because the Sea ran high, as by reason he had but three able Seamen left, and some Grummets, all the rest being Land Men, and Indians who understood nothing of Sea affairs. But supplying the want of the absent in his own Person, he passed that Night with much Labour and Danger, till day appearing, perceiving he had lost sight of the Island of St. Michael, and that the Weather was calmer, he resolved to return to the Island of St. Mary, to endeavour to recover his Men, Anchors, and Boat. He came up with it on Thursday the 21st of January, after Noon, and soon after the Boat came off with five Men and a Notary, who all upon Security given them, went aboard and lay there that Night, it being late. The next day they said they came from the Captain to know for certain whence the Ship came, and whether it had the King of Spain's Commission, which being made out, they were ready to show them all manner of Friendship, which they did because they could not seize the Ship nor the Admiral, and that they might suffer for what they had done. The Admiral suppressing his resentment, said, he thank'd them for their Civil Offers, and since they proceeded according to the Maritime Laws and Customs, he was ready to satisfy them; and accordingly shew'd them the King of Spain's General Letter of Recommendation, Directed to all his Subjects and those of other Princes, as also his Commission for that Voyage; which the Portuguese having seen, they went ashore satisfied, and soon dismissed the Seamen, with their Boat, of whom they understood it was reported in the Island, that the King had sent Orders to all his Subjects to secure the Person of the Admiral by any means whatsoever.

CHAP. XL.

How the Admiral sail'd from the Islands Azores, and was forced into Lisbon by a Storm.

Another terrible Storm.

ON Sunday the 24th of February, the Admiral sail'd from the Island of St. Mary for Spain, being in great want of Wood and Ballast, which he could not take in, because of the bad Weather, tho' the Wind was fair for his Voyage. Being an 100 Leagues from the nearest Land, a Swallow came into the Ship, which was believ'd the Storm had drove out to Sea, which appeared more plainly, because the next day being the 28th of February, a great many more Swallows and Land Fowl came aboard, and they saw a Whale. On the 3d of March

the Tempest was so great, that after Midnight it split their Sails, wherefore being in great danger of their Lives, they made a Vow to send one in Pilgrimage to our Lady de Cintra at Guelon, whither he was to go barefoot, and in his shirt. The Lot fell again upon the Admiral, God showing thereby, that his Offerings were more acceptable than those of others; besides which, other private Vows were made. Thus running on without a Rag of Cloath, but bare Masts, a mighty Sea, high Winds and frightfull Thunder, each of which seem'd enough to destroy the Caraval, it

Columbus. it pleas'd God to give them sight of Land, about Midnight, which offer'd no less danger than the rest; for to avoid being beate to pieces, and running into some Place where they knew not how to get off, they were forced to make some Sail, to bear up against the Storm till day, which appearing, they found they were upon the Rock of *Lisbon*. The Admiral was forced to put in there, to the great Astonishment of the People of that Country, and their Seamen, who ran from all Parts to behold, as it were some Wonder, a Ship that had escap'd so terrible a Storm; having receiv'd News of many

The Admiral at Lisbon.

Ships that had Perish'd about *Flanders*, and in other Countries of late days. He came to an Anchor in the River of *Lisbon* upon Monday the 4th of March, and presently sent away an Express to their Catholick Majesties with the News of his Arrival, and another to the King of *Portugal*, asking leave to go up to Anchor before the City, the Place where he was, not being safe, against any that should design to do him harm, upon pretence, it was done by the King's Order, as believing by his Ruine, they might obstruct the King of *Spain's* Success.

C H A P. XLI.

How the People of Lisbon came to see the Admiral, as a Prodigy; and he went to Visit the King of Portugal.

The Admiral refuses to quit his Vessel. ON Tuesday the 5th of March, the Master of a great Guard Ship that lay in the Harbour, came with his Boat full of Arm'd Men to the Admiral's Caraval, requiring him to come along to give an Account of himself to the King's Officers, as was practis'd by all Ships that came into the Harbour. He Answer'd, That the King of *Spain's* Admirals, as he was, were not oblig'd to obey any such Summons, nor to quit their Ships, to give any Account of themselves, and he was resolv'd to do his Duty. The Master bid him at least to send his Boatswain. The Admiral reply'd, It was still the same thing, whether he sent a Grummet, or went himself, and therefore it was in vain to desire him to send any Body. The Master being sensible he was in the Right, desired him at least to show him the King of *Spain's* Letter, that he might satisfy his Captain: This being but reasonable, the Admiral show'd him their Catholick Majesties Letter, with which he was satisfied, and went back to his Ship to give an Account of what had happened to *Alvaro de Acunna* his Captain, who came immediately with Trumpets, Fifes, Drums, and great State, aboard the Admiral, expressing much kindness, and offering his Service. The next day it being known at *Lisbon*, that the Ship came from the *Indies*, such throngs of People went aboard to see the *Indians*, and hear News, that the Caraval could not contain them, and the Water was covered with Boats, some of them Praising God for so great a Happiness, and others Storming that they had lost that Discovery, thro' their King's incredulity; so that day was spent with great concourse of People. The next day, the King Order'd his Officers to present the Admiral with all sorts of Refresh-

ment, and all things he stood in need of either for himself, or his Men, without asking any Pay. At the same time he writ to the Admiral, Congratulating his Happy Arrival, and desiring, since he was in his Dominions, he would come to see him. The Admiral was doubtful what to do in this Case, but he consider'd the King was in Amity with their Catholick Majesties, and had treated him Courteously; and besides, to take off all suspicion that he came from his Conquests, he consented to go to *Valparaiso*, 9 Leagues from *Lisbon*, where the King was, whither he came on Saturday Night, being the 9th of March. The King order'd all the Nobility of his Court to go out to meet him, and being come into his Presence, did him great Honour, commanding him to put on his Cap and sit down, and having with a cheerful Countenance heard the Particulars of his Prosperous Voyage, offer'd him all he stood in need of, for the Service of their Catholick Majesties, though he thought, that for as much as he had been a Captain in *Portugal*, that Conquest belong'd to him. To which the Admiral Answer'd, That he knew of no such Agreement, and that he had strictly observ'd his Orders, which were not to go to the Mines of *Portugal*, nor to *Guinea*. The King said, all was well, and he doubted not but Justice would be done. Having spent a long time in this sort of Discourse, the King Commanded the Prior of *Crato*, the greatest Man then about him, to Entertain the Admiral, and show him all Civility and Respect, which was done accordingly. Having stay'd there all Sunday and all Monday, till after Mass, the Admiral took leave of the King, who express'd great Kindness, and made him great Proffers, ordering *D. Martin de*

Nobly received by the King

W *Noronha* to go along with him, and many other Gentlemen went for Company to Honour him, and hear an Account of his Voyage. As he was thus on his way to *Lisbon*, he pass'd by a Monastery, where the Queen then was, who sent earnestly to intreat him he would not pass by without seeing her. She was much pleas'd to see him, and did

him all the Favour and Honour that was due to the greatest Lord. That Night a Gentleman came from the King, to the Admiral, to let him know, that if he pleas'd to go by Land into *Spain*, he would attend him, provide Lodgings all the way, and furnish him all necessaries, as far as the Borders of *Portugal*.

C H A P. XLII.

How the Admiral left Lisbon to return to Castile by Sea.

The Admiral returns to Palos.

ON *Wednesday* the 13th of *March*, two hours after day, the Admiral set sail for *Sevil*, and on *Friday* following at Noon, arriv'd at *Saltes*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Palos*, whence he had set out on the 3d of *August* the foregoing Year 1492, 7 Months and 11 days before his Return. He was there received by all the People in Procession, giving thanks to God for his Prosperous Success, which it was hop'd, would redound so much to the Propagation of Christianity, and increase of their Catholick Majesties Dominions; all the Inhabitants of that Place looking upon it as a great matter that the Admiral set out from thence, and that most of the Men he had with him, belong'd to it, tho' many of them, thro' *Pinzon's* fault, had been Mutinous and Disobedient. It happen'd that when the Admiral came to *Palos*, *Pinzon* was arriv'd in *Galizia*, and design'd to go by himself to *Barcelona* to carry the News to their Catholick Majesties, who sent him Orders not to go thither without the Admiral, with whom he had been sent to Discover, at which he was so concern'd and offended, that he return'd indispos'd, to his Native Country, where within a few days he dyed for Grief: But before he got to *Palos*, the Admiral set out for *Sevil*, designing thence for *Barcelona*, where their Catholick Majesties were; and he was forced

to stay a little by the way, tho' but never so little, to the so great Admiration of the People wheresoever he went, that they ran from all the neighbouring Towns, down to the Roads to see him, the *Indians*, and other things he brought. Thus holding on his way he got to *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, having before sent their Highnesses an Account of the Happy Success of his Voyage, which was extraordinary Pleasing to them, and they order'd him a most Solemn Reception, as to a Man that had done them such singular Service. All the Court and City went out to meet him; and their Catholick Majesties sat in Publick with great State, on rich Chairs under a Canopy of Cloath of Gold; and when he went to kiss their Hands, they stood up to him as to a great Lord, made a difficulty to give him their Hands, and caus'd him to sit down. Having given a brief Account of his Voyage, they gave him leave to retire to his Apartment, whither he was attended by all the Court; and he was so highly Honoured and Favoured by their Highnesses, that when the King rode about *Barcelona*, the Admiral was on one side of him, and the *Infante Fortuna* on the other; whereas before, none went by his Majesty but the said *Infante*, who was his near Kinsman.

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C H A P. XLIII.

How it was resolv'd that the Admiral should return with a Powerful Fleet to People the Island Hispaniola, and his Holinesses Approbation of the Conquest was obtain'd.

The Pope's grants.

ORders were given at *Barcelona*, with great Care and Expedition for the Admiral's Return to *Hispaniola*, as well to relieve those that were left there, as to enlarge the Colony and subdue the Island, with the rest that were and should be discovered. To make their Title to them the stronger, their Catholick Majesties, by the Advice of the Admiral, procur'd the Pope's

Approbation and Consent for the Conquest of the said *Indies*, which Pope *Alexander* the 6th, who then Governed the Church, readily granted; not only for what was already, but for all that should be discovered Westward, till it should come to the East, where any Christian Prince was then Actually in Possession, forbidding all Persons in General, to intrude within those Bounds.

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Columbus.

The same his Holiness confirm'd the next Year, in very significant Terms. And their Catholick Majesties being sensible that the Admiral had been the cause of all this Favour granted by the Pope, and that his Discovery had Entitled them to the Possession of all those Parts, they were pleas'd he should be immediately gratify'd at *Barcelona*, on the 28th of May, and therefore granted him a New Privilege,

or rather an Exposition, and Explanation of what he had before, confirming to him all they had Granted before, and in plain Terms declared how far the Bounds of his Admirallship, and Vice-Royship extended, being over all that which his Holiness had granted them, thus ratifying what they had given him before, which Privileges and Prerogatives are as follows.

C H A P. XLIV.

Privileges and Prerogatives granted by their Catholick Majesties to the Admiral.

Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Minorca, of Sevil, of Sardinia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algezira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lord and Lady of Biscay and Molina, Duke and Dutches of Athens and Neopatria, Count and Countess of Roussillon, and Cerdaigne, Marquess and Marchioness of Oristan, and Gociano, &c. For as much as you Christopher Columbus, are going by our Command with some of our Vessels and Men to Discover and Subdue some Islands and Continent in the Ocean, and it is hop'd that by God's Assistance, some of the said Islands and Continent in the Ocean will be Discovered and Conquer'd by your Means and Conduct, therefore it is but Just and Reasonable, that since you expose your self to such danger to serve us, you should be rewarded for it. And we being willing to Honour and Favour you for the Reasons aforesaid; Our Will is, That you, Christopher Columbus, after Discovering and Conquering the said Islands and Continent in the said Ocean, or any of them, shall be our Admiral of the said Islands and Continent you shall so Discover and Conquer; and that you be our Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour in them, and that for the Future you may call and stile your self, D. Christopher Columbus, and that your Sons and Successors in the said Employment may call themselves Dons, Admirals, Vice-Roys and Governours of them; and that you may exercise the Office of Admiral, with the charge of Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, which you and your Lieutenants shall Conquer, and freely decide all Causes Civil and Criminal, appertaining to the said Employment of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour, as you shall think fit in Justice, and as the Admirals of our Kingdoms use do; and that you have Power to Punish

Offenders; and you and your Lieutenants exercise the Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour in all things belonging to the said Offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the Perquisites and Salaries belonging to the said Employments, and to each of them, in the same manner as the High Admiral of our Kingdoms does. And by this our Letter, or a Copy of it Sign'd by a Publick Notary: We Command Prince John our most dearly Beloved Son, the Infantes, Dukes, Prelates, Marquesses, Great Masters and Military Orders, Priors, Commandaries, our Councillors, Judges, and other Officers of Justice whatsoever, belonging to our Household, Courts, and Chancery, and Constables of Castles, strong Houses, and others; and all Corporations, Bayliffs, Governours, Judges, Commanders, Sea Officers; and the Aldermen, Common-Council, Officers, and Good People of all Cities, Lands and Places in our Kingdoms and Dominions, and in those you shall Conquer and Subdue, and the Captains, Masters, Mates, and other Officers and Sailers, our Natural Subjects now being, or that shall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you shall have discovered the said Islands and Continent in the Ocean; and you, or any that shall have your Commission, shall have taken the usual Oath in such Cases, that they, for the future, look upon you as long as you live, and after you, your Son and Heir, and so from one Heir to another for ever; as our Admiral on our said Ocean, and as Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, by you Christopher Columbus Discovered and Conquered; and that they treat you and your Lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as such in all Respects, and give you all the Perquisites and other things belonging and appertaining to the said Offices; and allow, and cause to be allow'd you, all the Honours, Graces, Concessions, Preeminences,

The Admiral's Letters Patents.

Columbus. minences, Prerogatives, Immunities and other things, or any of them which are due to you, by Vertue of your Commands, of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, and to be observed completely, so that nothing be diminished; and that they make no Objection to this, or any part of it, nor suffer it to be made; for as much as we from this time forward, by this our Letter, bestow on you the Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Perpetual Governour for ever; and we put you into Possession of the said Offices, and of every of them, and full Power to use and exercise them, and to receive the Perquisites and Sallaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was said above. Concerning all which things, if it be requisite, and you shall desire it, We Command our Chancellour, Notaries and other Officers, to Pass, Seal and Deliver to you, our Letter of Privilege, in such Firm and Legal manner, as you shall require or stand in need of. And that none of them presume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our Displeasure, and Forfeiture of 30 Ducats for each Offence. And we Command him, who shall show them this our Letter, that he Summon them to appear before us at our Court, where we shall then be, within 15 days after such Summons, under the said Penalty. Under which same we also Command any Publick Notary whatsoever, that he give to him that shows it him, a Certificate under his Seal, that we may know how our Command is Obey'd.

*Given at Granada, on the 30th of April,
in the Year of our Lord 1492. 1 the
King, 1 the Queen.*

By their Majesties Command, *John Coloma* Secretary to the King and Queen.

Entered according to Order *Roderick Doctor.*
Registred, *Sebastian Dolana, Francis de
Madrid,* Chancellors.

The Confirmation. And now for as much as it has Pleas'd our Lord, that you have Discovered several of the said Islands, as we still hope you will by his Grace, discover and find others and the Continent, in the said Ocean, and those Parts of the *Indies*, and have desired and requested of us, that we would confirm to you our said Grant here set down, and all the Contents of it, to the end that you and your Children, Heirs and Successors, one after another, and after your days, may have and enjoy the said Employments, of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, of the said Ocean, Islands and Continent, as well of those you have already found and discovered, as of those you shall for the future

find and discover with all the Power, Preheminence and Prerogative, as the Admirals, Vice-Roys, and Governours in our Kingdoms, of *Castile* and *Leon* do enjoy, and that all the Perquisites and Sallaries appertaining and belonging to the said Offices, and Granted and Allow'd to our Admirals, Vice-Roys and Governours, may be made good to you; or that we made such Provision in this Case, as in our Goodness we shall think fit. And we having regard to the Hazard and Danger you have expos'd your self to in our Service, in going to discover and find out the said Islands, and that which you now run in attempting to find out the other Islands and Continent, wherein we have been, and hope to be by you well served: To Requite and Reward you, do by these Presents, confirm to you and your Children, Heirs and Successors, one after another, now and for ever the said Employments of Admiral of the said Ocean, and Vice-Roy, and Governour of the said Islands and Continent by you discovered and found out; and of the other Islands and Continent, that shall be by you, or your Industry found, or discovered for the Future in those Parts of the *Indies*. And it is our Will, that you, and after you your Children, Heirs and Successors, one after another, enjoy the said Employment of our Admiral of the said Ocean, which is ours, and Commences at a Line, we have caused to be drawn, from the Islands *Azores*, to those of *Cabo Verde*, and so from Pole to Pole, North and South; so that all beyond the said Line Westward, is ours, and belongs to us. And accordingly we Constitute you Admiral, and your Sons and Successors, one after another, of all that Part for ever. And we also appoint you, our Vice-Roy and Governour, and after you, your Sons, Heirs and Successors, one after another, of the said Islands and Continent, discovered, and to be discovered in the said Ocean in those Parts of the *Indies*, as has been said: and we grant you the Possession of all the said Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour for ever, with full Commission and Authority to Use and Exercise in the said Sea, the Office of Admiral in all those things, and in the same Manner and Form, and with the Rights and Privileges, Perquisites and Sallaries, as our Admirals of *Castile* and *Leon*, have and do use, have enjoy'd or enjoy, as well in the said Islands and Continent already discovered, as in those that shall hereafter be discovered in the said Ocean and said Parts of the *Indies*, that the Planters of them all may be the better Governed. And we grant you such Power and Authority, that you may as our Vice
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Roy and Governour, and your Lieutenants, Judges, Commanders, and Officers by you created, exercise the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, the Supream and Mean Authority, and the Absolute and Mixt Command. And in those Places you may remove, turn out, and put in others in their Places, as often as you please, and shall think convenient for our Service. And that they have Power to Hear, Judge, and Determine all Sutes or Causes, Civil or Criminal, that shall occur or arise in the said Islands or Continent; and that they have and receive the Fees and Salaries usually Annex'd, and appertaining to those Employments in our Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*. And you our said Vice-Roy and Governour may hear and determine all the said Causes and any of them, whenever you shall please upon the first Motion by way of Appeal or Complaint, and Examine, Determine and Decide them, as our Vice-Roy and Governour; and you and your Children may do all that is reasonable in such Cases, and all other things appertaining to the Office of Vice-Roy and Governour, and that you and your Lieutenants and Officers appointed to this purpose, may take such cognizance, and use such methods as you shall think proper for our Service, and the execution of our Justice. All which you and they may do and perform Lawfully and effectually, as they might and ought to do, had the said Officers been appointed by us. But our Will and Pleasure is, That such Letters Patents, as you shall grant, be Drawn and Granted in our Name, with these Words, *Ferdinand and Elizabeth by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile and Leon, &c.* and be Sealed with our Seal, which we will cause to be given you for the said Islands and Continent. And we Command all the People, Inhabitants and other Persons in the said Island and Continent, to obey you as our Vice-Roy and Governour of the same; and those that sail on the said Seas to Obey you, as our Admiral of the said Ocean; and that all of them execute your Letters and Orders, and take part with you and your Officers, for the execution of our Justice; and give, and cause to be given you, all the Aid and Assistance you shall require and stand in need of, upon such Penalties as you shall impose on them, which we by these Presents do

impose on them, and do look upon them as imposed; and do grant you Authority to execute them on their Persons and Goods. And it is also our Will, That if you shall find it for our Service, and the execution of Justice, That any Persons who shall be in the said Islands or Continent, depart from them, and do not return nor stay in them, and that they come and appear before us, you may in our Name Command, and make them depart the said Islands. All whom by these Presents we Command, that they presently Perform, Execute and put in Practice that has been said, without looking further, or asking Advice upon it, nor expecting any other Letter or Command from us, notwithstanding any Appeal or Petition they shall make or present against your said Order. For all which things, and any other due or belonging to the said Offices of our Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour, we give you sufficient Authority, with all Incidents, Dependencies, and Emergencies to them Annex'd or Inherent. Concerning all which things, if it shall be your Will, we do command our Chancellor, Notaries, and other Officers belonging to our Seals, that they Give, Pass, Dispatch and Seal you our Letter of Privilege, made as effective, firm and strong, as you shall require of them and stand in need of; and that none of them presume to do any thing to the contrary, upon Pain of our Displeasure, and of 30 Ducats to be paid to our Treasury by every one that shall be guilty of the contrary. And besides, we Command him that shall show them this our Letter to Summon them to appear before us at our Court, whersoever we are, within 15 days upon the said Penalty. Under which we command any *Publick Notary*, that shall be call'd for such Purpose, that he give to him that shall show it him, a Certificate sign'd under his hand, that we may know how our Commands are obey'd. Given in the City of Barcelona, the 28th of May, in the Year of our Lord 1493.

I the King, I the Queen.

By their Majesties Order, *Ferdinand Alva- rez de Toledo*, Secretary to the King and Queen, our Lord and Lady.

Peter Gutierrez, Chancellor, without Fees, for Seal or Entry. Deliver'd *Roderick Doctor*. Entred *Alonzo Perez*.

C H A P. XLV.

How the Admiral went from Barcelona to Seville, and set out thence for Hispaniola.

ALL things necessary for the Peopling of those Countries, being provided, the Admiral departed from Barcelona for Seville
Vgl. II.

in June, and being come thither, so diligently solicited the fitting out of the Fleet their Catholick Majesties had ordered him to pro-

Columbus.

provide, that in a short time 17 Ships, between great and small, were made ready, well stored with Provisions, and with all things thought necessary for Peopling of those Countries, as Handicrafts of all sorts, Labourers, Countrymen to Till the Land; besides, the Fame of Gold and other Rarities in those Countries, had drawn together so many Gentlemen and other Persons of worth; that it was necessary to lessen the Number, and not to allow so many to go aboard, at least till it appeared in some Measure how things would succeed in those Parts, and till things were a little settled. Yet was it impossible so much to confine the Number of People that went aboard, but that it amounted to 1500 of all sorts; among whom some carried Horses, Asses and other Beasts, which were afterwards of great Use and Advantage to the Planters in those Countries.

Being thus furnished, the Admiral weighed Anchor in the Road of Cadiz, where the Fleet had been fitted, upon Wednesday the 25th of September, 1493, an Hour before Sun-rising, my Brother and I being there, and stood South-West for the Canary Islands, designing there to take in some necessary Refreshment. On the 28th of September, being 100 Leagues from Spain, there came aboard the Admiral's Ship, abundance of Land-Fowl, Turtle Doves, and other sorts of small Birds, which seem'd to be passing over to Winter in Africk, and to come from the Islands Azores. He holding on his Course, on Wednesday the 2d of October, arrived at Gran Canaria, and came to an Anchor: At Midnight sail'd again for Gomera, where he arriv'd on the 5th of October, and Orders were given for taking up with all speed, whatsoever the Fleet stood in need of.

C H A P. XLVI.

How the Admiral departing from Gomera, crossed the Ocean and discovered the Caribbee Islands

ON Monday the 7th of October, the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the Indies, having first delivered a Commission shut up and Seal'd, to every Ship, commanding them not to open it, unless they were separated from him by stress of Weather, for he in those Letters giving an Account of the Course they were to steer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity* in *Hispaniola*, would not have that Course known to any without great need. Thus sailing with a fair Gale till Thursday the 24th of October, when being 400 Leagues West of Gomera, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had seen the first Voyage, when he was out but 250 Leagues, to the great astonishment of them all; that day and the next, a Swallow flew about the Fleet. On Saturday at Night, the Body of St. Elmo was seen, with seven lighted Candles on the Round-Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder. I mean, the Lights were seen, which the Seamen affirm to be the Body of St. Elmo, and they sing Litanies and Prayers to him; looking upon it as most certain, that in those Storms where he appears, there can be no danger. Whatsoever this is, I leave to them, for if we will believe *Pliny*, when such Lights appeared in those times to the *Roman* Sailors in a Storm, they said they were *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereof *Seneca* makes mention also, at the beginning of his first Book of Nature.

But to return to our History; on Saturday, the 2d of November, at Night, the Admiral perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking Notice of the Mighty Rains, he concluded for certain that he was near some Land, and for this Reason caused most of the Sails to be furl'd, and ordered all to be upon the Watch; nor without cause, for that same Night, as Day began to break, they spy'd Land 7 Leagues to the Westward, which was a high Mountainous Island, and he call'd it *Dominica*, because discovered upon Sunday Morning. A while after he saw another Island North-East of *Dominica*, and then another, and another after that, more Northward. For which Mercy God had been pleas'd to bestow on them, all the Men assembling in the Poop, sung the *Salve Regina*, and other Prayers and Hymns very Devoutly, giving thanks to God, for that in 20 days after departing from Gomera, they had made that Land, judging the distance between them to be between 750 and 800 Leagues. And finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the East side of the Island *Dominica*, they stood over to another Island which the Admiral call'd *Marigalante*, that being his Ship's Name. Here Landing, he with all necessary Solemnity again confirm'd the Possession he had in his first Voyage, taken of all the Islands and Continent of the *West-Indies*, for their Catholic Majesty.

How the Admiral discovered the Island of Guadalupe, and what he saw there.

ON Monday the 4th of November, the Admiral sail'd from the Island *Mari-galante* Northwards, by another Great Island, which he call'd *St. Mary of Guadalupe*, for his own Devotion, and at the request of the Friars of the House of that Name, to whom he had made a Promise to call some Island by the Name of their Monastery. Before he came to it, at two Leagues distance, they discovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence gush'd out a stream of Water, as thick as a large Barrel, which falling made such a Noise, that it was heard aboard the Ships, tho' many affirm'd it was only a white vein in the Rock, the Water was so white and frothy by reason of its steep fall. Going ashore in the Boat to view a sort of Town they saw from the shoar, they found no body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except some Children, to whose Arms they ty'd some Baubles to allure their Fathers when they returned. In the Houses they found Geese like ours, and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blue and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks; they also found Pompions, and a sort of Fruit, which look'd like our green Pine Apples, but much bigger, and within, full of a solid Meat, like a Melon, and much sweeter both in taste and smell, which grow on long stalks like Lilies or Alges, wild about the Fields, and are better than those that are brought up by Art, as afterwards appeared. They also saw other sorts of Fruits and Herbs differing from ours. Beds of Cotton Nets, that is Hammacks, Bows, and Arrows, and other such things, of which our Men took none, that the *Indians* might be the less afraid of the Christians. But what they most admired was, that they found an Iron Pan, tho' I believe that the Rocks and Firestones in that Country being of the Colour of bright Iron, a Person of but indifferent judgment that found it, without looking further, took it for Iron, tho' in Truth it was not so; for as much as from that day to this, there was never any thing of Iron found among those People, nor did I hear the Admiral speak of this. And therefore I am of Opinion that he using daily to write down whatsoever happened, and was told him, that he might among other things set down what was told him concerning this particular, by those that were ashore. And tho' it were of Iron it was not to be admired, because the *Indians* of the Island of *Guadalupe*, being *Caribbees*, and making their ex-

cursions to rob, as far as *Hispaniola*, perhaps they had that Pan of the Christians or of the other *Indians* of *Hispaniola*; and it is possible they might carry the Body of the Ship the Admiral lost, to make use of the Iron, and tho' it were not the Hulk of that Ship, it must be the remainder of some other Wreck, carried thither by the Wind and Current from our Parts. But be it what it will, they that day took neither the Pan nor any thing else, but return'd to their Ships. The next day, which was *Tuesday* the 5th of November, the Admiral again sent two Boats ashore, to endeavour to take somebody that might give him an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which way *Hispaniola* lay. Each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in saying they were not of that Island, but of another call'd *Borriquen* (now *St. John*) and that the Inhabitants of that Island of *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees* or *Cambals*, and had taken them Prisoners from their own Island. Soon after the Boats returning to shoar, to take up some Christians they had left there, found six Women with them, who had fled to them from the *Caribbees*, and came of their own accord aboard the Ships. The Admiral to allure the Islanders, would not keep them aboard, but gave them some Glais Beads and Bells, and made them be set ashore against their Wills. This was not done unadvisedly, for as soon as they Land'd, the *Caribbees* in the sight of the Christians, took away all the Admiral had given them. Therefore either thro' the hatred they bore the *Caribbees*, or for the fear they had conceived of those People: a while after, when the Boats returned for Wood and Water, the said Women got into them, begging of the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, and giving them to understand by signs, that those People did eat Men, and make Slaves of them, and therefore they would not stay with them; so that the Men yielding to their Intreaties, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man that had made his escape from the *Caribbees*, thinking it safer to put themselves into the hands of People they never saw, and such Strangers to their Nation, than to remain among those they knew to be Wicked and Cruel, and who had eaten their Husbands and Children, and they say they do not kill and eat the Women, but keep them as Slaves. One of the Women told them, that towards the South, there were many Islands,

~ Islands, some inhabited, others not, which Columbus. both she and the other Women, severally call'd *Giamachi*, *Caivaco*, *Huino*, *Buriari*, *A-rucira*, *Sixibei*. But the Continent which ~ product of he Island Guadalupe. they said was very great, both they and the People of *Hispaniola*, call'd *Xuanta*, because in former times Canoes had come from that Land, to Barter with abundance of Lads, of whom they said there were two thirds in an Island not far distant; and they also said, that a King of that Country whither they fled, was gone with ten great Canoes, and 300 Men to make incursions into the Neighbouring Islands, and take People to eat. The same Women gave information where the Island *Hispaniola* lay; for tho' the Admiral had inserted it in his Sea-Chart; yet for his further information, he would hear what the People of that Country said of it. He would immediately have sail'd that way, had he not been told, that one Captain *Mark*, was gone ashore with 8 Men, without his leave, before day, and was not yet return'd. He was therefore forced to send out to look for him, tho' in vain, for by reason of the great thickness of the Trees, there could be no discovering of them. Therefore the Admiral, that they might not be lost, or be obliged to leave a Ship behind to take them in, which might afterwards mislead her way to *Hispaniola*, resolved to stay there till the next day; and because the Country as has been said, was full of great Woods, he ordered them to be sought after again, and that they should carry Trumpets and Muskets, to bring 'em to the Noise. These People having strayed all that day, return'd to their Ships without finding or hearing any News of them. The Admiral therefore seeing it was now *Thursday* Morning, and no News had been heard of them since *Tuesday*, and that they went without leave, resolved to continue his Voyage,

or at least make show of so doing, that it might be a Punishment to others, but at the Intreaty of some of their Kindred and Friends, he stay'd, and ordered the Ships should in the mean while take in Wood and Water, and the Men wash their Linen; and sent Captain *Hojeda*, with 40 Men, to look for those that were strayed, and pry into the Nature of the Country, where he found Mastick, Aloes, Sandal, Ginger, Frankincense, and some Trees in taste and smell like Cinnamon, abundance of Cotton, and many Falcons, and saw two of them pursuing the other Birds; they also saw Kites, Herons, Daws, Turtles, Partridges, Geese, and Nightingals, and affirm'd that in Travelling six Leagues, they cross'd 26 Rivers, several whereof were vast deep, which makes me believe, that the Country being uncouth, they often cross'd the same River. Whilst these were admiring at what they saw, and other Companies went about the Island, seeking the Stragglers, they returned to the Ships without being met by any that look'd for them, on *Friday* the 8th of *November*, saying the thickness of the Woods was the cause they had lost themselves. The Admiral to Punish their Presumption, commanded the Captain to be cast into Irons, and the rest to suffer by retrenching their Allowance of Provisions. Then he Landed, and went to some Houses, where he saw all the things above mentioned, especially a great deal of Cotton spun and unspun, Looms to Weave, abundance of Mens Skulls hung up, and Baskets full of Mens Bones. These Houses they saw, were the best, and more plentifully stored with Provisions, and other things Necessary for the use of the *Indians*, than any others the Admiral saw in the Islands at his first Voyage.

C H A P. XLVIII.

How the Admiral departed from the Island Guadalupe, and of some Islands he found in his way.

~ Monferatte Is. Redonda. ON Sunday the 10th of *November*, the Admiral weighed Anchor, and sailed with the whole Fleet along the Coast of the Island *Guadalupe*, towards the North-West for *Hispaniola*, and came to the Island *Monferatte*, calling it by that Name, because of its highth, and understood by the *Indians* he had with him, that the *Caribbees* had unpeopled it, devouring the Inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to *St. Mary Redonda*, so call'd, because it is so round, and upright, that there seems to be no getting into it without Ladders, which the *Indians* call'd *Ocamairo*. Next

he came to *St. Maria la Antigua*, which is above 28 Leagues in extent. Still holding on his Course North-West, there appeared several other Islands towards the North, and lying North-West and South-East, all very high and full of Woods, in one of which they cast Anchor, and call'd it *St. Martin*, ^{St. Ar} where they took up pieces of Coral, sticking to the Anchor Flooks, which made 'em hope they should find other useful things in those Countries. Tho' the Admiral was very desirous to know every thing, yet he resolved to hold ^{St. Ar} his Course towards *Hispaniola*,

la, to relieve those he had left there, but : Weather being bad, he came to an An- or on *Thursday* the 13th of *November*, in Island, where he ordered some *Indians* to taken, to know whereabouts he was. the Boat was returning to the Fleet with ur Women and three Children the Men d taken, it met a Canoo, in which there re four Men, and one Women; who per- iving they could not make their escape, stood on their Guard, and hit two of the *Christians* ith their Arrows, which they let fly with such ee and dexterity, that the Woman shot a arget quite thro', but the Boat furiously arding, the Canoo overfet, so that they took em all Swimming in the Water, and one of em swimming, shot several Arrows, as if he d been upon dry Land. These had their lembers cut off, for they are taken by the *tribbles* in other Islands, and gelt, as we do fat Capons, that they may be more pleasing the tast. The Admiral departing hence,

continued his Voyage W. N. W. where he found above 50 Islands, which he left to the Northward, the biggest of them he call'd St. *Ursula*, and the others the *11000* *St. Ursula*. gins. Next he came to the Island which he call'd St. *John Baptis*, but the *Indians*, *Borri- St. John* *quen*, and the Fleet Anchored in a Bay on *Borri- St. John* the West side of it, where they took several *quen*. forts of Fish, as Skate, Olaves, Pilchards, and Shads, and saw Falcons and Buses like wild Vines. More to the Eastward, some *Christians* went to certain Houses well built after their Fashion, with a Square before them, and a broad Road down to the Sea, with Towers made of Cane on both sides, and the top of them curiously interwoven with Greens, as is seen in the Gardens of *Valencia*. At the end of it next the Sea, was a rais'd a Gallery or Balcony that could hold 10 or 12 People, lofty and well built.

C H A P. XLIX.

How the Admiral Arrived at Hispaniola, where he understood the Spaniards were dead.

ON *Friday* the 12th of *November*, the Admiral came up with the North side of *Hispaniola*, and presently sent ashoar at *Amama*, one of the *Indians* born in that Part, whom he brought out of *Spain*, being then Converted to our Holy Faith, who offered to reduce all the *Indians* to submit to the *Christians*. The Admiral continuing his Voyage towards the Town of *Natal*, or the Nativity, when he came to Cape *Angel*, some *Indians* went aboard, to Barter their Commodities with the *Christians*. Coming to an Anchor in the Port of *Monte Christo*, a Boat that went ashoar, found near a River two dead Men, one of them seem'd to be Young, the other Old, who had a Rope made of a certain sort of Broon, or such like Furze that grows in *Spain*, call'd *Esparraco*, about his Neck, his Arms extended, and his Hands ty'd to a piece of Wood, in the Form of a Cross, but they could not discern whether they were *Christians* or *Indians*, but look upon it as an ill Omen. The next day, being the 26th of *November*, the Admiral sent ashoar in several Places; the *Indians* came very friendly and boldly to talk with the *Christians*, and touching our Men's Shirts and Doublets, said Shirt, Doublet in *Spanish*, to show they knew those things were called, which delivered the Admiral from the Jealousie he had conceived,

on Account of the Dead Men, judging that if those People had wrong'd the *Christians* left there, they had not come so boldly aboard the Ships. But the next day, when he came to an Anchor near the Town of *Navidad*, or the Nativity, after Midnight, a Canoo came to the Fleet, and ask'd for the Admiral, and being bid to come aboard, for he was there, they would not do it, saying, they were resolv'd not to go aboard till they saw and knew him. The Admiral therefore was forced to come to the Ship's side to hear them, and then presently two went up with two Masks, which they gave to the Admiral, from the Cacique *Guacanagari*, saying, he sent many Commendations. They being ask'd by the Admiral concerning the *Christians* left there, Answered, that some of them died of Distempers, some parted from their Company, and so were gone into other Countries, but that all of them had four or five Wives, tho' it appeared by their way of speaking, that all or most of them were Dead, yet the Admiral not thinking fit to take any Notice at that time, sent back the *Indians*, with a Present of some things made of Latten, and other Baubles, for *Guacanagari*, and themselves, and so they went away that same Night, with the Gifts for the Cacique.

Columbus.

C H A P. L.

How the Admiral went to the Town of Navidad, or the Nativity, found it forsaken and burnt, and had an interview with King Guacanagari.

ON Thursday the 28th of November, about Evening, the Admiral with all his Fleet, came into the Port, before the Town of *Navidad* or the *Nativity*, found it all burnt, and that day no body was seen all about there: Next day in the Morning, the Admiral Landed very much concern'd to see the Houses and Fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians, but only ragged Cloaths and such like things, as is usual in a Place Plunder'd and destroy'd, and seeing no body to enquire of, the Admiral went with some Boats up a River that was hard by. Whilst he was going up it, he ordered the Well he had made in the Fort, to be cleansed, thinking to find Gold in it, because at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded those he left behind, to throw all the Gold they could get into that Well, but nothing was found in it; and the Admiral that way he went up with his Boats, could lay hold of no *Indian*, because they all fled from their Houses, to the Woods. Having therefore found nothing but some of the Christians Cloaths, he returned to *Navidad*, where he saw 8 of the Christians, and three others, in the Fields near the Town, whom they knew to be Christians by their Cloaths, and they seem'd to have been dead about a Month. The Christians going about to seek some other Tokens, or writings of the Dead, a Brother of the Cacique *Guacanagari*, came with some *Indians* to talk with the Admiral. These could speak some Words of *Spanish*, and knew the Names of all the Christians, that had been left there, and said that those *Spaniards* soon began to fall at variance among themselves, and to take every one what Gold and as many Women as they could; whereupon *Peter Gutierrez* and *Elcovedo* kill'd one *James*, and then they and 9 others went away with their Women to a Cacique, whose name was *Caunabo*, who was Lord of the Mines, and kill'd them all; then many days after came with a great many Men to *Navidad*, where there was only *James de Arana*, with 10 Men, who had remained with him to guard the Fort, all the rest being dispersed about the Island. The Cacique *Caunabo* coming up by Night, fired the Houses where the Christians liv'd, with their Women, for fear whereof they fled to the Sea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died ashore, whom they show'd. That *Guacanagari* himself, fighting with *Caunabo* in de-

How the Spaniards left in Hispaniola, were destroyed.

fence of the Christians, was wounded and fled. This Account agreed with that given by other Christians, sent by the Admiral to learn more of the Country, who went to a Town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of a Wound, which he said had hindered him from waiting on the Admiral, and giving him an Account of what was become of the Christians, among whom he said, soon after the Admiral returned for *Spain*, there began to be Dissension, and every one would Barter Gold for himself, and take what Women he thought fit, and not satisfied with what *Guacanagari* gave and allow'd to be given them, they divided into several Parcels, and dispersed some one way and some another, and that some *Biscainers* joining together, went where they were all kill'd; and this was the Truth of what had happened, which they might tell the Admiral, desiring him by those same Christians, that he would go see him, because he was in such a Condition that he could not leave his House. The Admiral did so, going the next day to visit him, and he with great signs of Sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above, and that he and his Men had been all wounded in defence of the Christians, as appeared by their Wounds, which were not given by Christian Arms, but with *Aragayas*, or Wooden Swords, and Arrows pointed with Fish Bones. This Discourse being over, he presented the Admiral with 8 strings of small Beads, made of white, green, and red Stones, a string of Gold Beads, a Regal Crown of Gold, and three little Calabashes full of Gold Sand, all which might be about 4 Mark Weight in Gold, each Mark being half a Pound. The Admiral in return, gave him abundance of our Baubles, which might be worth three Royals, (or eighteen Pence) and were valued by him above a Thousand. Tho' he was very ill, he would needs go with the Admiral to see the Fleet, where he was courteously Entertain'd, and much pleas'd to see the Houses, of which the Christians had before given him an Account. And because some of those that were dead, had misinform'd him concerning our Holy Faith, the Admiral was forced to instruct him in it, and afterwards would have him wear an Image of the Virgin *Mary* about his Neck, which at first he had refus'd to receive.

C H A P. LI.

How the Admiral, left the Colony of Navidad, and went to found the City which he call'd Isabella.

THE Admiral reflecting on the Disaster of those Christians, and his own Misfortune at Sea, having lost the Men and Fort ashore, and his Ship upon the Water, and that not far off there were better and more Commodious Places to Plant a Colony; on Saturday the 7th of December, he sail'd with the whole Fleet Eastward, and about Evening cast Anchor not far from the Islands of Monte Christo, and the next day at Monte Christo, among those seven low little Islands, whereof mention has been made already, which tho' they are without Trees, are nevertheless Pleasant; for in that Winter Season, they there found Flowers, and Nests with Eggs, others with Young Birds, and all other things that are seen in Summer. Thence he went to Anchor before a Town of Indians, where resolv'd to plant a Colony, he Landed with all the Men, Provisions and Utensils he brought aboard the Fleet, in a Plain near a Rock, on which a Fort might conveniently be built, where he built a Town and call'd it *Isabella*, in Honour of Queen Isabel or Elizabeth. This place was judged very convenient, for as much as the Port was very large, tho' expos'd to the North-West, and had a most delicate River a Bow shot from it, from which Canals of Water might be drawn to run thro' the middle of the Town, and beyond was a mighty open Plain, from which the Indians said the Mines of Cibao were not very remote. For these Reasons the Admiral was so eager upon settling the said Colony, that what with the fatigue endured at Sea, and what he here went thro', he not only wanted time to write day by day what happen'd, according to his Custom, but it happened he fell sick, which interrupted his writing from the 11th of December, till the 12th of March, in the Year 1494. During which time, having ordered the Affairs of the Town the best he could, for Affairs abroad he sent one *Alonso de Hojeda*, with 15 Men to seek out the Mines of Cibao. Afterwards on the 2d of February, 12 Ships of the Fleet returned to *Cassile*, under the Command of one Captain *Anthony de Torres*, Brother to Prince John's Nurse, a Man of great Judgment and Honour, and in whom their Catholick Majesties and the Admiral much Confided. He had all in writing at large that had happened, as also the Nature of the Country, and what it required. Not long after *Hojeda* returned, and giving an Account of his Jour-

ney, said, That the 2d day, after he set out for *Isabella*, he lay at the Foot of a Mountain, which was very difficult of Access, that afterwards, at every League's distance he found Caciques, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his Journey the 6th day after he set out, he came to the Mines of Cibao, where the Indians immediately before him, took up Gold in a small River, as they had done in many others of the same Province, where he affirm'd there was great Plenty of Gold. This News much rejoiced the Admiral, who was then recovered of his Sickness, and he resolv'd to go ashore, to observe the disposition of the Country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly on Wednesday the 12th of March, 1494, he set out from *Isabella* for Cibao, to see the Mines, with all the People that were in Health, both a Foot and a Horseback, leaving a good guard in the two Ships and three Caravals that remained of the Fleet, and causing all the Ammunition and Tackle belonging to the other Ships, to be put aboard his own, that none might Rebel with them as they had attempted to do whilst he was sick. Because many having gone that Voyage, upon the Belief, that as soon as they Landed they might Load themselves with Gold, and so return rich home, (which Gold, where-soever it is found, requires time, trouble, and labour to gather it) the thing not falling out as they expected; being therefore dissatisfied and offended, as also because of the building of the New Town, and weary of the Diseases, the Climate and change of diet caused among them, they had privately Conspired to revolt from the Admiral, and taking the Ships that remain'd, by force to return in them to Spain. One *Bernard Admiral*, *Conspirac against il* *Admiral.* *de Piza*, who had been an Officer of Justice at Court, and went that Voyage in the Quality of their Catholick Majesties Controulour, was the Ring-leader and head of these Mutineers, therefore the Admiral, when informed of it, would not Punish him any otherwise, than by securing him aboard a Ship, with a design to send him afterwards into Spain, with his Process drawn up, as well for Mutinying, as for having writ a false Information against the Admiral, which he had hid in the Ship. Having therefore ordered all these Affairs, and having left some Persons both at Sea and ashore, together with his Brother *D. James Columbus* to look

Isabella
be first
Colony in
the West
Indies.

Conspirac
against il
Admiral.

Columbus.

to, and secure the Fleet, he set forwards towards *Cibao*, carrying along with him all the Tools and Necessaries to build a Fort, to keep that Province under, and secure the Christians left there to gather Gold, against any Attempts or Designs of the *Indians*. And the more to terrify them, and take away all Hopes that they might do in the Admiral's Presence, as they had done in his Absence with *Arana*, and the 38 Christians left among them; he then carried along with him all the Men he could, that they might in their own Towns see and be sensible of the Power of the Christians, and be sensible, that whensoever any wrong was done to one single Man of ours Travelling thro' the Country, there was a force of Men to Chastize it. And to appear the more formidable, when he set out for *Isabella* and other Towns, he made his Men march with their Arms in Rank and File, as is usual in time of War, and with Trumpets sounding, and Colours flying. In his way he March'd along that River, which lay about a Musquet shot from *Isabella*; and a League beyond, he cross'd another less River, and went to lie that Night three Leagues off in a Plain, divided into Pleasant Fields, reaching to the Foot of a Craggy Hill, and about two Bow shoots high. This he call'd *Puerto de los Hidaigos*, or the Gentleman's Port, (the *Spaniards* call *Pasles* on Mountains, dry Ports) because some Gentlemen

His Journey to the Mines.

went before to order the Road to be made, and this was the first Road made in the *Indies*, for the *Indians* make their ways broad enough but for one Man to pass at a time. beyond this Pass he came into a large Plain, over which he Travelled 5 Leagues the next day, and went to lie near a great River, which the Men pass'd upon Floats and in Canoes. This River, which he call'd of *Canes*, fell into the Sea at *Monte Christo*. In his Journey he pass'd by many Indian Towns, the Houses whereof were Round, Thatch'd, and with such a little Door, that he who goes in must stoop very low. Here, as soon as some of the *Indians* brought from *Isabella*, went into the Houses, they took what they liked best, and yet the owners were not at all displeased. As if all things were in Common. In the like manner, the People of the Country, coming near to any Christian, would take from him what they thought fit, thinking our things had been as common as theirs. But they were soon undeceiv'd, being told the contrary. In their way they pass'd over Mountains most pleasantly Wooded, where there were wild Vines, Aloes, and Cinnamon Trees, and another sort that produces a Fruit like a Fig, and were vastly thick at the Foot, but the Leaves were like those of the Apple Tree. Of this sort of Tree, the Scammony is said to come.

C H A P. LII.

How the Admiral came to the Province of Cibao, where he found the Gold Mines, and built the Castle of St. Thomas.

Description of the Country.

ON Friday the 14th of March, the Admiral set forward from the River of *Canes*, and a League and a half from it, found a great River, which he call'd the River of Gold, because in passing it, they gathered some grains of Gold. Having pass'd it with some difficulty, he proceeded to a large Town, where many of the People fled to the Mountains, but most of them fortified their Houses, barring their Doors with some Canes, as if that were a great defence, to hinder any Body from coming in; for according to their Custom, no Man dares break in at the Door he finds so barr'd, for as much as they have no Wooden doors, or other means to shut themselves in, and it seems these Barrs are sufficient. Hence the Admiral went to another fine River, which he call'd the *Green River*, the Banks whereof were covered with bright round Stones, and there he rested that Night. Holding on his Journey the next day, he pass'd by some

great Towns, where the People had put sticks cross their Doors, like the others above mentioned, and the Admiral and his Men being tired, they staid that Night at the Foot of a rugged Mountain, which he call'd *Port Cibao*, for as much as the Province of *Cibao* begins beyond the Mountain. From this the first Mountain they pass'd was 11 Leagues distant, all which distance is a Plane, and the way directly South. Setting out the next day, he Travelled along a Path, where they were forced with much difficulty, to lead the Horses; and thence he sent back some Mules to *Isabella*, to bring Bread and Wine, for they began to want Provisions, and the Journey was long, and they suffered the more, because they were not yet used to the *Indian* Diet, as they are now who Live and Travel in those Parts, who find the Food of that Country more easy of digestion, and more agreeable to that Country, than what is carry'd from *Europe*, tho' it

Columbus. it is not of so great Nourishment. Those that went for Provisions, being returned, the Admiral pailing over the Mountain on Sunday the 16th of March, entered the Country of Cibao, which is rough and stony, full of Gravel, plentiful of Grass, and Watered by several Rivers, in which Gold is found. The further they went into this Country, the more uncouth they found it, and encumbered with Mountains, on the tops whereof, there appeared Grain of Gold Sand; for as the Admiral said, the great Rains carry it down from the Tops of the Mountains, to the Rivers in small Sand. This Province is as big as Portugal, and there are in it abundance of Mines, and Gold in the Brooks, but for the most part there are very few Trees, and those along the Banks of Rivers, and are most of them Pines and Palms of several sorts. Now *Ojeda* having as was said, Travell'd that Country the Indians had some Knowledge of the Christians, so it happened, that what way soever the Admiral went, the said Indians came out to the Road to meet him, with Presents of Provisions, and some small quantity of Gold Dust they had gathered, after

they understood they came for it. The Admiral perceiving he was now 18 Leagues from *Isabella*, and the Country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a Fort to be built in a very Pleasant and Strong Place, which he call'd the Castle of St. Thomas, to Command the Country about the Mines, and be a Place of Safety for the Christians that went thither. The Command of this New Fort, he gave to *D. Peter Margarite*, a Person of Account, with 56 Men, among whom were Workmen of all sorts to build the Castle, which was built with Clay and Timber, that being a sufficient strength to keep out any Number of Indians that should come against it. Here breaking Ground to lay the Foundation, and cutting a Rock to make the Ditches, when they were got two Fathom below the Stone, they found Nettles made of Hay and Straw, and instead of Eggs, three or four round Stones, as big as Oranges, as Artificially made, as if they had been Cannon Balls; and in the River that runs at the Foot of that Hill, the Castle now stands upon, they found Stones of several Colours, some of them large, of pure Marble, and others of Jasper.

The Fort of St. Thomas.

C H A P. LIII.

How the Admiral returned to Isabella, and found that Soil was very fruitful.

Great fruitful-ness of Hispaniola. THE Admiral having given Orders for the finishing and Fortifying of the Castle, set out for *Isabella*, on Friday the 21 of March, and near the Green Rivet met the Mules going with Provisions, and not being able himself to stay there, because of the great Rains, he stay'd there, sending the Provisions to the Fort. Afterwards endeavouring to find the ford of that River, and of the River *del Oro*, which is bigger than *El Oro*, he stayed some days in those Indian Towns, eating their Bread and Garlick, which they gave for a small matter. On Sunday the 29th of March, he came to *Isabella*, where Melons were already grown, fit to eat, tho' it was not above two Months since the Seed was put into the Ground. So Cucumbers came up in 20 days, and a wild Vine of that Country being prun'd, had produced Grapes, which were good and large. The next day, being the 30th of March, a Countryman gathered Ears of Wheat he had sown at the latter end of January. There were also Vetches, but much bigger than those they sow'd, and all they sow'd sprung up above Ground in three days, and the 25th day they eat of it. The Stones of Fruit set in the Ground, sprouted out in seven days, and the Vine-branches

shot out in the same time, and in 25 days after, they gathered green Grapes. The Sugar Canes budded in seven days, which proceeded from the temperature of the Climate, not unlike to that of our Country, for it was rather cold than hot; besides, That the Waters there are very cold, thin, and wholesome. The Admiral was well enough pleas'd with the Air, the Soil and the People of the Country. On Tuesday the 1st of April, there came a Messenger from Fort St. Thomas, who brought News, that the Indians of that Country fled, and that a Cacique, whose Name was *Cuneco*, was preparing to come and attack the Fort. The Admiral knowing how inconsiderable the People of that Country were, made little Account of that Report, especially considering in the Horses, by whom the Indians were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were so much afraid, that they durst not go into any House where a Horse stood. However the Admiral thought fit to send more Men and Provisions, considering that since he design'd to go to discover the Continent with three Caravals he had left him, it was fit all things should remain quiet behind. Therefore on Wednesday the 2d of April, he sent 70 Men with Provision and Ammu-



dition to the Fort, 25 of which were to keep Guard, and the others help to make another Road, the first being very troublesome, as were the fords of the Rivers. These being gone, whilst the Ships were fitted to go upon the New Discovery, he attended to order all things necessary for the Town he was building, dividing it into Streets, with a convenient Market Place, and endeavouring to bring the River to it along a large cut Canal; for which Reason he also made a Dam that might serve the Mills, because the Town being almost a Cannon shot from the River, the People would have been troubled to fetch Water so far, especially then, when most of them were very weak and indisposed, by reason of the sharpness of the Air, which did not agree with them; so that some were sick, and had no other *Spanish* Provisions but Bisket and Wine, by reason of the ill management of the Captains of the Ships, as also because in that Country nothing keeps so well as in *Spain*. And tho' they had Plenty of the Country Provisions, yet not being used to that Food, it did not agree with them. Therefore the Admiral had resolved to leave but 300 Men in the Island, and send the rest into *Spain*, which Number, considering the Nature of the Island, and of the *Indies*, he knew was sufficient to keep that Country in Subjection to their Catholick Majesties. In the mean while, because the Bisket grew towards an end, and they had no Flour, but Wheat; he resolved to make some Mills, tho' there was no fall of Water fit for that purpose within a League of the Town, at which Work, and all others, he was forced to stand over the Workmen, they all endeavouring to save themselves from any Labour. After that, he resolved to send out all the People that were in Health, except Handicraft Men, and Artificers, to the Royal Plain, that Travelling about the Country, they might Pacify it, strike a Terror into the *Indians*, and by degrees be us'd to their Food, since they daily felt more want of that of *Spain*. *Hojeda* was sent to Command these Men, till they came to *St. Thomas*,

there to deliver them to *D. Peter Margarita*, who was to lead them about the Island, and *Hojeda* himself to Command in the Fort, he having taken the *Pañs*, the Winter before, to discover that Province of *Cibao*, which in the *Indian* Language signifies Stony. *Hojeda* set out from *Isabella* on Wednesday the 29th of April, towards *St. Thomas*, with all the a-fore said Men, being above 400, and having pass'd the River *del Oro*, apprehended the *Cacique* that liv'd there, and a Brother a Nephew of his, sending them in Irons to the Admiral, and cutt off the Ears of one of his Subjects, in the great place of his Town, because three Christians coming from *St. Thomas* to *Isabella*, this *Cacique* gave them five *Indians* to carry their Cloaths over the River at the Ford, and they being come to the middle of the River, returned to their Town with them, and the *Cacique* instead of Punishing them, took the Cloaths for himself, refusing to restore them. Another *Cacique* who dwelt beyond the River relying on the Service he had done the Christians, resolved to go with the Prisoners to *Isabella*, and intercede with the Admiral for them, who entertain'd him courteously, and ordered that the other *Indians*, with their hands bound, would be Publickly Sentenced to die in the Market-Place, which the Honest *Cacique* seeing, he with many Tears obtained their Lives, promising they should never be guilty of any other Offence. The Admiral having discharged them all, a Man a Horseback came from *St. Thomas*, and gave an Account, that he had found in that same *Cacique*, who had been Prisoner in his Town, five Christians taken by his Subjects as they were coming for *Isabella*, and that he frightening the *Indians* with his Horse had released them, above 400 Men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the pursuit; and that when he had pass'd the River, he saw they turn'd upon the said Christians, whereupon he made as if he would go back against them, but they for fear of his Horse, all ran away, lest the Horse should fly over the River.

C H A P. LIV.

How the Admiral settled the Affairs of the Island, and went to discover Cuba, supposing it to be the Continent.

A Council
to govern
Hispaniola

THE Admiral being resolved to go out to discover the Continent, appointed a Council to Govern the Island in his absence, the Persons it consisted of, were, *D. James Columbus*, his Brother, with the Title of President, *F. Boyl*, and *Peter Fernandez*

Coronell, Regents, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal* Rector of *Bacca*, and *John de Luxan* of *Madrid*, Gentlemen to their Catholick Majesties. And that there might not want Meal for support of the People, he hastned the building of the Mills, notwithstanding the

the Rain and Flood very much obstructed ^{abus.} it. From these Rains, the Admiral says, proceeds the great Moisture, and consequently the Fruitfulness of the Island, which is so wonderful, that they eat Fruit of the Trees in November, when they were Blossoming afresh, which shews that they bear twice a Year. But Herbs and Seeds grow at all times, and so they find on the Trees, Nests with Eggs, and young Birds. As the fruitfulness of the Soil appeared extraordinary, so they daily received fresh Advices of the Wealth of the Country; for some of those the Admiral had sent out, were always returning with News of new Mines discovered, besides the Relation of the *Indians* concerning the great plenty of Gold found in several Parts of the Island. The Admiral not so satisfied, resolved to go out to discover along the Coast of *Cuba*, not knowing whether it was an Island or Continent. Therefore taking 3 Ships along with him, he set sail upon *Thursday* the 24th of *April*, after Noon, and came to an Anchor that day at *Monte Christo*, West of *Isabella*. On *Friday* he went to *Guacanagari's* Port, thinking to find him there, but he seeing the Ships, fled for fear, tho' his Subjects falsely affirm'd he would soon return. But the Admiral not caring to stay without great Cause, departed on *Saturday* the 26th of *April*, and went to the Island *Tortuga*, which lies 6 Leagues to the Westward: He lay by it that Night, in a calm with his Sails abroad, the Tide running

back against the Currents. Next day the North-West Winds and Currents setting from the West, oblig'd him to go back to an Anchor in the River of *Guadalquivir*, which is in the same Island, there to wait for a Wind that would stem the Current, which both then and the Year before, he found to run strong there toward the East. On *Tuesday* the 29th of the same Month, the Wind being fair, he came to Cape St. *Nicholas*, and thence cross'd over to the Island of *Cuba*, running along the South Coast of it, and having sail'd a League beyond *Cabo Fuerte*, ^{The Coast of Cuba.} put into a large Bay which he call'd *Puerto Grande*, or Great Port, the Mouth whereof was 150 Paces over, and had much Water. Here he cast Anchor, and took some Refreshment of broil'd Fish and Oysters, whereof the *Indians* had great store. On the 1st of *May* he continued his Voyage along the Coast, where he found Commodious Harbours, fine Rivers and high Mountains. Upon the Sea, after he left *Tortuga*, he met abundance of the Weeds he saw on the Ocean, in his Voyage to and from *Spain*. He sailing close along the Shoar, abundance of People came aboard in their Canoes from the Island, thinking our Men were come down from heaven, bring of their Bread, Water and Fish, and giving it all freely, without asking any thing for it; but the Admiral to send them home well pleas'd, ordered they should be paid, giving them Beads, Bells, and such-like Baubles.

CHAP. LV.

The Admiral discovers the Island of Jamaica.

Coast of
Jamaica.

ON *Saturday* the 3d of *May*, the Admiral resolved to sail over from *Cuba* to *Jamaica*, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the Report of such Plenty of Gold they had there, was in it, prov'd true, and the Wind being fair, and he almost half way over, discovered it on *Sunday*. Upon *Monday* he came to an Anchor, and thought it the Beautifullest of any he had yet seen in the *Indies*, and such Multitudes of People in great and small Canoes came aboard, that it was Astonishing. The next day he ran along the Coast to find out Harbours, and the Boats going to sound the Mouths of them, there came out so many Canoes and Arm'd Men, to defend the Country, that they were forced to return to the Ships, not so much for fear, as to avoid falling to Enmity with those People. But afterwards considering, that if they shew'd signs of fear the *Indians* would go proud upon it, they returned to-

gether to the Port, which the Admiral call'd *Puerto Bueno*, that is, Good Harbour. And because the *Indians* came to drive them off, those in Boats gave them such a flight of Arrows from their Bows, that six or seven of them being wounded, they retired. The Fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of Canoes from the Neighbouring Places in peaceable manner, to see and Barter Provisions, and several things they brought, and gave for the least trifle that was offered them. In this Port, which is like a Horse-shoe, the Admiral's Ship was repaired, it being Leaky, and that done, they set sail on *Friday* the 9th of *May*, keeping so close along the Coast Westward, that the *Indians* follow'd in their Canoes to Trade, and get something of ours. The Wind being somewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make so much way as he wish'd, till on *Tuesday* the 14th of *May*, he resolved to stand over again for *Cuba*, to keep along its Coast,



designing not to return till he had sail'd 5 or 600 Leagues and were satisfied whether it was an Island or Continent. That same day, as he was going off from *Jamaica*, a very young *Indian* came aboard, saying, he would come into *Spain*, and after him came several of his Kindred and other People in

their Canoes, earnestly intreating him to go back, but they could never alter his Resolution; and therefore to avoid seeing his Sisters cry and sob, he went where they could not come at him. The Admiral admiring his Resolution, gave Order that he should be used with all Civility.

CHAP. LVI.

The Admiral from Jamaica returns to the Coast of Cuba, still thinking it to be the Continent.

THE Admiral leaving *Jamaica*, on Wednesday the 15th of May, came to that Point of *Cuba*, which he call'd *Cabo de Santa Cruz*, or Cape Holy Cross, and running along the Coast, there happened a great storm of Thunder and Lightening, which together with the Flats and Currents, put him into no small danger and very to much trouble, being obliged at the same time to struggle against these two Evils, which required contrary Remedies, for it is a proper Remedy against Thunder, to strike the Sails, and it was requisite to spread them to avoid the Flats, and had this Calamity lasted for 8 or 10 Leagues, it had been insupportable. But the worst of it was, that all over that Sea, both North and North-East, the further they went, the more low little Islands they met with, and tho' there were Trees in some of them, yet others were Sandy, and scarce appeared above the Surface of the Water, some a League, some more and some less in Compass. True it is, that the nearer they sail'd to *Cuba*, the higher and Pleasanter the little Islands appeared, and being a matter of difficulty, and to no purpose, to give every one of them a Name, the Admiral called them all in general *Jardín de la Reina*, the Queen's Garden. But as many Islands as he saw that day, he saw many more and bigger the next day, than he had before, and not only to the North-East, but North-West and South West, in so much that they counted 160 Islands that day, all parted by deep Channels, which the Ship sail'd thro'. In some of these Islands they saw abundance of *Cranes*, in shape and bigness like those of *Spain*, but that they were as red as Scarlet. In others they found abundance of *Tortoises*, and of their Eggs, not unlike a Hens, but that the shells are very hard. The *Tortoises* lay these Eggs in a hole they make in the Sand, and covering them, leave them till the heat of the Sun hatches and brings forth the *Tortoises*, which in time grow as big as a Buckler, or great

Infinite small Islands.

Birds and Tortoises in them.

In these Islands they also saw and *Cranes* like those of *Spain*, and

Sea-Crows, and infinite Numbers of little Birds that sung sweetly, and the very Air was as sweet, as if they had been among Roses and the finest Perfumes in the World, yet the danger was very great, there being such abundance of Channels, that much time was spent in finding the way out. In one of these Channels, they spy'd a Canoe of *Indian* Fishermen, who very quietly, without the least concern expected the Boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a sign to them in it, till they had done fishing. Their manner of fishing was so strange and new to our Men, that they were willing to comply with them; it was thus: They had ty'd some small fishes they call *Reves*, by the tail, which run themselves against other fish, and with a certain roughness they have from the head to the middle of the back, they stick so fast to next fish they meet, that when the *Indians* perceive it, drawing their Line, they draw them both together; and it was a *Tortoise* our Men saw so taken by those Fishermen, that fish clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally fasten, being by that means safe from the other fish biting them, and have seen them fasten upon vast Sharks. When the *Indians* in the Canoe had taken their *Tortoise*, and two other fishes they had before, they presently came very friendly to the Boat, to know what our Men would have, and by their Directions went along aboard the Ships, where the Admiral treated them very Courteously, and understood by them that there was an infinite Multitude of Islands in that Sea, and they freely gave all they had, tho' the Admiral would suffer nothing to be taken of them but the Fish, the rest being their Nets, Hooks, and Calabashes full of Water to drink. Having given them some small Trifles, they went away very well Pleas'd, and he held on his Course with a design not to do so long, because he began to want Provisions already, whereas, had he been well stor'd, he thought not to have returned into *Spain*, but East about, tho' he

A pretty way of fishing.

was very much spent, not only because he fell ill, but also because he had not fit up or lain in a bed ever since he sail'd from Spain, till the 19th of May, when he writ this, except 8 Nights, when he was much indisposed. And if he had much care upon him at other times it was doubled this Voyage, by reason of the innumerable quantity of Islands, among which he was sailing, which were so many, that on the 20th of May, he discovered 71, besides many more he saw W. S. W. at Sun-setting. Which Islands or Sands are not only frightful by their Multitude, appearing on all sides; but what is yet more terrible, is, That every

Night there rises off them a great Fogg Eastward, so dismal to behold, that it seems as if some great shower of Hail would fall; the Thunder and Lightning are so violent, but when the Moon rises, it all vanishes, part of it turning to Rain and Wind, which is so usual and natural in that Country, that it did not only happen all those Nights the Admiral was there, but I saw the same in those Islands in the Year 1503, in my Return from the discovery of *Veragua*, and generally here at Night the Wind is North, coming off the Island *Cuba*; and afterwards when the Sun is up, it comes about East and follows the Sun till it comes to the West.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the great fatigue the Admiral underwent sailing among abundance of Islands.

THE Admiral still holding on his Course Westward, among infinite Numbers of Islands, upon *Thursday* the 22d of May came to an Island somewhat bigger than the rest, which he call'd *St. Mary*, and Landing at a Town, there was in it not one Indian would stay to talk to the Christians, nor did they sell any thing in the Houses but fish, which is all the Food those People live on, and several Dogs like Mastiffs, who eat fish too. Thus without talking to any body, or seeing any thing remarkable, he sail'd away North-East, among abundance of Islands, in which there were many Cranes as red as Scarlet, Parrots, and other sorts of Birds, Dogs like those before mentioned, and abundance of those Weeds he saw on the Ocean, when he first discovered the *Indies*. Thus sailing among so many Sands and Islands, fatigued him very much, for sometimes he was forced to stand West, sometimes North, and sometimes South, according as the Channels would permit; for notwithstanding his care in Sounding, and keeping Men upon the Round-top to look out, yet the Ship often touch'd, and there was no avoiding it, there being no end of the Flatts on all hands. Sailing on in this manner, he came again to *Cuba*, to take in Water, whereof they had much need. And tho' there was no Town where they put in, because the Place was Wooded, yet one of the Seamen that went ashore, going up among the Trees with a Cross-bow to kill some Bird or Beast, found 30 People Arm'd with fish Weapons as they use, that is, Spears, and Staves, which they wear instead of Swords, and call *Maceana*. Among them he said he saw one clad with a white Coat, or Vest, down to his Knees, and two that carry'd him down to their Feet, all three of them

as white as the *Spaniards*, but that he had no talk with them, because being afraid of such a Number, he began to cry out to his Companions, and the *Indians* ran away without looking back. Tho' the Admiral the next day sent People ashore to know the truth of it, they could not Travel above half a League, because of the thickness of the Trees and Bushes, and because all that Coast is Boggy and Muddy, for two Leagues up the Country, where there are Hills and Mountains, so that they only saw Footsteps of Fishermen on the Shoar, and abundance of Cranes like those in *Spain*, but bigger. Then sailing about 10 Leagues Westward, they saw Houses on the shoar, from which some Canoes came with Water, and such things as those People eat, which they brought to the Christians, who payed well for 'em; and the Admiral caused one of those *Indians* to be stopp'd, telling him, and the rest by his Interpreter, that he would let him go freely Home, as soon as he had directed him in his Voyage, and given some Account of that Country. At which the *Indian* was very much pleas'd, and assur'd the Admiral that *Cuba* was an Island, and that the King or Cacique of the Western Part of it, never spoke to his Subjects but by Signs, by whom all his Orders were immediately obey'd, that all that Coast was very low, and full of small Islands, which was found to be too true, that the next day, being the 11th of June, to pass from one Channel to another, the Admiral was forced to have the Ships Tow'd over a Flat, where there was not a Foot Water, and all the breadth of it was not above two Ships length. Bearing up closer to *Cuba* they saw Tortoises of a vast bigness, and in such Numbers, that they covered the Sea.

Infinite
Tortoises,
Crows and
Butter-
flies.

Indians
imp. up-
fish.

An Indian
clad.

The first Discovery of

slumbers. break of day they saw such a Cloud of Sea Crows that they darkened the Sun, coming from the Seaward to the Island, where they all lighted; besides them, abundance of Pigeons, and Birds of other sorts were seen,

and the next day there came such swarms of Butterflies, that they darkened the Air, and lasted till Night, when the great Rain carried them away.

C H A P. LVIII.

How the Admiral returns back towards Hispaniola.

*The Admiral
in his Bay*

ON Friday the 13th of June, the Admiral perceiving that the Coast of Cuba ran far West, and that it was a matter of the greatest difficulty to sail that way, by reason of the Infinite Multitude of Islands and Sands there were on all sides, and that he already began to want Provisions, for which Reason he could not continue his Voyage as he had intended, he resolved to return to the Town he had begun to build in Hispaniola, and to furnish himself with Wood and Water, he Anchored in the Island *Evangelista*, which is 30 Leagues in Compass, and 700 from *Dominica*. Having provided himself with what he wanted, he directed his Course Southward, hoping to get out better that way, and sailing thro' the Chanel, he saw look'd clearest, after sailing a few Leagues, found it shut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify the Men, seeing themselves as it were hemm'd in on all sides, and destitute of Provisions and all Comfort. But the Admiral, who was Wise and Courageous, perceiving their faint-heartedness, said with a cheerful Countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the same way he came, for as much as if they had continued their Voyage that way they intended to go, it might perhaps have happened they might have run themselves into some Place whence it would be hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither Ships nor Provisions to go back, which at present they could easily do. Thus with great satisfaction of all the Men, he returned to the Island *Evangelista*, where he had Watered, and on Wednesday the 25 of June, sailed thence North-West towards some small Islands that appeared 5 Leagues off. Going still a little forward he came into a Sea so patch'd with green and white, that it look'd like one entire Sand, tho' there was two Fathom Water; along which he sail'd 7 Leagues, till he met another Sea, as white as Milk, which he much Admired, the Water being

very thick. This Sea dazzled the Eyes of all that beheld it, and seem'd to be all a shoal without Water enough for the Ships, yet there were about 3 Fathom Water. But when he had sail'd about 4 Leagues upon that Sea, he came into another Sea, as black as Ink, and 5 Fathom deep, thro' which he held his Course till he came up with Cuba. Thence standing to the Eastward, with scant Winds, thro' narrow Channels and Shoals. On the 30th of June as he was writing his Journal of the Voyage, his Ship run a Ground so fast, that neither Anchors nor other Inventions, being able to get it off; it pleased God it was drawn off a-head, tho' with some damage, because of its beating on the Sand. However, with God's Assistance they got off at last, and he sail'd on as the Wind and Shoal-water would permit, always thro' a very white Sea, and two Fathom deep, neither deeper nor shallower, unless he came too close to some of the Sands, where there was want of Water. Besides which trouble, every day about Sun-setting, he was troubled with mighty Showers, which rise in the Mountains from the Morasses near the Sea, which were a great fatigue to him, till he came close to Cuba towards the East, the way he came at first. Thence, as he had found before, came off a most fragrant scent, as it were of Flowers. On the 7th of July he Landed to hear Mass, and there resorted to him an old Cacique Lord of that Province, who was very Attentive at Mass; when it was ended, by signs, and the best he could express, it was very well done to give thanks to God, because the Soul which was good, would go to Heaven, and the Body remain on Earth, but that the Wicked Souls must go to Hell. And among other things, said, he had been in the Island *Hispaniola*, where he knew some of the Chief Men; that he had been in *Jamaica*, and a great way towards the West of Cuba, and that the Cacique of that Port, was clad like a Priest.

*Not a
word
Indian*

C H A P. LIX.

The great Hunger and other Calamities the Admiral, and his Men endur'd, and how he return'd to Jamaica.

THE Admiral sailing thence on *Wednesday* the 16th of *July*, still attended by terrible Rains and Winds, drew near to *Cape Cruz* in *Cuba*, where he was on a sudden assaulted by such a violent Rain and Storm, as bore his Ship's side under Water, but it pleas'd God they immediately struck all their Sails, and drop'd their best Anchors, but they took in so much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, especially in the Condition they were, being much spent for want of Provisions: For they eat nothing but a Pound of rotten Bisket a day, and about half a Pint of Wine, unless they hapned to catch some Fish, which yet they could not keep from one Day to the next, Provisions in those Parts being of a very slight Nature, and because the Weather was always more inclinable to Heat than in our Countries, and this Want being common to all, the Admiral in his Journal speaks thus concerning it. I my self am at the same Allowance, God grant it may be to his Honour, and for your Highnesses Service, for I shall never again for my own Benefit expose my self to such Sufferings and Dangers, never a Day passing, but I see we are all upon the Brink of Death. In this Danger and Distress he arriv'd at *Cape Cruz* the 18th of *July*, where he was friendly entertain'd by the *Indians*. They brought him abundance of *Cazabi* so they call their Bread made of Roots grated, a great deal of Fish, Store of Fruit and such other things as they eat. The Wind being contrary to sail for *Hispaniola*, he stood over to *Jamaica* on *Wednesday* the 22th of *July*, and sail'd along Westward close under the Shoar, the Country all along most delightful and fruitful, with excellent Harbours at every League distance, and all the Coast

full of Towns, the People whereof follow'd the Ships in their Canoes, bringing such Provisions as they eat and much better lik'd by the *Christians*, than what they found in the other Islands. The Climate, Air and Weather was the same as the rest, for in this Western Part of *Jamaica* there gather'd every Evening a Storm of Rain, which lasted about an Hour more or less, which the Admiral said, he attributed to the great Woods there in those Countries, for that he knew this was usual at first in the *Canary* Islands, *Madera* and the *Azores*, whereas now the Woods are cut down that shaded them, there are not so great and frequent Storms and Rains, as there were formerly. Thus the Admiral sail'd on tho' with contrary Winds, which oblig'd him every Night to take the Shelter of the Land, which appear'd green, pleasant, fruitful, abounding in Provisions, and so populous, that he thought none excell'd it, especially near a Bay which he call'd *de las Vacas*, because there are 9 Islands close to the Land which he said was as high, as any he had seen, and believ'd reach'd above the Region where the Storms bred, yet it is all peopled, very fruitful and pleasant. This Island he judg'd to be 800 Miles in Compass, and when fully discover'd, computed it to be 50 Leagues in Length and 20 in Breadth. Being much taken with its Beauty, he had a great mind to stay there to be fully inform'd of the Nature of it, but the great Want of Provisions we mention'd, and the Leakiness of the Vessels would not permit. Therefore as soon as the Weather was a little fair, he sail'd away Eastward, so that on *Tuesday* the 19th of *Aug.* he lost Sight of that Island, standing over directly for *Hispaniola*, and call'd the most Eastward Cape of *Jamaica* on the South Coast *Cabo del Farol*.

Great Beauty of Jamaica.

C H A P. LX.

The Admiral discovers the South Side of Hispaniola, till he returned East about the Town of Isabella.

ON *Wednesday* the 20th of *August*, the Admiral had sight of the South side of *Hispaniola*, and call'd the first Point *Cape St. Michael*, which was 30 Leagues distant from the Easterlyest Point of *Jamaica*, yet at present through

Cape Tiburon. From this Cape on *Saturday* the 23d. of *August*, there came aboard a Cacique, who call'd the Admiral by his Name, and had some other *Spanish* Words, by which he was convinced this was the same Land as *His*

with
call of
Hispanio-
disco-
ver'd.

The first Discovery of

Columbus. chor'd in an Island, which is call'd *Alto Velo*, and having lost sight of the other two Ships under his Command, he caus'd some Men to go ashore in that little Island, whence being very high they might see a great way round; but they discover'd none of their Companions. As they were going aboard they kill'd Eight Sea Wolves, that lay asleep on the Sand, and took abundance of Pidgeons, and other Birds, for that Island not being inhabited, nor those Creatures us'd to see Men, they stood still to be kill'd with Staves. The same they did the two following Days, waiting for the Ships, which had been astray ever since the Friday before, till at the End of Six Days they came, and all three together went away to the Island *Beata* twelve Leagues distant from *Alto Velo*. Hence they pass'd on coasting *Hispaniola*, in sight of a delightful Country, which was a Plain running up a Mile from the Sea, so populous, that it seem'd to be one continu'd Town for a League in Length. In which Plain there appear'd a Lake 5 Leagues long from East to West. The People therefore of the Country having some Knowledge of the Christians, came aboard in their Canoes bringing News, that some *Spaniards* from *Isabella* had happen'd to come among them, and that they were all well, which much pleas'd the Admiral, and to the End they too might hear of his Health and his Company's and of his Return, being somewhat more towards the East, he sent Nine Men to cross the Island, passing by the Forts of *St. Thomas* and the *Magdalen* to *Isabella*, and he with his three Ships still keeping along the Coast Eastward, sent the Boats for Water to a Place, where a great Town appear'd. The *Indians* came out against them with Bows and poison'd Arrows, and with Ropes in their Hands, making Signs that they would bind the Christians they should take with them. But as soon as the Boats came to the Shoar, the *Indians* laid down their Arms, and offer'd to bring Bread and Water, and all they had, asking in their Language for the Admiral. Going hence, they saw in the Sea, a Fish as big as a Whale, which on its Neck had, a

great Shell, like a Tortoise, and bore its Head, which was as big as a Hoghead above Water, had a Tail like a Tunny Fish, very long, and two large Finns on the Sides. The Admiral by this Fish and other Signs perceiving there would be some change of Weather, he sought for some Harbour to secure himself. And on the 15th of September it pleas'd God to show him an Island, being near the East part of *Hispaniola*, call'd by the *Indians* *Adamanaï*, and the Weather being very stormy drop'd Anchor in the Channel between it and *Hispaniola*, close to a small Island that lies between both, where that Night he saw the Eclipse of the Moon, which he said vary'd 5 Hours 23 Minutes from *Cádiz*, to the Place where he was. This I suppose made the bad Weather last so long, for he was forced to lie close in that very Place till the 20th of the Month, not without Fear for the other Ships, which could not get in, but it pleas'd God to save them. Being afterwards together again, on the 24th of September they sail'd to the most Easterly Point of *Hispaniola*, and thence pass'd over to a little Island lying between *Hispaniola* and *S. John de Borriquen*, call'd by the *Indians* *Mona*. From this Island the Admiral does not continue the Journal of his Voyage, nor does he say how he return'd to *Isabella*, but only that going from *Mona* to *S. John*, the great Toil he had gone through, his own Weakness, and Want of Provisions, cast him into a dangerous Disease between a Pestilential Fever and a Lethargy, which presently depriv'd him of all his Senses and Memory. Whereupon all the Men aboard the Ships resolv'd to desert from the Deligu he had in Hand of discovering all the Islands of the *Caribbees*, and to return to *Isabella* where they arriv'd in 5 Days, and on the 29th of September, and there it pleas'd God to restore his Health, tho' his Sickness lasted above 5 Months, which was attributed to the great Sufferings he had gone through during that Voyage, and to his extraordinary Weakness, for sometimes he had not slept 3 Hours in 8 Days, which seems almost impossible, were not he himself and his Men Witnesses of the Truth of it.

A Monstrous Fish.

C H A P. LXI.

*Hispaniola, and took such Order, that they
Revolt again.*

The Admiral returning to *Hispaniola* from the Discovery of *Isabella*, new *Columbus*, who, as was said before, had been sent to Treat with the King of *England* about the Discovery of the *Indies*.

He returning to *Spain* with the Grant of his Demands, understood at *Paris*, by *Charles King of France*, that the Admiral his Brother had discover'd the *Indies*, and he supplied him with 100 Crowns to proceed on his Journey. Upon this News, he made all the haste he could to overtake the Admiral in *Spain*, yet when he came to *Sevil*, his Brother was set out for the *Indies* with 17 sail. Therefore, to fulfil the Orders he had left him at the beginning of the year 1494. he went away to their Catholick Majesties, carrying me and my Brother *D. James Columbus*, to serve Prince *John* as his Pages, as had been appointed by the Queen, who was then at *Valladolid*. As soon as we came thither, their Majesties sent for *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, and sent him to *Hispaniola* with three Ships, where he serv'd some years, as appears by a Manuscript I found among his Papers, in which are these Words. 'I serv'd as Captain from the 14th of *April* 1494. till the 12th of *March* 1496. when the Admiral set out for *Spain*, and then I began to Act as Governor till the 24th of *August* 1498. when the Admiral return'd from the Discovery of *Paria*, when I again serv'd as Captain till the 11th of *Decem.* 1500. when I return'd to *Spain*. But to return to the Admiral, he returning from *Cuba*, made him Governor of the *Indies*, tho' afterwards there arose a Controversie on this Account, because their Catholick Majesties said they had not granted the Admiral Power to appoint any such. But to decide this difference, their Highnesses granted it a-new, and for the future he was called *Adelantado*, that is, Lieutenant of the *Indies*.

The Admiral having the Assistance and Advice of his Brother, took some rest, and liv'd in quiet, tho' on the other side he met with Trouble enough, as well from his Sickness, as because he found almost all the *Indians* had revolted, through the Fault of *D. Peter Margarite*, of whom we spoke above. He tho' oblig'd to Respect and Honour him that at his departure for *Cuba*, had left him the Command of 360 Foot and 14 Horse, to Travel over the Island, and reduce it under the Obedience of their Catholick Majesties and the Christians, and particularly the Province of *Cibao*, whence the chief Profit was expected; yet did all things so much to the contrary, that as soon as the Admiral was gone, he went with all his Men to the great Plain called *Vega Real*, ten Leagues from *Isabella*, without stirring to over-run and reduce the Island. Hence there ensued, Discord and Factions

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at *Isabella*; he endeavouring that those of the Council instituted by the Admiral, should Obey his Orders, sending them very insolent Letters, till perceiving he could not succeed in his design of getting the whole Command into his Hands, rather than stay the coming of the Admiral, who would call him in question for his Behaviour, he went aboard the first Ships that came from *Spain*, and return'd in them, without giving any Account of himself, or any ways disposing of the Men left under his Command. Upon this, every one went away among the *Indians*, where he thought fit, taking away their Goods and their Women, and committing such Outrages, that the *Indians* resolv'd to be reveng'd on those they found alone, or stragling; so that the Cacique of the *Magdalen*, whose Name was *Guatiguana* had kill'd ten, and privately ordered a House to be fir'd, in which there were 11 sick. But he was severely punish'd, when the Admiral return'd; for tho' he himself could not be taken, yet some of his Subjects were made Prisoners, and sent into *Spain* in 4 Ships, *Antony de Torres* brought on the 24th of *February* 1495. Six or seven more, who in other parts of the Island had done harm to the Christians, suffered for it. The Caciques had certainly kill'd many, and would have destroy'd more, but that the Admiral came in time to curb them all, who found the Island in such Disorder, that most of the Christians committed a thousand Insolencies, for which they were mortally hated by the *Indians*, who refus'd to submit to them. It was no difficult matter for them all to agree to cast off the Spanish Yoke; because, as has been said, there were 4 principal Kings or Caciques, to whom all the others were subject. The Names of those four, were *Cannabo*, *Guacanagari*, *Behechico*, and *Guarionex*; and each of these had under him 70 or 80 other little Lords; not that they paid Tribute, or gave any think, but were oblig'd, whenever called upon, to assist them in their Wars, and till the Ground; but *Guacanagari*, one of these, who was Lord of that part of the Island, where the Town of the *Nativity* had been built, continued a Friend to the Christians. As soon therefore as he heard of the Admiral's coming, he went to visit him, saying, he had no way been Aiding or Adviling with the others, which might appear by the great Civility the Christians had found in his Country, where 100 Men had been always very well us'd and furnish'd with all things he could get to please

Columbus.

One Indian King side with the Spaniards:

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Columbus.

please them ; for which reason, the other Kings were become his Enemies, and particularly *Behechico* had killed one of his Women, and *Cannabo* had taken another ; wherefore he pray'd him to Cause her to be restored, and assist him to Revenge these Wrongs. The Admiral resolved to do so, believing what he said was true, because he wept every time he called to mind those that had been kill'd at the *Nativity*, as if they had been his own Children, and he was the more inclineable to it, considering that the Discord among them would make it more practicable to Conquer the Country, and punish the Revolt of the other *Indians*, and killing of the Christians. Therefore on the 24th of *March* 1495. he set out from *Isabella* to carry on the War, and the aforesaid *Guacanagari* with him, Being very desirous to crush his Enemies; tho' the undertaking seem'd very difficult, they having rais'd above 100000 *Indians*, whereas the Admiral had not along with him above 200 Christians, 20 Horses, and as many Dogs. The Admiral being acquainted with the Nature and Qualities of the *Indians*, when he was two days Journey from *Isabella*, divided his Forces, giving half to his Brother the Lieutenant, that he might attack that multitude scattered about the Plains in two places, believing the Terror of hearing the Noise in several places would put them to flight sooner than any thing else, as in effect it prov'd. The Battallions of Foot on both sides falling upon the multitude of *Indians*, and breaking them with the first Discharge of their Cross-Bows, and Muskets, the Horse and Dogs fell in next in most furious manner, that they might not Rally; whereupon those faint-hearted Creatures fled, some one way, and some another; and our Men pursuing and killing a great number, made such havock, that in a short time, through God's Assistance, they obtain'd a compleat Victory, many of the Enemies being slain, and others taken, among whom was *Cannabo*, the chief Cacique of them all, together with his Wives and Children. This *Cannabo*, afterwards confess'd he had kill'd 20 of the Christians left with *Arana* in the Town of the *Nativity*, the first Voyage when the *Indies* were discovered, and that afterwards, under colour of Friendship, he went in great haste to see the Town of *Isabella*, to observe how he might best attack it, and do as he had done at the *Nativity*. Of all which things, the Admiral had

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Indians
defeated.

been fully inform'd by others; and therefore to punish him for that Offence, and this second Revolt, and gathering of Forces, he had now march'd against him, and having taken him and his Brother, he sent them all Prisoners into *Spain*, for he would not without the knowledge or their Catholick Majesties, execute so considerable a Person, being satisfied with punishing some of those that were most in fault. The Victory obtain'd, and this Man's Imprisonment, put the Affairs of the Christians into such a good Posture, that tho' at that time they were but 630. many of them sick, and others Women and Children; yet in the space of a year, the Admiral spent in ranging the Island, without being forced to draw Sword any more, he reduced it to such Obedience, that they all promised to pay Tribute to their Catholick Majesties every 3 months, that is, all that Inhabited the Province of *Cibao*, where the Gold Mines were, from 14 years of Age upward, to pay a large Horse-Bell full of Gold Dust, and all the rest 25 Pounds of Cotton a Head. And that it might be known, who had paid this Tribute, there was a sort of Brads and Tin Coin stamp'd, one of which pieces was to be given to every one that paid, and he to wear it about his Neck, that whosoever was found without it might be known not to have paid and punish'd. And doubtless, this Order would have proved effectual, had not those Troubles we shall speak of afterwards hapned among the Christians; for after the taking of *Cannabo*, the Country was so peaceable, that for the future one single Christian went safely where he pleased; and the *Indians* themselves would carry him about on their Shoulders, which the Admiral attributed only to God, and the good Fortune of their Catholick Majesties, considering it had been otherwise impossible for 200 Men, half Sick and ill-Arm'd, to overthrow such a multitude, which it pleas'd his Divine Majesty not only to bring under his Command, but to send such scarcity of Provisions, and such violent Diseases among them, that they were reduced to one third of what they had been at first, to make it appear the more plain, that such miraculous Victories, and the subduing of Nations are his Gift, and not the effect of our Power, or Conduct, or of their want of Courage, for tho' our Men had been Superior to them, yet their multitude might make amends for any Advantage we had over them.

C H A P. LXII.

Some remarkable Things in the Island, as the Customs, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Indies.

THE People of the Island being brought under, and converting more freely with our Men, many other particulars, and the Secrets of their Religion were found out, but particularly that there were Mines of Copper, Azure, and Amber; as also Ebony, Cedar, Frankincense, and other rich Gums and Spice of several sorts, but wild, which, being cultivated, might be brought to Perfection; as for instance, Cinnamon of good colour, but bitter, Ginger, long Pepper, abundance of Mulberry Trees, for making of Silk, which bear Leaves all the year, and many other useful Trees and Plants not known in our Parts. Besides, the Spaniards were inform'd of many other things relating to their Customs, which to me seem to deserve a place in our History. To begin with their Religion, I will here set down the Admirals own words, writ by himself, which are these.

I could discover neither Idolatry nor any other Sect among them, tho' every one of their Kings, who are very many, as well in *Hispaniola*, as in all the other Islands and Continent, has a House apart from the Town, in which there is nothing at all but some Wooden Images Carv'd, by them call'd *Cemi's*; nor is there any thing done in those Houses but what is for the Service of those *Cemi's*, they repairing to perform certain Ceremonies, and Pray there, as we do to our Churches. In these Houses they have a handsome round Table, made like a Dish, on which is some Powder, which they lay on the Head of the *Cemi's*, with a certain Ceremony; then through a Cane that has two Branches, clapp'd to their Nose, they Snuff up this Powder: The Words they say none of our People understand. This Powder puts them besides themselves, as if they were Drunk. They also give the Image a Name, and I believe it is their Fathers, or Grandfathers, or both, for they have more than one, and some above ten, all in Memory of their Forefathers, as I said before. I have heard them commend one above another, and have observ'd them to have more Devotion, and show more respect to one than another, as we do in Processions, in time of need, and the People and *Caciques* boast among themselves of having the best *Cemi's*. When they go to these their *Cemi's*, they shun

the Christians, and will not let them go into those Houses, and if they suspect they will come, they take away their *Cemi's*, and hide them in the Woods, for fear they should be taken from them, and what is most ridiculous, they use to Steal one anothers *Cemi's*. It happen'd once, that the Christians on a sudden rush'd into the House with them, and presently the *Cemi* cried out, speaking in their Language, by which it appear'd to be artificially made, for it being hollow, they had applied a Trunk to it, which answer'd to a dark corner of the House cover'd with Boughs and Leanes, where a Man was concealed, who spoke what the *Cacique* order'd him. The Spaniards therefore reflecting on what it might be, kick'd down the *Cemi*, and found as has been said; and the *Cacique* seeing they had discovered his Practice, earnestly begg'd of them not to speak of it to his Subjects, or the other *Indians*, because he kept them in Obedience by that Policy. This we may say has some resemblance of Idolatry, at least among those, who are ignorant of their *Caciques* Fraud, since they believe it is the *Cemi* that speaks, and all of them in general are impos'd upon, and only the *Cacique* and he that combines with him, abuse their Credulity, by which means he draws what Tribute he pleases from his People. Most of the *Caciques* have 3 Stones also, to which they and their People show a great Devotion. The one they say helps the Corn, and all sorts of Grain; the second, makes Women be deliver'd without Pain; and the third, procures Rain or fair Weather, according as they stand in need of either. I sent your Highness 3 of these Stones by *Antony de Torres*, and have 3 more to carry along with me. When these *Indians* Die, they have several ways of performing their Obsequies, but the manner of Burying their *Caciques* is thus. They open and dry him at the Fire, that he may keep whole. Of others they take only the Head. Others they Bury in a Grot, or Den, and lay a Calabash of Water and Bread on his Head. Others they Burn in the House where they Die, and when they are at the last Gasps, they suffer them not to Die, but Strangle them, and this is done to *Caciques*. Others are turn'd out of the House, and others put them into a Hamack, which is their Bed, and lay Bread and Water by their Head,

never

Columbus. never returning to see them any more. Some that are dangerously ill, are carried to the *Cacique*, who tells them whether they are to be Strangled or not, and what he says, is done. I have taken pains to find out what it is they believe, and whether they know what becomes of them after they are Dead; especially I enquir'd of *Caunabo*, who was the chiefeft King in *Hispaniola*, a Man in years, knowing, and of a most piercing Wit. He and the rest answer'd, That they go to a certain Vale, which every great *Ca-*

cique supposes to be in his Country, where they affirm they find their Parents, and all their Predecessors, and that they Eat, have Women, and give themselves up to Pleasures and Pastimes, as appears more at large in the following Account, in which I order'd, one *F. Roman*, who understood their Language, to set down all their Ceremonies and Antiquities, tho' there are so many Fables that nothing can be made of it, but that they have all some regard to a future State, and hold the Immortality of the Soul.

The MANUSCRIPT of *F. Roman*, concerning the Antiquities of the *Indians*, which he, as being Skill'd in their Tongue, has carefully gather'd by Order of the Admiral.

I *F. Roman*, a poor Anchorite of the order of S. Jerome, by Order of the most Illustrious Lord Admiral, Viceroy and Governour of the Islands and Continent of the Indies, write what I could hear and learn of the Relief, and Idolatry of the Indians, and how they serve their Gods. Everyone observe some particular Way and Superstition and Worshipping Idols, which they call *Cemis*. They think there is an Immortal Being, like Heaven, Invisible, and that has a Mother, but has no Beginning, and this Being they call *Jocakuvague Maorocon*, and its Mother they call *Atabei*, *fermaoguacur*, *Apito*, and *Zuimaco*, which are several Names. Those I here write of, are the People of the Island *Hispaniola*, for I know nothing of the others, having never been in them. They also know, whence they came, the Original of the Sun and Moon, how the Sea was made, and whither the Dead go. And they believe the Dead appear to them upon the Roads when any of them go alone, for when there are a great many together they do not appear to them. All this their Ancestors have made them believe, for they can neither read, nor tell beyond Ten.

CHAP. I.

Whence the Indians came, and after what manner.

Preposterous conceits of the Indians.

THERE is a Province in *Hispaniola* call'd *Caanan*, in which there is a Mountain call'd *Canta*, where there are two Grotts or Caverns; the one call'd *Cacibagiagua*, the other *Amaiaurva*; most of the People that first Inhabited the Island came out of *Cacibagiagua*. These being in those Caverns, kept Watch by Night, and one *Marocael* had the charge of it, who coming one day too late to the door, they say the Sun took him away. Seeing

therefore that the Sun had carried him away for his neglect, they shut the Door against him, and so he was turn'd into a Stone near the Door. Then they say, That others going a Fishing were taken by the Sun, and became Trees by them call'd *Jobi*, but otherwise *Mirabolans*.

The reason why *Marocael* watch'd and warded, was to observe whether he would send and distribute the People, and it appears he staid to his own harm.

CHAP. II.

How the Men parted from the Women.

IT happened, that one *Guagugiana*, bid another, whose Name was *Giadrwava*, go and gather an Herb call'd *Digo*, wherewith they cleanse their Body when they go to Wash. He went out before day, the Sun took him by the way, and he

became a Bird that sings in the morning, like the *Nightingale*, and is call'd *Giabuba Bagiaci*. *Guagugiana*, perceiving he did not return, whom he had sent to gather *Digo*, resolv'd to go out of the aforesaid Grot *Cacibagiagua*.



CH A P. III.

Guagugiana resolv'd to go away in a Passion, seeing they did not return him he had sent to gather *Digo* to wash, and said to the Women, leave your bands, and let us go into other Coun-

tries, and we shall get Jewels enough. Leave your Children, and let us only carry the Herbs along with us, and we will come again for them.

CH A P. IV.

Guagugiana set out with all the Women, and went to seek another entry, and came to *Matinino*, where immediately left the Women, and it into another Country, called *Guahagiana*, having left the Children by a Brook. afterwards, when Hunger began to pinch them, they say, they cry'd, and told their Mothers, that were gone; the Fathers could not relieve the

Children, who for Hunger, called their Mothers, saying *Ma Ma*, to speak, but in truth to beg of the Earth. And they thus crying and begging of the Earth, saying *Too, Too*, like one that very earnestly begs a thing, they were transform'd into little Creatures like Dwarfs, and call'd *Tona*, because of their begging of the Earth. And thus all the Men were left without Women.

CH A P. V.

That there went Women again to the said Island of *Hispaniola*, formerly called *Aiti*, and so the Inhabitants of it called, and the other Islands called *Bouchi*: And forasmuch as they have no Letters, nor way of Writing, they can give no good Account how they understand this Story of their Ancestors, and therefore they do not agree in what they say, nor is what they relate to be put to any Order. When *Guagugiana*, who cry'd away all the Women went off, he took with him the Wives of his *Cuiques*, whose Name was *Anacugua*, deceiving them as he had done the others. Besides,

a Kinsman of *Guagugiana*, who followed him, went upon the Sea, and *Guagugiana* said to his Kinsman, when he was in the Canoe, Look what a fine *Cobo* there is in the Water, which *Cobo* is the Sea-Snail, or Perwinkle; and he looking down for the *Cobo*, *Guagugiana* his Kinsman took him by the Feet and threw him into the Sea, and so took all the Women to himself, and left those at *Matinino*, where it is said there are none but Women to this day; and he went away to another Island called *Guanin*, and it was so called for what he carried to it when he went thither.

CH A P. VI.

That *Guagugiana* return'd to the same *Canta*, whence he had carried the Women: They say that *Guagugiana* being in that Country whither he went, as he had left a Woman in the Sea, at which he was not pleas'd, and look'd about where to Wash himself, being full of those Blotches we call the *French Pox*. The Woman put him into a *Guanara*, that is, a By-Place; and being there, was heal'd of his Sores.

Afterwards he ask'd her leave to go his way, and she gave it him. This Woman's Name was *Guabonito*; and *Guabonito* chang'd his Name, calling himself from that time forwards, *Berberci Guahagiana*. And the Woman *Guabonito*, gave *Berberci Guahagiana* much *Guanine* and *Cibo*, that he might carry them tied to his Arms; for in those Countries, the *Colembi* are of Stone, very like Marble;

and they wear them about their Wrists and Necks; and the *Guanin*'s wear them at their Ears, making holes in them when they are little, and they sound like fine Mettle. They say, That *Guabonito*, *Albeborael*, *Guahagiana*, and the Father of *Albeborael*, were the first of these *Guanin*'s. *Guahagiana* staid in that Country with the Father, called *Hiauna*, his Son from his Father took the Name *Hia Guaili Guanin*, which signifies Son of *Hiauna*, and from thence forward, was called *Guanin*, and is so to this day. And they not knowing how to write, cannot give a good Account of these Fables, nor can I write them well: wherefore I believe, I mention the last first and the first last. But all I write is related by them, and so I deliver it as I had it from the People of the Country.



C H A P. VII.

How Women came again to the aforesaid Island Aiti, now called Hispaniola.

They say the Men went one Day to Wash themselves, and when they were in the Water it Rain'd much, and they were very desirous to have Women; and that very often, when it Rain'd, they had gone to seek out the Track of their Women, and could find no news of them; but they say, that as they were Washing themselves that day, they saw fall down from the Trees, as it were sliding down the Branches, the Shape of People, which were neither Men nor Women, nor had the Secrets Parts of Man or Women, which they went to catch, but they fled as swift as if they had been Eagles. There-

fore by Order of their *Cacique*, they call'd 2 or 3 Men, since they themselves could not catch them, to watch how many there were of them, and find out for each of them a Man that was *Caracaracoli*, for those Men had rough Hands, and therefore would hold fast. They told the *Cacique* they were four, and so they took four Men that were *Caracaracoli*, which is a Dis temper like the Itch, that makes the Body very rough. When they had taken those Creatures, they held a Council about them, how to make them Women, since they had neither the Privities of Man or Woman.

C H A P. VIII.

How they found the way to make Women.

Women made.

They sought out a Bird called *Turiri*, formerly *Turire Cabuwaia*, that is, a Woodpecker, that makes holes in Trees, and taking those Creatures that had neither the Parts of Man nor Woman, tied them Hands and Feet, and bound the said Bird to their Body, the which Bird taking them to be Trees, began to work as it uses, Pecking and Boreing that part where Womens Privities should be; and

thus say the Anticest Indians, they came to have Women. I writing in haste, and not having Paper enough, could not place every thing rightly, but through mistake transpos'd some; but the mistake is not great, for they believe all that is here writ. Let us now return to what we should have said first, that is, their Opinion concerning the Original and Beginning of the Sea.

C H A P. IX.

How they say the Sea was made.

There was a Man they call *Giaia*, whose right Name they know not, his Son was call'd *Giaael*, that is, *Giaia's* Son. This *Giaael* intending to kill his Father, he Banish'd him, where he remain'd an Outlaw 4 Months, after which his Father kill'd him, put his Bones into a Calabash, and hung it to the top of his House, where it continued some time. It happen'd that being desirous to see his Son, *Giaia* one day said to his Wife, I have a mind to see our Son *Giaael*, and she was content. Taking down the Calabash, he turn'd it over to see his Sons Bones, and

there came out of it abundance of great and small Fishes. Perceiving that the Bones were turn'd into Fishes, they resolv'd to Eat them. Now they say, that one day, when *Giaia* was gone to his *Comichis*, that is, his Lands, he had by Inheritance, there came 4 Sons of a certain Woman called, *Itiba Tabuwaia*, all Born at one Birth; for the said Woman dying in Labour, they cut her open, and took out the said Sons; and the first they cut was *Caracaracoli*, that is, *Mangy*; which *Caracaracoli* had to Name..... the others had no Name.

C H A P. X.

How the four Sons of *Itiba Tabuwaia*, who died in Labour, went to take down *Giaia's* Calabash, in which was his Son *Giaael* who had been Converted into Fish, and none of them durst lay hold of it but *Dimivan Caracaracoli*, who unhang'd it, and they all Eat their Belly full of Fish, but whilst they were Eating, they perceiv'd *Giaia* was coming from his

Estate, and going about in that hurry to hang up the Calabash, they did not hang it right, so that there ran so much Water from it, as overflow'd all the Country, and with it came out abundance of Fish, and hence they believe the Sea had its Original. Afterwards they went and met with a Man whose Name was *Conc*, and he was Dumb.

C H A P

CHAP. XI.

What happened to the Four Brothers, when they fled from Giaia.

AS soon as they came to *Bessamano* co's Door, and found he brought *Cazzabi*, they said, *Abiacavo Gearocol*; that is, Let us be acquainted with this Grandfire of ours. So *Deminan Caracaracol*, seeing his Brother's before him, went in to try whether he could get some *Cazzabi*, which is the Bread they Eat there. *Caracaracol* going into the House of *Alamavaco*, ask'd some *Cazzabi* of him, which, as has been said, is Bread. He clapt his Hand on his Nose, and threw on him a *Guanquao*, full of *Cogitoba*, which he had made that day, and is a sort of Powder they take sometimes to Purge them, and for other Purposes you shall know hereafter. This they take through a Cane half a Cubit long, one end whereof they put to their Nose, and the other to the Powder, and so Snuff it up, which Purges them very much. So he gave him that *Guanquao* instead of Bread, and leaving what he was about, went away very angry because they ask'd it of him — After this, *Caracaracol* return'd to his Brothers, and told them what had happen'd to him with *Bahamanicol*, and the stroke he gave him on the Shoulder with the *Guan-*

guao, and that it pain'd him very much. His Brothers look'd upon his Shoulder, and perceiv'd it was much Swollen, which swelling increas'd so much, that he was like to Die. Therefore they endeavour'd to cut it open, and could not, but taking an Instrument of Stone, they opened it, and out came a live Female Tortoise; so they built their House, and bred up the Tortoise. I understood no more of this matter, and what we have writ signifies but little. They say further, That the Sun and Moon came out of a Grotto, that is in the Country of *Calique*, whose Name is *Mancia Tuvet*, and the Grotto is called *Gioovava*; and they pay a great Veneration to it, and have Painted it all after their Fashion, without any Figure, but Leaves, and the like. In the said Grotto, there were two little Stone *Cemi*'s, about a quarter of a yard long, their Hands bound, and they look'd as if they Sweated. These *Cemi*'s they honour'd very much; and when they wanted Rain, they say they used to go Visit them, and they presently had it. One of the *Cemi*'s is by them called *Boinael*, the other *Maroio*.

CHAP. XII.

What their Opinion is concerning the Wandring of the Dead, after what manner they are, and what they do.

of the
Dead.

THEY hold, there is a Place to which the Dead go, called *Coabai*, and lying in a part of the Island known by the Name of *Soraiia*. The first that was

in *Coabai*, they say, Was one *Mache-taurie Guavava*, who was Lord of the said *Coabai*, the Habitation and Dwelling-Place of the Dead.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Figure they assign the Dead.

THEY say they are shut up in the Day, and walk abroad in the Night; that they Feed on a certain Fruit, called *Guabazza*, which tastes like a —, that in the Day-time they are —, and at Night were Converted into Fruit, and that they Fear, and go about with the Living; and thus it is they know them: They feel their Belly, and if they

cannot find their Navel, they say they are Dead; for they say the Dead have no Navel, and therefore they are sometimes deceiv'd, when they do not observe this, and Lie with some of the Women of *Coabai*, whom when they think they have in their Arms, they have none, because they vanish on a suddain. This they still believe as to this Affair.

Whilst a Man is Living, they call the *mbuc.* Soul *Gou-z*, and when Dead *Opia*, which *Goe-z* they say, often appears to them, as well in the shape of a Man as of a Woman; and they say, there have been Men that would fight with it, and when they came to close it, vanish'd, and the Man clapp'd his Arms elsewhere about some Tree, to which he clung fast. This they believe all in general, great

and small, and that it appears to them in the shape of their Father, Mother, Brother, Kindred, or any other. The Fruit they say the Dead feed on, is about the bigness of a Quince. The Dead do not appear to them in the Day-time, but always at Night; and therefore if any one ventures to go abroad at Night, it is with great fear.

C H A P. XIV.

Whence they have this, and who makes them hold such an Opinion.

There is a sort of Men among them, called *Bobuti's*, who have many juggling Tricks, as we shall say hereafter, to make them believe, they Talk with the Dead, that they know all their Actions and Secrets, and when they are Sick, Cure them. Thus they impose upon them, which I have seen with my own Eyes, tho' as to other particulars I relate only what I have heard from many of them, especially the principal Men, with whom I convers'd more than with others, for these believe such Fables more firmly than the others, for they have all their Superstitions reduced into old Songs, and are directed by them, as the *Moors* are by the *Alcoran*. When they Sing

these Songs, they play upon an Instrument, called *Maobavan*, made of Wood, hollow, strong, yet very thin, and as long as a Man's Arm; that part where they play on it is made like a Smith's Tongs, and the other end like a Club, so that it looks like a Calabash with a long Neck. This Instrument they play on, and is so loud, that it is heard a League and half off; and to that Musick they sing those Songs they have got by heart. The chief Men play on it, who learn it from their Infancy, and so sing to it according to their Custom. Let us now proceed to speak of many other Ceremonies and Customs of these *Gentiles*.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Observations of the Indian Buhuitihu's, How they profess Physick, Teach the People, and are often Deceiv'd in their Cures.

All or most of the People of the Island of *Hispaniola* have abundance of *Cemi's*, of several sorts: Some have their Father, Mother, Kindred and Predecessors: Some Figures cut in Stone and Wood, and many of both sorts, some that Speak, others that cause Things to grow, some that Eat, and others that cause Rain, and others that make the Wind blow; which Things those ignorant People believe the Idols perform, or rather those Devils. They having no Knowledge of our Holy Faith. When any one is sick, they bring him the *Bu-*

buitshu, that is, as was said above, the Physician. The Doctor is obliged to be Dieted as the sick Man is, and to look like him, which is done thus. He is to Purge himself as the sick Man does, which is done by Snuffing a certain Powder, called *Cohoba*, up his Nose, which makes him so Drunk, that he knows not what he does, and so says many extravagant Things, which they affirm is Talking with the *Cemi's*, and that they tell them how the Sickness came.



C H A P. XVI.

What these Buhuitihu's do.

*we of
the Sick.*

When they go to visit any sick Body, before they set out from their House, they take the Soot off a Pot, or Pounded Charcoal, and black all their Face, to make the sick Man believe what they please concerning his Distemper. Then they take some small Bones, and a little Flesh, and wrapping them all up in something that they may not drop, put them in their Mouth, the sick Man being before Purg'd with the Powder aforesaid. When the Physician is come into the sick Man's House, he sits down, and all Persons are silent; and if there are any Children they put them out, that they may not hinder the *Buhuitihu* in performing his Office; nor does there remain in the House any but one or two of the chief Persons: Being thus by themselves, they take some of the Herb *Giora*—— broad, and another Herb, wrapp'd up in the web of an Onion halt a quarter long; one of the *Giora's*, and the other they hold, and drawing it in their Hands they bruise it into a Paste, and then put it in their Mouths to Vomit what they have Eaten, that it may not hurt them, then presently begin their Song, and lighting a Torch, take the Juice. This done, having staid a little, the *Buhuitihu* rises up, and goes towards the sick Man, who sits all alone in the middle of the House, as has been said, and turns him twice about, as he thinks fit; then stands before him, takes him by the Legs, and feels his Thighs, descending by degrees to his Feet, then draws hard, as if he would pull something off; then he goes to the Door, shuts it, and says, Be gone to the Mountain, or to the Sea, or whither thou

wilt; and giving a Blast, as if he blow'd something away, turns about, claps his Hands together, shuts his Mouth, his Hands quake as if he were a Cold, he blows on his Hands, and then draws in his Blast as if Sucking the Marrow of a Bone, sucks the sick Man's Neck, Stomach, Shoulders, Jaws, Breast, Belly, and several other Parts of his Body. This done, they begin to Cough, and make Faces, as if they had Eaten some Bitter thing, and the Doctor pulls out that we said he put into his Mouth: at home, or by the way, whether Stone, Flesh, or Bone, as above. If it is any thing Eatable, he says to the sick Man, Take notice you have Eaten something that has caus'd this Distemper; see how I have taken it out of your Body, for your *Cemi* had put it into you because you did not Pray to him, or Build him some Temple, or give him some of your Goods. If it be a Stone, he says, Keep it safe. Sometimes they take it for certain, that those Stones are good, and help Women in Labour; wherefore they keep them very carefully, wrapp'd up in Cotton, putting them into little Baskets, giving them such as they have themselves to Eat, and the same they do to the *Cemi's* they have in their Houses. Upon any Solemn Day, when they provide much to Eat, whither Fish, Flesh, or any other thing, they put it all into the House of the *Cemi's*, that the Idol may Feed on it. The next Day they carry all home, after the *Cemi* has Eaten. And so God help them, as the *Cemi* Eats of that, or any other Thing, they being inanimate Stocks or Stones.

C H A P. XVII.

How the aforesaid Physicians have been sometimes Deceiv'd.

When they have done as has been said, and yet the Patient dies, if the Dead Man has many Friends, or was Lord of a Territory, and can oppose the said *Buhuitihu*, that is, Physician, for mean People dare not contend with them; he that would do him harm, does it thus. When they would know whether the Patient Died through the Physician's

Fault, or whether he did not observe what was prescrib'd; they take an Herb, called *Gucio*, whose Leaves are like *Basil*, thick and broad, being called by another name, *Zachon*: They take the Juice of this Leaf, pair the Dead Man's Nails, and cut off the Hair on his Forehead, which they powder between two Stones, and mix with the aforesaid Juice of the Herb,

Herb, and pour it down the Dead Man's Throat, or Noftrils, and so doing, ask him, Whether the Physician was the occasion of his Death? and whether he observed Order? This they ask several times, till he speaks as plain, as if he were alive; so that he answers to all they ask of him, saying, The *Buhuitibu* did not observe Order, or was the Cause of his Death; and they say, the Physician asks him, Whether he is alive, and how he comes to talk so plain; and he answers he is dead. When they have known what they desire of him, they return him to his Grave, whence they

took him to make this Enquiry. They use another Method to know what they desire: They take the Dead Body and make a great Fire, like that us'd for making of Charcoal; and when the Wood is turn'd into a live Coal, they throw the Body into that violent Fire, and cover it with Earth, as the Collier's do the Coals, where they let it lie as long as they think fit, and there ask Questions, as was said before; who answers, He knows nothing. This they ask ten times, and then he speaks no more. They ask, Whether he is Dead? But he speaks only those ten times.

C H A P. XVIII.

How the Kindred of the Party departed Revenge themselves, when they have got an Answer by means of the Drench.

THE Dead Man's Kindred get together upon a Day appointed, wait for the aforesaid *Buhuitibu*, and Basteinado him, till they break his Legs, Arms and Head, so that he is all batter'd, and so they leave him for Dead. At Night, they say, there come abundance of Snakes of several sorts, white, black, green, and of several other Colours, which lick the said Physician's Face, and all his Body, so left, as has been said, and remains in that manner two or three Days. Whilst he is thus, they say the Bones of his Legs and Arms knit together again, he gets up, and walks fair and softly towards his House, and they that saw him, ask the question of him, Were not you Dead? He answers, The *Cemi's* came to his assistance in the shape of Snakes. The Dead Man's Kindred, in a Rage, because they thought they had Reveng'd their Relations Death, seeing him alive, grow desperate, and endeavour to lay hold of him to put him to Death; and if they

can catch him again, they put out his Eyes, and bruise his Testicles; for they say none of these Physicians can Die, tho' never so much Basteinadoed, if they do not cut out his Testicles.

How they know what they Desire of him they Burn, and how they take their Revenge.

When they uncover the Fire, the Smoke that comes from it, rises till they lose sight of it, and makes a noise, as it breaks out. Then it turns down again, and goes into the House of the *Buhuitibu* or Physician; and that very moment, he that did not observe Order, falls Sick, is cover'd with Sores, and all the Skin of his Body fleas off; and this they take for a sign, that he did not do his Duty, and therefore the Patient died; for which reason they endeavour to kill him, as was said in the other Case. These are the Sorceries they use.

C H A P. XIX.

How they make and keep their Wooden and Stone Cemi's.

THose of Wood are made thus: When any one is Travelling, he says, He sees some Tree that shakes its Root; the Man in a great fright, stops, and asks, Who he is? It answers, My Name is, *Buhuitibu*, and he will inform you who I am: The Man repairing to the said Physician, tells him what he has seen.

The Wizard, or Conjuror, runs immediately to see the Tree the other has told him of, sits down by it, and makes it *Cogioba*, as was said above in the Story of the Four Brothers. The *Cogioba* being made, he stands up, gives it all its Titles, as if it were some great Lord; and asks of it, Tell me who you are, what

S
umbus
 what you do here, what you will have with me, and why you sent for me? Tell me, Whether you will have me cut you, whether you will go along with me, and how you will have me carry you, and I will build you a House and Endow it? Immediately, that Tree, or *Cemi*, becomes an Idol, or Devil, answers, telling how he will have him do it. He cuts it into such a shape as he is directed, builds his House, and Endows it; and makes *Cogioba* for it several times in the year; which *Cogioba* is to pray to, to please it, to ask and know of the said *Cemi*, what Good or Evil is to happen, and to beg Wealth of it. When they would know whether they shall be Victorious over their Enemies, they go into a House, whither none but the chief Men are admitted. The Lord of them is the first that begins to make the *Cogioba*, and to make a noise; whilst he does it, none of the Company speaking till he has done. His Prayer being ended, he stands a while with his Head turn'd about, and his Arms on his Knees; Then he lifts up his Head, and looks towards Heaven, and speaks. Then they all answer him with a loud Voice, and when they have all spoke, giving thanks, he tells the Vision he saw, being made Drunk with the *Cogioba*, he Snuff'd up his Nose, which flies into his Head; and

says, He has Talk'd with the *Cemi*, and shall obtain Victory, or that his Enemies shall fly, or that there shall be a great Mortality, or War, or Famine, or some such thing, as occurs to him in his drunken fit. Consider, what a Condition their Brains are in; for they say, the Houses seem to them to be turned topsie turvy, and that the Men go upon their Heads. This *Cogioba* they make for Stone and Wooden *Cemi*'s, as well as for the Dead Bodies, as has been said above. The Stone *Cemi*'s are of several sorts: Some there are, which they say, the Physicians take out of the Body of the Sick, and those they look upon as the best to help Women in Labour. Others there are that Speak, which are shaped like a long Turnip, with the Leaves long, and extended, like the Shrub bearing Capers. Those Leaves for the most part are like those of the Elm. Others have three Points, and they think they cause the *Guca* to thrive. Their Roots are like a Radish. The Leaves of the *Guca* have at least six or seven Points; nor do I know what to compare them to, for I have seen nothing like it in Spain, or elsewhere. The Stem of the *Guca* is as high as a Man. Let us now speak of their Opinions concerning the Idols and *Cemi*'s, and how they are deceiv'd by them.

C H A P. XX.

Of the *Cemi*, Bugid and Aiba.

Barbarous
 They say, in the time of the Wars, he was burnt, and afterwards being wash'd with the Juice of *Guca*, his Arms grew out again, his Body spread, and he recovered his Eyes. The *Guca* was small, and they wash'd it with the above-mentioned Water and Juice, to make it grow bigger; and they affirm it made those Sick who had made the said *Cemi*, because they had not brought

it *Guca* to Eat. This *Cemi* was called *Baidrama*, and when any one fell sick, they called the *Bubustihu*, and ask'd him, Whence the Distemper proceeded? He answered, *Baidrama* had sent it, because they had not sent him to Eat by those that had Charge of his House. This the *Bubustihu* said the *Cemi*, *Baidrama*, had told him.

C H A P. XXI.

Of *Guamoret's Cemi*.

They say, that when they built the the House of *Guamoret*, who was a Man of Note, they put into it a *Cemi*, that was on the top of his other House, which *Cemi* was called *Carocose*; and

when they had Wars among themselves, *Guamoret's* Enemies burnt the House in which this *Cemi* *Carocose* was. They say he presently got up, and went a Bow-shot from that Place, near to a Water. They

to *Isabella*, where we waited for the Admiral, till he return'd from the relief of *Madalena*. As soon as he came, we went where he had ordered, with one *John de Aguada*, who had the Command of a Fort, which *D. Christopher Columbus* had built, half a League from the Place where we were to Reside. The Admiral Commanded the said *John de Aguada* to allow us such Provisions as there were in the Fort, which is called the *Conception*. We continued with that *Cacique*, *Guarionex*, almost two years, instructing him in our Faith, and the Manners of Christians. At first he appear'd well-inclin'd, and gave some hopes of complying and becoming a Christian, bidding us teach him the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and all other Christian Prayers, which many in his House learnt; and he said his Prayers every Morning, and caus'd all his Family to do so twice a day: yet afterwards he fell off from his good purpose, through the fault of some of the principal Men of that Country, who blam'd him for submitting to the Law of Christ, since the Christians were ill Men, and drove them out of their Country by force. Therefore they advised him never to mind any thing that belong'd to the Christians; but that he should joyn and conspire with them, for their Destruction, because they could not satisfy them, and were resolv'd to submit no longer. Thus he fell off from his good beginning, and we perceiving he neglected what he had learnt, resolv'd to depart thence, and go where we might be more successful in instructing the *Indians* in the Faith. We therefore went away to another principal *Cacique*,

who show'd a favourable Inclination, saying, He would be a Christian: his Name was *Maviatue*.

Accordingly we set out to go to the said *Maviatue's* Country; *I F. Roman* *Pane*, poor Anchorite, and *F. John Borgegnon* of the Order of *St. Francis*, and *John Mathew* the first that was Baptized in *Hispaniola*.

The second day after we set out from the Town and Habitation of *Guarionex*, to go to the other *Cacique*, called *Maviatue*, we found *Guarionex's* People Building a House near the House of Prayer, where we left some Pictures for the *Catechumens*, to Kneel and Pray before them. These were the Mother, Brothers, and Kindred, of the aforesaid *John Mathew*, the first Christian; afterwards seven more joyn'd them, and at last all the Family became Christians, and persever'd in the Faith; so that all the aforesaid Family was left to keep that House of Prayer, and some Lands I had caus'd to be Till'd. They, being so left to keep the House, two days after we were gone towards the aforesaid *Maviatue*, six Men went to the aforesaid House of Prayer, left in the Custody of the seven *Catechumens*, and by Order of *Guarionex*, told them, they should take those Pictures, left by *F. Roman*, and Destroy them, since he and his Companion were gone, and they knew not what was become of them. These six Servants of *Guarionex* found six Children keeping the House of Prayer, who being so instructed, said, They should not come in; but they went in by force, took the Pictures, and carried them away.

C H A P. XXVI.

What became of the Pictures, and a Miracle God wrought to show his Power.

THESE Men being gone out of the House, threw the Pictures down, cover'd them with Earth, and Piss'd upon them, saying, Now you will yield much Fruit. This they said, because they Buried them in a Field that was Sown, saying, What grew there would be good, but this they did in Scorn. The Children that were keeping the House by order of the *Catechumens*, seeing this, They ran to their Friends who were upon their Lands, and told them,

That *Guarionex's* Men had abus'd and scorn'd the Pictures; which they understanding, left what they were about, and ran crying out to give an Account of it to *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, who was then Governor, his Brother being gone into *Spain*. He as Lieutenant to the Viceroy, proceeded against the Offenders, and having Convicted them publicly, burnt them. This did not deter *Guarionex* and his Subjects, from their design of Murdering all the Christians on the Day

Day when they were to bring in their Tribute; but the Conspiracy was discovered, and they apprehended on the same day they were to put it in Execution. Still they held on their Resolution, and accordingly killed four *Spaniards*, besides *John Matthew*, and his Brother *Anthony*, who had been Baptiz'd; and running where they had hid the Pictures, tore them in pieces. Some days after, the Owner of that Field went to dig up his *Agi's*, which are certain Roots like Turnips, and some like Radishes; And in the Place where the Pictures had been Buried, two or three *Agi's* were grown in the shape of a Cross, as if they had been stuck one through another; nor could any Man find this Cross, but only the Mother of *Guarionex*, who was the worst Woman I knew in those Parts, who look'd upon this as a great Miracle, and said to the Commander of the Fort of the *Conception*, this Miracle has been shown by God, where the Images were found: God knows to what end.

Let us now give an Account, how they were Converted that first became Christians, and how much will be requisite to Convert them all. To say the truth, That Island stands in much need of People to punish the Lords, when they will not suffer their People to be instructed in the Faith; for they have nothing to say against it, which I can with truth maintain, because it has Cost me much Labour to know it; as I am satisfied may be gathered by what has been said hitherto; and a word to the Wife is enough.

The first Christians were those we have before-mentioned in the Island of *Hispaniola*, that is, *Guanawarin*, in whose House there were Seventeen Persons;

who all became Christians, only giving them to understand, That there is One God, who has made all Things, and Created Heaven and Earth, without any further Arguments or Controversie, for they were easie of Belief. With others there must be Force and Ingenuity used, for all of them are not alike; for as much, as if those had a good beginning and a better end, they were none of those others that begin well, and then fall off from what has been Taught them; and therefore there is need of Force and Punishment.

The first that receiv'd Baptism in the Island *Hispaniola*, was *John Matthew*, who was Baptiz'd on the Feast of St. *Matthew* the Evangelist, in the year 1496. and after him all his Family; where were many Christians, and a greater Progress had been made, had they been instructed in the Faith, and the *Spaniards* been in a Condition to keep them under. And if any one should ask, Why I make this so easie a Matter? I say, it is, Because I know it by Experience, especially in the Person of a Principal *Cacique*, called, *Mahuvatiavire*, who has continued now for three years in his good purpose, saying, He will be a Christian, and have but one Wife, for they use to have two or three, and the great Men, twenty five or thirty. This is what I could learn and find out as to the Customs and Ceremonies of the *Indians* of *Hispaniola*, with all the Pains I have taken; wherein I expect no Spiritual, nor Temporal Advantage. May it please our Lord, if this turns to his Honour and Service, to give me his Grace to persevere; and if it must fall out otherwise, may he deprive me of my Understanding.

The End of the Work of the Poor Anchorite Roman Pane



C H A P. LXIII.

How the Admiral return'd to Spain to give their Majesties an Account of the Condition he left the Island in.

TO return to the main Subject of our History ; I say, The Admiral having brought the Island into a peaceable Condition, and built the Town of *Isabella*, besides three Forts about the Country, he resolv'd to return into *Spain*, to acquaint their Catholick Majesties with several Matters he thought convenient for their Service ; but particularly, because of many malicious Slanderers, who through Envy, ceas'd not to give the King a false Information of the Affairs of the *Indies*, to the great Prejudice and Dishonour of the Admiral and his Brothers. For these Reasons he went on Board on Thursday the 10th of *March*, 1496. with 225 *Spaniards* and 30 *Indians*, sail'd from *Isabella* about break of day, and turn'd it along the Coast with two Caravals, one called *Santa Cruz*, the other *Nina*, the same he went in to discover the Island of *Cuba*. On Tuesday the 22th of *March*, he lost sight of the East-point of *Hispaniola*, holding on his Course Eastward as the Wind would permit. But the Wind for the most part continuing at East, on the 6th of *April*, finding his Provisions fell short, and his Men were weary and discouraged, he fell off towards the South to the *Caribbe* Islands, and came up with them in three days, Anchoring at *Marigalante* on Saturday the 9th of *April*. The next day, tho' it was not his Custom to weigh Anchor on a Sunday, when in any Port, he set Sail, because his Men mutter'd, saying, When they were to seek their Bread, they needed not so strictly observe days. So he Anchor'd at the Island *Gnadalupe*, and sending the Boats well-mann'd ashore, before they came to Land, abundance of Women came out of a Wood, with Bows and Arrows, and Feathers, as if they would defend their Island. For this reason, and because the Sea ran somewhat high, those in the Boats kept aloof, and sent two *Indian* Women, they brought from *Hispaniola*, ashore, swimming, of whom those other Women particularly enquir'd concerning the Christians ; and understanding they only desired Provisions in Exchange for such things as they had, bid them go with their Ships to the North-side, were their Husbands were, who would furnish them with what they

wanted. The Ships sailing close under the Shore, saw abundance of People come down to the shore with Bows and Arrows, who let fly upon our Men with great Cries, tho' in vain, for their Arrows fell short. But perceiving the Boats full of Men were going ashore, the *Indians* went back into an Ambush, and when our Men drew near, came out to hinder their Landing, till being frighted with the Cannon fir'd at them from the Ships, they fled to the Wood, leaving their Houses and Goods, where the Christians took and destroy'd all they found. Being acquainted with the way of making Bread, they fell to work, and made enough to supply their want. Among other things they found in the Houses, there were great Parrots, Honey, Wax, and I on, whereof they had Hatchets to cut, and Looms like those for Tapestry-work, in which they Weave their Tents. Their Houses were square, and not round, as is usual in the other Islands. In one of them was found the Arm of a Man roasting upon a Spit. Whilst the Bread was making, the Admiral sent 40 Men up the Country, to learn something of it ; who the next day return'd with 10 Women, and three Boys ; the rest of the People being fled. Among these Women, was the Wife of a *Cacique*, whom a *Canary* Man, that was very nimble, had much difficulty to overtake ; and she had got from him, but that seeing him alone, she thought to take him ; and closing, she got him down, and had stifled him, but that others came in to his assistance. These Women's Legs are Swathed with Cotton from the Ankle to the Knee, that they may look thick ; which Ornament they call *Coiro*, and look upon it as very genteel ; and they gird so hard, that if it happens to slip off the Leg, that part appears very thin. The same, both Men and Women use in *Jamaica*, who swath their Arms up to the Arm-Pits, that is, about the smallest Parts, like the old fashion Sleeves us'd among us. These Women are also excessive Fat, and there were some thicker than a Man could grasp, as soon as Children can stand upon their Legs and Walk, they give them a Bow, that they may learn to shoot ; and they all wear their Hair long, and loose upon their

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their Shoulders, nor do they cover any part of the Body. That Lady they took, said, The Island was only inhabited by Women, and that those who would have hinder'd the Men landing were Women, except only four Men, who were there accidentally from another Island; for at a certain time in the year they come to Sport, and Lie with them. The same was observ'd by the Women of another Island, called *Matrimonio*, of whom she gave the same Account we read of the *Amazons*; and

the Admiral believ'd it by what he saw among those Women, and because of the Courage and Strength that appear'd in them. They also say, Those Women seem to be Endew'd with clearer Understandings than those of the other Islands; for in other Places they only reckon the Day by the Sun, and the Night by the Moon; whereas these Women reckoned by other Stars, saying, When the *Charles Wain* rises, or such a Star is North, then it is time to do so and so.

C H A P. LXIV.

The Admiral Sails from the Island Guadalupe for Spain.

W HEN they had made Provision of Bread for 20 Days, besides what they had aboard, the Admiral resolv'd to continue his Voyage towards *Spain*; but perceiving that Island was an inlet to the others, he thought fit first to satisfy those Women with some Gifts, in satisfaction for the loss they had sustain'd, and therefore sent them all ashore, except the chief Lady, who chose to go into *Spain* with her Daughter, among the other *Indians* of the Island *Hispaniola*, one of whom was *Chonabo*, who it has been said, was the chief Man in all the Island, and that because he was not a Native of it, but of the *Caribbes*; and therefore that Lady was content to go into *Spain* with the Admiral. He having furnish'd himself with Bread, Wood, and Water, set Sail on Wednesday the 20th of *April*, from *Guadalupe*, with the Wind very scant, keeping near the Latitude of 22 Degrees; for at that time they had not found out the method of running away North to meet the South-West Winds.

Having made but little way, and the Ships being full of People, on the 20th of *May*, they all began to be much afflicted for want of Provisions, which was so great, that they had but six Ounces of Bread a day for each, and less than a Pint of Water, without any thing else. And though there were 8 or 9 Pilots in those two Ships, yet none of them knew where they were, but the Admiral was confident they were but a little West of the *Azores*, whereof he gives an Account in his Journal thus.

This Morning the Dutch Compasses varied as they us'd to do, a Point; and those of *Genova*, that us'd to agree with

them, varied but a very little; but afterwards sailing East, vary more; which is a sign we are 100 Leagues, or somewhat more, West of the *Azores*; for when we were just 100, there were but a few scatter'd Weeds in the Sea; and the Dutch Needles varied a Point, those of *Genova* cutting the North-Point; and when we are somewhat further E. N. E. they will alter again; which was verified on Sunday following being the 22th of *May*: by which, and the exactness of his Account, he found he was 100 Leagues from the Islands *Azores*, which he was surpriz'd at, and assign'd this difference to the several sorts of Load-Stones the Needles are made by; for till they come just to that Longitude, they all varied a Point, and there some held it; and those of *Genova* exactly cut the North-Star. The same was yet further demonstrated the next day being the 24th of *May*. Thus continuing their Voyage, though all the Pilots went like Blind Men, on Wednesday the 8th of *June*, they came in sight of *Odemira*, between *Lisbon* and Cape *St. Vincent*, all the Pilots for several days having still made for the Land, except the Admiral, who the Night before slack'd his Sails for fear of Land, saying, He did so because they were near Cape *St. Vincent*, which all laugh'd at; some of them affirming they were in the *English* Channel, and those that Err'd least, said, They were on the Coast of *Galicia*; and therefore ought not to take in any Sail, it being better to Die ashore than Starve miserably at Sea, the scarcity being so great, that there were many, who like the *Cannibals*, were for Eating the *Indians* they had aboard; and others, to save the little

the Provision there was left, were for throwing them over-board, which they would have done, had not the Admiral used all his Authority to prevent it, considering they were human Creatures, and therefore ought not to be worse us'd than

the rest, and so it pleased God to reward him with the sight of Land next morning, as he had promis'd them all; for which reason he was afterwards look'd upon by the Seamen as most Expert, and almost Prophetical in Sea Affairs.

C H A P. LXV.

How the Admiral went to Court, and their Catholick Majesties set him out again for the Indies.

THE Admiral being landed in *Spain*, began to prepare for his Journey to *Burgos*, where he was favourably received by their Catholick Majesties, who were there Celebrating the Nuptials of Prince *John* their Son, who Married *Margaret* of *Austria*, Daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperor, who was conducted into *Spain*, and receiv'd by most of the Nobility, and the greatest appearance of Persons of Quality that had ever been seen together in *Spain*: But tho' I was present as Page to Prince *John*, I shall not mention the Particulars of this Solemnity, as well because it does not belong to our History, as because their Highnesses Historiographers have doubtless taken care to do it. Therefore to return to what concerns the Admiral, I say, That being come to *Burgos*, he presented their Majesties with several things he brought, as Samples, from the *Indies*; as well Birds, and Beasts, as Trees, Plants, Instruments, and other Things the *Indians* use for their Service and Diversion; also several Girdles and Masks, with Eyes and Ears of Plates of Gold; besides much Gold Sand, grofs and small, as Nature produced it: Some Grains as big as Vetches, some as Beans, and some as Pigeons Eggs. This was not afterwards so much valued, because in progress of time, there were pieces of Gold found that weigh'd above 30 Pounds. Yet at this time what he brought was much valued, in hopes of what was hop'd for, and accordingly their Majesties receiv'd it in good part. When the Admiral had given them an Account of all that related to the Improving and Peopling the *Indies*; he was desirous to return with speed, for fear some Disaster should happen in his absence, especially because he had left the People there in great want of all Necessaries. Tho' he press'd hard on this Account, yet the

Affairs of that Court being subject to Delays, he could not be so soon dispatch'd, but that 10 or 12 Months Elaps'd before he obtain'd two Ships, which were sent before with Succours under the Command of *Peter Fernandez Coronel*. These set out in *February* 1498. and the Admiral stay'd to Negotiate the obtaining such a Fleet as was requisite for him to return to the *Indies*. But he was forced to stay above a year at *Burgos* and at *Medina del Campo*; where in the year 1499. their Catholick Majesties granted him many Favours, and gave the necessary Orders for his Affairs, and for the Government, and settling of the *Indies*. Whereof I here make mention, that it may appear how ready their Catholick Majesties were as yet to Reward his Merits and Service, and how much they afterwards alter'd through the false Informations of Malicious and Envious Persons, in so much as to suffer the Wrongs to be done him, which we shall give an account of hereafter. But to return to his departure from Court to *Sevil*, there the fitting out of the Fleet was retarded much longer than was convenient, through the Negligence and Ill-Management of the King's Officers, and particularly of *D. John de Fonseca*, Arch-Deacon of *Sevil*. Whence it proceeded, that the said *D. John*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Burgos*, ever was an utter Enemy to the Admiral and his Affairs, and was chief of those that brought him into Disgrace with their Catholick Majesties. And to the end, That *D. James* my Brother, and I, who had served as Pages to Prince *John*, who was now Dead, might not suffer by his Delays, nor be absent from Court, till the time of his Departure; he sent us on the 2d of *November* 1497. from *Sevil*, to serve still, as Pages to her Majesty Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* of Glorious Memory.

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C H A P. LXVI.

The Admiral sets out from Spain to discover the Continent of Paria.

THe Admiral forwarding his Expedition with all possible Care, on the 30th of May 1498. set Sail from the Bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, with six Ships loaded with Provisions, and other Necessaries, for the Relief of the Planters in Hispaniola, and Peopling of that Island.

On the 7th of June, he arrived at the Island of Puerto Santo, where he heard Mass, and staid to take in Wood and Water, and what else he stood in need of; yet that same Night sailed away towards Madera, whither he came on Sunday the 9th of June, and there at the Town of Funchal, was courteously receiv'd and treated by the Governor of that Island, with whom he staid to provide himself further till Saturday in the Afternoon, when he Sail'd, and on Wednesday the 19th of June, arrived at Gomera, where there was a French Ship that had taken three Spaniards; who, seeing the Admiral's Squadron, weigh'd, and stood to Sea with them. The Admiral supposing they had been Merchant Ships, and fled, believing him to be a French Man, took no care to pursue, till when they were at a great distance, he was inform'd what they were, and sent after them three of his Ships; for fear of which, the French left one of the Ships they had taken, and fled with the other two, so that the Admiral could not fetch them up. They might have carried the other off too, had they not forsaken it; for when the Admiral appeared in the Port, in the Consternation they were in, they had not time to man it; so that there being but four French Men aboard, and six Spaniards of those that had been taken in it; these seeing the Assistance coming to them, clapt the French under Hatches and return'd to the Port, where the Ship was restor'd to its Master; And the French had suffered, but that D. Alvaro de Lugo the Governor, and all the Island interceded for them, who begg'd them to Exchange for six of their Men the French had carried away, which the Admiral granted. Still hasting on his way, he sailed for the Island Ferro on Thursday the 21th of June. There he resolv'd to send away three of his six Ships to Hispaniola, and to Sail away with the rest towards the Islands of Cabo Verde; thence to Sail directly over, and

discover the Continent. He therefore appointed a Captain over each Ship, of those he sent to Hispaniola; one of which was Peter de Araya, Cousin to that Araya who died in Hispaniola; the 2d, Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal; and the third, one John Antony Columbus his own Kinsman, to whom he gave particular Instruction, that each of them should Command a Week in his turn. This done, he set out for the Islands of Cabo Verde, and those Captains for Hispaniola. But that Climate he was then entering upon being unhealthy at that time, he had a terrible Fit of the Gout in one Leg, and four days after he fell into a violent Fever; yet notwithstanding his Sickness, he was still himself, and diligently observ'd the way the Ship made, the Alterations of the Weather that happened, as he had done since his first Voyage.

On Wednesday the 25th of June, he discovered the Island de Sal, one of those of Cabo Verde, passing by it, he came to another, called *Boa Vista*, a Name remote from the Truth, for it, signifies, a good Sight, and the Place is dull and wretched. Here he cast Anchor in a Channel near a small Island on the West-side of it, near to where there are 6 or 7 Houses of the Inhabitants for Persons troubled with the Leprosie, who came thither to be Cur'd. And as Sailors rejoyce when they discover Land, so do these Wretches much more, when they see any Ships. Therefore they presently ran down to the shore, to speak to those the Admiral sent ashore in the Boats to take in Water and Salt, there being also abundance of Goats there. Understanding they were Spaniards, the Portuguese, who had Charge of the Island for the Owner, went aboard to speak to the Admiral, and offer him all he demanded; for which the Admiral thank'd him, order'd him to be well treated, and some Provision given him, because by reason of the Barrenness of the Island, they always live miserably. The Admiral being desirous to know what Method they us'd to Cure the Lepers; that Man told him, That the Temperature of the Air was one main Cause of it; and the next was their Diet, because there came thither a vast number of Tortoises, on which the sick Feed, and anoint themselves with their

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Blood, and continuing it a short time they recover; but that those who are Born infected with this Distemper are longer a Curing. That the reason of having so many *Tortoises*, was the Shores being all Sandy, whither the *Tortoises*, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, came over from the Shore of *Africa*, most of them as big as an ordinary Target, and that every Night they came up to Sleep and lay their Eggs on the Sand; That the People went along the Shore in the Night, with *Lanterns*, or other Light, seeking the track the *Tortoise* leaves on the Sand, which they follow till they find the Fish; which being tir'd with coming so far, sleeps so sound, that it hears not its Enemy. He having found and turn'd his Belly up, without doing it any more harm, goes on to seek more; for when turn'd, they cannot stir from the Place, or recover their Feet. Having got as many as they think fit, they come again in the morning to chose those they like best; and letting go the least, carry away the others to Eat. So wretchedly do the Sick live, without any other Employment or Sustainance, the Island being very dry and barren, without *Trees* or *Springs*; so that they Drink of certain Wells whose Water is thick and brackish. Those who had Charge of the Island, which were only that Man and four more, had no other Employment but only to kill Goats and Salt them to send into *Portugal*. He said, There

were such multitudes of these Goats on the Mountains, that some years they kill'd to the value of 3 or 4000 Ducats, and that they all came from eight Goats, carried thither by the Proprietor of the Island, whose Name was *Roderick Alfonso*, the King of *Portugal's* Secretary of the Customs. That very often the Hunters are four or five Months without Bread, or any other thing to Eat, except Goats Flesh and Fish; for which reason he made great Account of the Provision he had given him. That Man and his Companions, with some of the Admiral's Men, went out a Goat-Hunting; but perceiving it requir'd much time to kill all he had need of, he would stay no longer being in great haste.

On Saturday the 30th of *June*, he sailed for the Island of *Santiago*, the chief of *Cabo Verde*, where he arriv'd the next day in the Evening, and anchor'd near a Church, sending aboard to Buy some Cows and Bulls to carry alive to *Hispaniola*: Yet observing it was a difficult matter to furnish himself so soon as he desir'd, and how prejudicial Delays were to him, he resolv'd to stay no longer; and the more for fear his Men should sicken, that Country being unhealthy. He says, That all the while he was at that Island, he never saw the Sky nor any Star, but there was always a thick hot Fog, insomuch that three parts of the Inhabitants were sick, and they all of them had a bafe colour.

C H A P. LXVII.

How the Admiral Sailed from the Islands of Cabo Verde, to discover the Continent; Of the violent Heat he Endur'd, and great Brightness of the North-Star.

ON Thursday the 5th of *July*, the Admiral left the Island of *Santiago*, sailing South West, with a Resolution to hold that Course till he was under the Equinoctial, and then to Steer Due-West, that he might find some other Land, or cross over to *Hispaniola*. But the Currents among those Islands setting violently towards the North and North West, he could not Sail as he design'd; so that he says, On Saturday the 7th of *July*, he was still in sight of the Island of *Fogo*, which is one of those of *Cabo Verde*; which he says, is very high Land on the South-side; and at a distance, looks like a great Church, with a Steeple at the East end, which is a vast high Rock;

whence before the East Winds blow, there usually breaks out much Fire; as is seen at *Teneriff*, *Vesuvius* and Mount *Atna*. From this last Country of Christians he held on his course South West, till he came into only 5 degrees of North Latitude, where he was becalm'd, having till then been continually attended by the Fog we mentioned above. The Calm lasted eight days, with such violent Heat, that it almost burnt the Ships; and there was no Man could abide under Deck, and had it not Rain'd sometimes, and the Sun been clouded, he thought they would have been burnt alive together with the Ships; for the first day of the Calm, which was fair, the Heat was so

Columbus.

so violent, that nothing could withstand it, had not God miraculously reliev'd them with the aforefaid Rain and Fog. Having therefore got off a little to the Northward, into seven Degrees of Latitude, he resolv'd not to make any more to the South, but sail Due-West, at least till he saw how the Weather settled, because he had lost many Cask with the great Heat, the Hoops flew, and the Corn and all Provisions were scorch'd up. About the middle of July, he says, He very carefully took the Latitude, and found a wonderful Difference between that and the Parallel of the Azores. For there, when the *Charles's Wain* was on the right, that is, East, then the *North-Star* was lowest, and from that time began to rise; so that when the *Charles's Wain* was over head, then the *North-Star* was two Degrees and an half higher, and being once pass'd that, began again to descend the same five Degrees it ascended. This, he says, he observ'd several times very carefully, the Weather being very fit for that purpose. But that where he was at this time in the Torrid Zone, it happened quite contrary; for when the *Charles's Wain* was in its greatest Elevation, he found the *North-Star* six Degrees high, and when the *Charles's Wain* came to the West, in

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six hours space he found the *North-Star* 11 Degrees high; and then in the morning, when the *Charles's Wain* was quite depress'd, though it could not be seen because of the Inclination of the Pole, the *North-Star* was six Degrees high, so that the Difference was ten Degrees, and it made a Circle, whose Diameter was 10 Degrees, whereas in the other place it made but five, lowering the Position, for there it is lowest when the other is West, and here when in its Elevation. The reason of it he thought very difficult to comprehend, and not being completely Master of it, without further Reflection on it, he says, he is of Opinion, that in what relates to the Circumference of the Stars Orb, it may be said, that at the Equinoctial the full appears, and the nearer a Man goes to the Pole it seems the less, because the Heaven is more Oblique. As for the Variation, I believe the Star has the quality of all the four Quarters, as has the Needle, which if touch'd to the East-side points to the East, and so of the West, North, and South; and therefore he that makes the Compass, covers the Load-Stone with a Cloth, all but the North part of it, viz. That which has the Virtue to make the Steel point North.

C H A P. LXVIII.

How the Admiral discovered the Island of the Trinity, and saw the Continent.

ON Tuesday the last day of July, 1498. the Admiral having sailed many days West, insomuch, that in his Judgment, the *Caribbe* Islands were North of him, he resolv'd not to hold that Course any longer, but to make for *Hispaniola*, not only because he was in great want of Water, but also because all his Provisions perished, and he was afraid least during his absence some Mutiny or Disorder had happened among the People he left there, as in effect there had, as we shall show hereafter. Therefore altering his Course from the West, he stood North, thinking to light on some of the *Caribbe* Islands, there to refresh his Men, and take in Wood and Water, whereof he had great want.

As he was thus Sailing, one Day about Noon, *Alonso Perez Niranda*, a Sailor of the Town of *Galliva*, going up to the Round-Top, saw Land to the Westward at about 15 Leagues distance, and there

appeared three Mountains all at the same time, but not long after they perceiv'd the same Land stretch'd out towards the North East, as far as the Eye could reach, and that did not seem to be the end. Having given thanks to God, said the *Salve Regina*, and other Prayers, the Seamen use in time of Distress or Joy. The Admiral called that Land the Island of the *Trinity*, as well because he had before Thoughts of giving that Name to the first Land he found, as in return, because it had pleas'd God to show him three Mountains all together, as has been said. He sail'd Due-West, to make a Cape that appear'd to the South of him, and making for the South-side of the Island, till he came to an Anchor, five Leagues beyond a Point, which he call'd *de la Galera*, or, of the Galley, because of a Rock that lay near the Point, and at a distance look'd like a Galley under sail. Having now but one Cask of Water for

all

all his Ships Cruce, and the other Ships being in the same Condition, there being no conveniency here to take in any, on Wednesday following in the Morning he continued his Course still West, and cast Anchor at another Point, which he called *de la Plaga*, or, of the Strand, where the People landed, and took Water in a delicate Brook, without seeing any Town or People there, tho' along the Coast they left behind they had seen many Houses and Towns. True it is, they found the Tokens of Fishermen, who had fled, leaving behind them some of their Fishing Tackle. They also saw the Prints of the Feet of Beasts, and seem'd to be of Goats, and saw the Bones of one, but the Head being without Horns, they thought it might be of some Catamountain, or Monkey, as they afterwards found it to be, seeing abundance of those Cats in *Paria*. This same day,

being the first of *August*, sailing from the Cape *Galera* and that of *la Plaga* Southwards, they discover'd the Continent, about 25 Leagues distance, as they guess'd, but they thinking it to be another Island, called it, *Isla Santa*, or *Holy Island*. The Land they saw of the *Trinity*, between the two Points, was 30 Leagues in length East and West, without any Harbour, but all the Country very pleasant with Trees down to the Sea, and abundance of Towns. This space they ran in a very short time, because the Current of the Sea set so very violent Westward, that it look'd like a rapid River both Day and Night, and at all Hours, notwithstanding the Tide Flow'd and Ebb'd along the Shore above 40 Paces, as happens at *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, when there are Floods, for though the Water rise and fall never so much, yet it never ceases running towards the Sea.

CH A P. LXIX.

How the Admiral sailed to the Cape, called, Puntal del Arenal, and a Canoo came out to talk to him.

PERceiving they could have no Account of the People of the Country at this Cape, and that there was no conveniency of taking Water, without excessive Labour, and there was no conveniency of Careening the Ships and getting Provisions, the next being the 2d of *August*, the Admiral went on to another Point of Land, which seem'd to be most Westerly in that Island, and called it, *del Arenal*, where he came to an Anchor, thinking the Easterly Winds which reign there would not be so troublesome to the Boats in going backwards and forwards. On the way before they came to this Point, a Canoo began to follow them with 25 Men in it, and stopp'd at about a Cannon-shot distance, calling out and talking very loud. Nothing could be understood, though it was supposed they inquir'd who our Men were, and whence they came, as the other *Indians* used to do at first: There being no possibility of persuading them with any Words to come aboard, they began to show them several Things, that they might Covet to have them, such as little Brags Basons, Looking-glasses, and other Things, the rest of the *Indians* used to make great Account of. But tho' this drew them a

little, yet they soon stopp'd again; and therefore the more to Allure them, the Admiral ordered one to get upon the Poop with a Tabor and Pipe, and some young Fellows to Dance. As soon as the *Indians* saw it, they put themselves into a posture of Defence, laying hold of their Targets, and shooting their Arrows at those that Danced, who by the Admirals Command, that those People might not go unpunished, or Contemn the Christians, leaving their Dance began to shoot with their Cross Bows, so that they were glad to draw off, and made to another Caraval, clapping close to its side without any Apprehension. The Pilot of the Ship went over into the Canoo and gave them some things they were very well pleas'd with, and said, if they had been ashore they would have brought him Bread from their Houses, and so they went towards Land, nor would they in the Ship stop ere a one, for fear of displeasing the Admiral. The Account they gave of them, was, That they were well shap'd People, and whiter than those of the other Islands, and that they wear their Hair long, like Women, bound with small Strings, and cover'd their Privities with little Clouts.

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nity.

C H A P. LXX.

Of the Danger the Ships were in, Entering the Mouth of the Channel, they called, Boca del Drago, or, The Dragon's Mouth; and how Paria was discover'd, being the first Discovery on the Continent.

AS soon as the Ships had Ankor'd at *Punta del Arenal*, the Admiral sent the Boats ashore for Water, and to get some Information of the *Indians*, but they could do neither, that Country being very low, and unpeopled. He therefore ordered them the next day to dig Trenches on the Island, and by good luck they found them ready made and full of excellent Water, and it was thought the Fishermen had made them. Having taken what they wanted, the Admiral resolv'd to proceed on to another Mouth of Channel which appear'd towards the North West, which he afterwards call'd *Boca del Drago*, or, the *Dragon's Mouth*, to distinguish it from that where he was, to which he had given the Name of *Boca de la Serpe*, or, the *Serpent's Mouth*. These two Mouths or Channels, like the *Dardanel*s, were made by the two Westermost Points of the *Trinity* Island, and two others of the Continent, and lay almost North and South of one another. In the midst of that, where the Admiral Anchor'd, was another Rock, which he called *El Gallo*, that is, the *Cock*. Through this Mouth, he call'd *Boca de Serpe*, the Water continually ran so furiously Northward, as it it had been the Mouth of some great River, which was the reason of giving it that Name, because of the fright it

put them into. For as they lay very securely at Anchor, there came a stronger stream of Water than usual, with a hideous noise, running through that Mouth Northward. And another Current running out of the Gulph now called *Paria*, opposite to that before-mentioned, they met with hideous Roaring, and caus'd the Sea to Swell up like a high Mountain, or ridge of Hills along that Channel, which Mountain soon came towards the Ships to the great Terror of all Men fearing they should over-set. But it pleas'd God it pass'd under, or rather lifted them up without doing any harm, though it drew the Anchor of one of them, carrying the Vessel away, but by the help of their Sails they escap'd the Danger, not without mortal fear of being lost. That furious Current being pass'd, the Admiral considering the Danger he was in there, stood for the *Dragon's Mouth*, which was between the North-Point of the *Trinity* Island, and the East-Point of *Paria*; yet went not through it at that time, but sail'd along the South-Coast of *Paria* Westward, believing it to be an Island, and hoping to find a way out Northwards towards *Hispamola*. And though there were many Ports along that Coast of *Paria*, he would put into none, all the Sea being a Harbour lock'd in with the Continent.

C H A P. LXXI.

How there was some Gold and Pearls found in Paria, and a People of good Conversation.

THE Admiral being at an Anchor on the 5th of *August*, and it being his particular Devotion never to weigh on a Sunday, he sent the Boats ashore, where they found abundance of Fruit of the same sort they had seen in the other Islands; great numbers of Trees, and signs of People that had fled for fear of the Christians. But being unwilling to lose time, he sail'd down the Coast 15 Leagues further, without going into any Harbour, for fear he should miss of Wind to bring him out. Being at an Anchor on the Coast, at the end of these 15 Leagues, there came out a Canoe to

the Caraval, called *El Borreo*, with three Men in it; and the Pilot knowing how much the Admiral coveted to receive some Information from those People, he pretended to talk to them, and let himself fall into the Canoe, and the *Spaniards* in the Boat took those three Men, and carried them to the Admiral, who made very much of them, and sent them ashore with many Gifts, where there appear'd abundance of *Indians*. These hearing the good Account the three gave them, came all in their Canoes to Barter, for such Things as they had, which were much the same, as had been seen in the Islands

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before discovered, only that here they had no Targets, nor Poison'd Arrows, which these People do not use, but only the *Canibals*. Their Drink was a sort of Liquor as white as Milk, and another somewhat blackish, tasting like green Wine made of Grapes not quite ripe, but they could not learn what Fruit it was made of. They wore Cotton Cloths well Wove, of several Colours, about the bigness of a Handkerchief, some bigger and some less; and what they most valued of our Things, was Brass, and especially Bells. The People seem to be more Civiliz'd and Tractable than those of *Hispaniola*. They cover their Nakedness with one of those Cloths above-mentioned, and have another wrapp'd about their Head. The Women cover nothing, not even their Privities; the same they do in the *Trinity* Island. They saw nothing of value here, except some little Plates of Gold they hung about their Necks; for which reason, and because the Admiral could not stay to Dive into the Secrets of the Country, he ordered six of those *Indians* to be taken, and continued his Voyage Westward, believing that Land of *Paria*, which he called the *Holy Island*, was no Continent. Soon after another Island appear'd towards the South, and another no less than that towards the West, all high Land, Sowed and well Peopled; and the *Indians* had more Plates of Gold about their Necks than the others, and abundance of *Gua-*

nini's, which is very low Gold. They said that was produced in other Western Islands inhabited by People that Eat Men. The Women had Strings of Beads about their Arms, and among them very fine large and small Pearls Strung, some whereof were got in Exchange to send their Catholic Majesties as a Sample. Being ask'd where they found those Things, they made signs to show that in the Oyster-shells which were taken Westward of that Land of *Paria*, and beyond it towards the North. Upon this, the Admiral staid there to know more of that good Discovery, and sent the Boats ashore, where all the People of the Country that had flock'd together, appeared so Tractable and Friendly, that they importun'd the Christians to go along with them to a House not far off, where they gave them to Eat, and a great deal of that Wine of theirs. Taken from that House, which it's likely was the King's Palace, they carried them to another, which was his *So's*, and shew'd them the same kindness. They were all in general whiter than any they had seen in the *Indies*, and of better Aspects and Shapes, with their Hair cut short by their Ears, after the *Spanish* Fashion. From them they understood that Land was called *Paria*, and that they would be glad to be in Amity with the Christians. Thus they departed from them, and return'd to the Ships.

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C H A P. LXXII.

How the Admiral pass'd through Boca del Drago, and the Danger he was in there.

THE Admiral holding on his Voyage Westward, they still found less and less Water, insomuch that being come through four or five Fathom, they found but two and a half at Ebb, for the Tide differed from that at the *Trinity* Island; for at the *Trinity*, the Water swell'd three Fathom, and here being 45 Leagues to the Westward, it rose but one; and there always, whether Ebb or Flood, the Current ran West; and here upon the Ebb, they ran East, and upon the Flood West; there the Water was but brackish, here it was like River Water. The Admiral perceiving this difference, and how little Water he found, durst proceed no further in his Ship, which required three Fathom Water, being of 100 Tun, and therefore came to an An-

chor on that Coast, which was very safe, being a Port like a Horse-Shoe, lock'd with that Land on all sides. However, he sent the little Caraval, called *El Berreo*, or the Post, to discover whether there was any Pass Westward among those Islands. She having gone but a little way, return'd the next day, being the 11th of *August*, saying, That at the Westernmost Point of that Sea, there was a Mouth, or Opening, two Leagues over from North to South, and within it a round Bay, with four other little Bays, one towards each quarter of Heaven, that from each of them flow'd a River, whose Water made that Sea so sweet, which was yet much sweeter further in, adding, that all that Land which seem'd to be Islands, was one and the same Continent,

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 tinent; that they had every where four or five Fathom Water, and such abundance of those Weeds they saw in the Ocean, that they hindred their Sailing. The Admiral therefore being certain he could not get out Westward, that same day stood back to the Eastward, designing to pass the Streight, which he saw between the Land the *Indians* call *Paria*, and the *Trinity*. In this Streight there are four little Islands East next the Point of the *Trinity*, which he called Cape *Boca*, because it was blunt, West upon the Point of the Continent, which he called Cape *Lapa*, and in the middle. The reason why he called this the *Dragon's Mouth*, was, because it is very dangerous, by reason of the abundance of fresh Water that struggles to get out there into the Sea, and made three boisterous Channels, extending from East to West the width of the Streight. And because as he was Sailing through, the Wind fail'd him, and he was in danger of being drove on some Sand or Rock; therefore he with reason gave it a Name

answerable to that of the other Mouth, where he was in no less danger as was said above. But it pleased God, that what they most dreaded should be their greatest Safety, the strength of the Current carrying them off. Therefore on Monday the 17th of *August*, he began to Sail Westward along the Coast of *Paria*, in order to stand over afterwards for *Hispaniola*, giving Thanks to God, who delivered him from so many Troubles and Dangers, still showing him new Countries full of peaceable People and great Wealth, especially that, which he certainly concluded to be the Continent, because of the great Extent of that Gulph of Pearls, of the Rivers that ran from it, of the Sea, which was all sweet Water; and by the Authority of *Esdra*s, in the 8th Chapter of the 4th Book; where he says, That dividing the Globe into Seven Parts only, one of them is covered with Water; for all the *Indians* of the *Caribbee* Islands had told him, there was a vast Land Southward.

C H A P. LXXIII.

How the Admiral stood over from the Continent to Hispaniola.

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 THE Admiral sailing along Westward on the Coast of *Paria*, still fell farther off from it towards the North West, the Currents in being Calm driving him that way; so that on Wednesday the 15th of *August*, he left the Cape, he called, *de las Conchas*, or of Shells, South of him, and the Island *Margarita* West, which Name he gave this Island, perhaps by Divine Inspiration, because close by it lies that of *Cubagua*, where an infinite quantity of Pearls has been found; and in *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica* at his return he called some Mountains of Gold, where afterwards was found the greatest quantity and largest pieces that ever were carried from thence into *Spain*. But to return to his Voyage, he held on his Course by six Islands, which he called, *las Guardas*, or the Guards, and three others more to the North, *los Testigos*, or the Witnesses. And though they still discover'd much Land of *Paria* Westward, yet the Admiral says, he could not from this time give such an account of it as he would wish, because through overmuch watching, his Eyes were in-dam'd, and therefore was forced to take most of his Observations from the Sailors and Pilots. He also says, That this

same Night, being Thursday the 16th of *August*, the Compasses which till now had not varied, did at this time, at least a Point and a half, and some of them two Points, wherein there could be no mistake, because several Persons had always watch'd to observe it. Admiring at this, and griev'd that he had not the opportunity of following the Coast of Continent, he held on North-West, till on Monday the 20th of *August* he came to an Anchor between *Beaca* and *Hispaniola*; whence he sent a Letter by some *Indians*, to his Brother the *Adelantado*, acquainting him with his safe Arrival and Success. He was surpriz'd to find himself so far Westward, for though he knew the force of the Currents fail'd, yet he did not think it had been so much. Therefore to the end his Provisions might not fail him in time of need, he stood to the Eastward for *S. Domingo*, into which Harbour he sail'd on the 30th of *August*, for here the Lieutenant his Brother had appointed the City to be built on the East-side of the River, where it stands at present, and was called *Santo Domingo* in Memory of his Father, whose Name was *Dominick*.

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C H A P. LXXIV.

The Rebellion and Troubles the Admiral met with in Hispaniola, caus'd by the Wickedness of one Francis Roldan, whom he had left as Alcalde Mayor, or Chief Justice.

THE Admiral being come to *S. Domingo*, almost Blind with over-watching, he hoped there to rest himself after his Voyage, and find Peace among his People, but found all quite contrary, for all the People in the Island were in Disorder and Rebellion; for abundance of those he had left were Dead, and of those that remain'd, above 160 were sick of the *French Pox*, and besides that many were in Rebellion with *Roldan*, he found not the three Ships, we said he sent before him from the *Canary Islands*. Of these Things it is requisite we speak orderly, beginning from the time the Admiral set out for *Spain*, which as we said, was in *March 1496*. 30 Months before his return: The first part of which time the People continued pretty quiet in hopes of his return, and of being speedily relieved: But the first year being pass'd, the Spanish Provisions failing, and Sickness and Sufferings increasing, they began to be dissatisfied with what was, and to Despair of any better; so that the Complaints of many discontented Persons were heard, who never want some Body to stir them up, desiring to be Head of a Party, as was now done by one *Francis Roldan*, born at *Torre de D. Ximeno*, whom the Admiral had left in such Power among both *Christians* and *Indians*, by making him Chief Justice, that he was as much Obey'd as himself. For this reason it is to be suppos'd there was not that good Understanding between him and the Admiral's Lieutenant, as ought to have been for the publick Good, as Time and Experience made it appear. For the Admiral, neither returning himself, nor sending any Supplies, this *Roldan* began to think of possessing himself of the Island, designing for this purpose to Murder the Admirals Brothers, as those that could best oppose his Rebellion, and waited an opportunity to put this in Execution. It happened that the Lieutenant of the Island one of the Admiral's Brothers, went to a Province in the West, called *Xaragua*, 80 Leagues from *Isabella*, where the said *Roldan* remained in his Employ, but subordinate to *D. James*, second Brother to the Admiral. This *Roldan*, was so offended at, that whilst the Lieutenant was taking

order how the Kings of the Island should pay Tribute to their Catholick Majesties, as the Admiral had rated all the *Indians*, *Orlando* began underhand to draw some of them over to his Party. But that it might not prove fatal to Rise on a sudden, and without some pretence: that which *Roldan* laid hold of was, That there was a Caraval ashore at *Isabella*, built by the Lieutenant of the Island, to send to *Spain* in case of Necessity, and there being no Launching of it for want of Tackle and other Necessaries, *Roldan* feign'd and gave out there was some other Reason for it, and that it behov'd the publick, that Caraval should be fitted out, that some of them might go to *Spain* in it, to give an Account of their Sufferings. Thus upon pretence of the publick Good, he press'd that it might be Launch'd, and *D. James Columbus* not consenting to it for want of Tackle, as has been said, *Roldan* began more boldly to treat with some about Launching the Caraval in Despight of him; telling those, he thought to agree with him, that if the Lieutenant, and *D. James* were displeas'd at it, the reason was because they would secure to themselves the Dominion of the Country, and keep them in Subjection, without any Ship that might carry the News of their Revolt to their Catholick Majesties. And since they were satisfied and convinced of the Cruelty and Ill-Nature of the Lieutenant, and what a restless life he led them, building Towns and Forts, and that they had no hopes of the Admiral's coming with Supplies, it was fit they should take that Caraval and procure their Liberty, and not suffer themselves under pretence of Pay, which they never receiv'd, to be kept under by a Foreigner, whereas it was in their Power to live at Ease and in Plenty; for that whatsoever could be had in the Island would be equally divided among them, and they would be serv'd by the *Indians* to their own Content, without being so much in Subjection, that they could not take to Wife any *Indian* Woman they pleas'd. That the Lieutenant made them keep the Three Vows of Religious Men; and besides that, they wanted not for Fasts and Disciplines, as also Imprisonment, and other

other Punishments, which they endured for the least fault. Therefore, since he had the Rod of Justice and Regal Authority, which secured them against any thing that might befall them on this Account, he advised them to do what he directed, wherein they could not do amiss. With these and the like Words, proceeding from the Hatred he bore the Lieutenant, he drew so many over to his Party, that one day when the Lieutenant was come back from *Xaragua* to *Isa-*

bella, some of them resolv'd to Stab him, looking upon it as so easie a matter, that they had provided a Halter to hang him up after he was Dead. What at present the more incens'd them, was the Imprisoning of one *Barabona*, a Friend to the Conspirators, against whom, if God had not put it into the Heart of the Lieutenant not to proceed to Execution of Justice at that time, they had then certainly Murdered him.

C H A P. LXXV.

How Francis Roldan endeavour'd to make the Town of Conception Mityny, and plundered Isabella.

FFrancis Roldan, perceiving he had mis'd of the Murther of the Lieutenant, and his Conspiracy was discovered, he resolv'd to possess himself of the Town and part of the *Conception*, thinking from thence he might easily subdue the Island. It fell out conveniently for his Design, that he was near the said Town; for whilst the Lieutenant was abroad, he had been sent with 40 Men about that Province, to reduce the Indians that had Revolted, with the same design of making themselves Masters of that Town, and destroying the *Christians*. So that Roldan, under pretence of putting a stop to this Evil, and punishing the *Indians*, gather'd his Men at the Residence of one of their *Caciques*, call'd *Marche*, designing to put his Project in Execution upon the first opportunity. But *Ballester* the Commander of the Fort, having some Jealousie of him, he stood upon his Guard, and acquainted the Lieutenant of the Island with the danger he was in, who with all speed, and what Men he could gather, threw himself into the Fort. Thither Roldan came upon a Safe-Conduct, now his Conspiracy was discovered, rather to observe by the Lieutenant what might do him harm, than through any desire of coming to an Accommodation, and with more Boldness and Impudence than became him, required the Lieutenant to cause the Caraval to be launched, or give him leave to launch it, which he and his Friends would do. The Lieutenant incens'd at these Words, answered, That neither he nor his Friends were Seamen, or knew what was proper to be done in that case; and that though they had known how to Launch it, yet they could not Sail in her, for want of Rigging, and

other Necessaries, and therefore it would be only exposing the Men and the Caraval. And, for as much as the Lieutenant understood that Affair, as a Seaman, and they not being such, knew nothing of it, therefore they varied in their Judgments. These and other displeasing Words having pass'd between them, Roldan went away in a Passion, refusing to quit his Rod of Justice, or stand Trial, as the Lieutenant ordered, saying, he would do both, when their Majesties, whose the Island was, commanded him; knowing he could expect no Justice from him, because of the Hatred he bore him, but that right or or wrong he would find means to put him to Death with shame: That in the mean while, not to exceed the Bounds of reason, he would go and Reside where he should bid him. But he at present appointing him the Residence of the *Cacique*, *James Columbus*, he refused it, saying, There were not Provisions there for his Men, and that he would find a more convenient place. He set out towards *Isabella*, and having gathered 65 Men, perceiving he could not Launch the Caraval, he plunder'd the Magazines, he and his Followers, taking away what Arms, Stuffs, and Provisions they thought fit. *D. James Columbus*, who was there, not being able to oppose him, but would have been in Danger, had he not retired to the Fort with some Friends and Servants. Yet in the Process afterwards drawn up on this Subject, there were some that depos'd, That Roldan promis'd to submit to him, provided he would take his part against his own Brother: Which he refusing, and Roldan not being able to do him any further harm; as also fearing the Succours that were

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coming from the Lieutenant, he went out of Town with all the Mutineers, and falling on the Cattle that Graz'd thereabouts, they kill'd such as they lik'd to Eat, and took the Beasts of Burthen to serve them in their Journey, resolving to go into the Province of *Xaragua*, whence the Lieutenant was lately come, designing to Settle there, that being the pleasantest and most plentiful part of the Island, the People here being more civiliz'd and wiser than the rest of the Natives of *Hispaniola*; but above all, because the Women were the handsomest, and of the most pleasing Conversation of any others, which most Invited them to go thither. But that they might not go without making trial of their Strength, before the Lieutenant could increase his Power, and punish them as they deserv'd, they resolv'd to take the Town of the *Conception* in their way, to Surprize it, and kill the Lieutenant, and in case this

did not succeed, to Besiege him. The Lieutenant having Intelligence of their Design, stood upon his Guard, encouraging his Men with good Words, and promising them many Gifts, and each of them two Slaves. And for as much as he understood, that most of those that were with him, lik'd the life *Roldan* and his Men led so well, that many of them gave Ear to his Messages; therefore *Roldan* having conceiv'd hopes that they would all go over to him, had the boldness to undertake that Enterprize, which did not succeed as he expected. For the Lieutenant, having provided as has been said, being himself a Man of great Resolution, and having the best Men on his side, was resolv'd to do that by force of Arms, which he could not compass by fair Means and Arguments. Having therefore gathered his Men together, he march'd out of Town to attack the Rebels on the Road.

C H A P. LXXVI.

How Francis Roldan incens'd the Indians against the Lieutenant, and went away with his Men to Xaragua.

F*Francis Roldan*, perceiving he was so disappointed, and that not one of the Lieutenants Men came over to him, as he had expected, resolv'd to retire in time, and go away to *Xaragua* as he design'd at first, not daring to meet him, yet presum'd to talk contemptibly of him, and to stir up the *Indians*, wherever he went, to Rebel against him, telling them, the cause of his forsaking him was his being a Man naturally Revengeful and Morose, as well towards the *Christians*, as *Indians*; and abominably Covetous, imposing great Burdens and Tributes on them; which if they bore with, he would increase every year, tho' against their Catholick Majesties will; who requir'd nothing of their Subjects but Obedience, maintaining them in Justice, Liberty and Peace; which, if they fear'd they should not be able to maintain, he with his Friends and Followers, would assist them to assert, and would declare himself their Protector and Deliverer. After which, they resolv'd to forbid paying the Tribute, *we* said had been impos'd on them, by which means it could not be gathered of those that dwell far from the Lieutenant, nor durst he exact it of those near about him for fear of provoking them to joyn with the Rebels. Yet this Condescension towards

them, had not so good an effect, but that as soon as the Lieutenant was gone from the *Conception*, *Guarimex*, who was the principal *Cacique* of that Province, with the assistance of *Roldan*, resolv'd to Besiege the Fort, and Destroy the *Christians* that kept it. The better to effect it, He drew together all the *Caciques* of his Party, and agreed with them privately, that every one should kill those that were within his Precinct, because the Territories in *Hispaniola* being too small, for any of them to maintain a great number of People, the *Christians* had been obliged to divide themselves into small Parcels of 8 or 9 in each Liberty. This gave the *Indians* hopes, that surprizing them all at the same time, they might have it in their Power to suffer none to escape. But they having no other way of fixing a time, or ordering any thing else that requires counting, but only by their Fingers, they resolv'd, that every one should be ready to destroy the *Christians* at the next Full Moon *Guarimex* having thus dispos'd his *Caciques* to put this in Execution, the chiefest of them being desirous to gain Honour, and looking upon the matter as very easie, and being no good Astronomers, to know when the Full Moon was, tell on before the time appointed, and were forced

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ambus. forced to fly after many Blows. He thinking to find Assistance in *Guarinoex* found his own Ruin; for he put him to Death, as he had deserv'd, for having caused the Conspiracy to be discovered, and the *Christians* to be upon their guard. The Rebels were not a little concern'd at this Miscarriage; for as was reported, it had been contriv'd with their Consent, and therefore they waited to see, whether *Guarinoex* brought Affairs to such Terms, that joining with him they might destroy the Lieutenant: But perceiving this did not succeed, they thought not themselves secure in the Province where they were, but went away to *Xaragua*, still proclaiming themselves Protectors of the *Indians*, whereas they were Thieves in their Actions and Inclinations, having no regard to God or the World, but following their inordinate Appetites, for

every one Stole what he could, and *Roldan* their Leader more than all of them, persuading and commanding every *Cacique* to entertain him that could and would defend the *Indians* and Rebels from paying the Tribute the Lieutenant demanded of them, tho' at the same time he under this pretence took much more from them; for from only one *Cacique*, whose Name was *Manicaotex*, he received every three Months, a Calabash, containing three Marks of pure Gold, that is, a Pound and a half, and to be the more sure of him, kept his Son and Nephew as Hostages. He that reads this, must not wonder that we reduce the Marks of Gold to the Measure of a Calabash, which we do to show, that the *Indians* in these Cases dealt by Measure, because they never had any Weights.

CH A P. LXXVII.

How the Ships came from Spain with Provisions and Supplies.

THE *Christians* being thus divided, as has been said, and no Ships yet coming from *Spain* with Supplies, neither the Lieutenant, nor his Brother *D. James*, could keep the People quiet, that had remain'd with them; for most of them being mean Persons, and desirous to lead that easie life *Roldan* promis'd them, they durst not punish the guilty, for fear of being forsaken; which made them so insolent, that it was impossible to keep them in order, and therefore they were forced to bear with the Affronts of the Rebels. But it being God's Will to afford them some Comfort, it pleased him to order that the two Ships should arrive, which, as was said before, had been sent a year after the Admiral's departure from the *Indies*, not without great Application us'd by him at Court for fitting them out; for he, considering the Nature of the Country, the Dispositions of the People he left behind, and the great danger that might accrue from his long absence, press'd for and obtain'd of their Catholick Majesties, that those two Ships might be sent before, of 18 he had been ordered to fit out. The Arrival of these, the Supplies they brought of Men and Provisions, and the Assurance that the Admiral was safe arrived in *Spain*, encouraged those that were with the Lieutenant to serve him more faithfully, and made those that followed *Roldan*, appre-

hensive of being punish'd. These being desirous to hear News, and furnish themselves with what they wanted, resolv'd to repair to *S. Domingo*, where the Ships had put in, hoping to draw some of the Men over to their Party. But the Lieutenant having Intelligence of their march, and being nearer that Harbour, he mov'd towards them to hinder their passage; and having left Guards on the Passes, went to the Port to see the Ships, and order the Affairs of that Place. And being desirous the Admiral should find the Island in a peaceable Condition, and all Troubles ended, he again made new Overtures to *Roldan*, who was 6 Leagues off with his Men, sending to him for this purpose the Commander of the two Ships lately arriv'd, whose Name was *Peter Fernandez Coronel*; as well because he was a Man of Worth and in Authority, as because he hop'd his Words would prove more effectual, since he as an Eye-witness, could certify him of the Admirals arrival in *Spain*, the good Reception he had found, and the willingness their Majesties express'd to make him still greater. But the chief Men among them, fearing the Impression this Messenger might make upon their Followers, would not suffer him to speak in publick; so that they received him with their Bows and Arrows on the Road, and he could only speak some few Words to those that were appointed to hear him. Thus

The Rebels refuse to submit.

having



having done nothing, he returned to the Town, and the Rebels to their Quarters in *Xaragua*, not without Apprehensions, least *Roldan* and some of the principal Men of his Gang should write to their Friends that were with the Lieutenant,

desiring them when the Admiral came, to intercede for them, since all their Complaints were against the Lieutenant, and not against the Admiral himself, for which reason they desired to be referred to his Favour.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

How the Three Ships the Admiral sent from the Canary Islands arrived where the Rebels were.

Ignorance
of Pilots
carries the
Ships to
the West
of Hispaniola.

HAVING spoke of the arrival of the two Ships the Admiral sent from Spain to Hispaniola, it is fit we give an Account of the three that parted from him at the Canary Islands, which proceeded on their Voyage with fair Winds till they came to the Caribbee Islands, which are the first that Sailors meet with in their way to the Port of *S. Domingo*. The Pilots then not being so well acquainted with that Voyage, as they have been since, it happened they knew not how to hit that Port, and were carried away by the Currents so far to Westward, that they arrived in the Province of *Xaragua*, where the Rebels were, who as soon as they understood that those Ships were out of their way, and knew nothing of their Revolt, some of them went peaceably aboard, pretending they were there by the Lieutenant's Orders, the better to be supplied with Provisions, and keep that Country under. But it being very easie for a Secret, that is among many, to be discovered, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, who was the skillfullest of the Captains of those Ships, being aware of the Rebellion and Disorder, began immediately to make Overtures of Peace to *Francis Roldan*, thinking to bring him to submit to the Lieutenant. But the familiar Conversation the Rebels had before entertain'd aboard the Ships, was the Cause that his Persuasions had not the desired effect; for *Roldan* had privately obtain'd Promises from many of those that came fresh out of Spain, that they would stay with him, and by that Accession he hoped to become still greater. *Carvajal* therefore finding Things were not in such a posture, that he might hope for a Speedy Conclusion of what he had in hand, thought it convenient, with the Advice of the other two Captains, that the People they brought under Pay to Work in the Mines, and other Employments, should go by Land to *S. Domingo*, because the Winds and Currents being set there a-

gainst that Voyage, it was possible they might not perform it in two or three Months; so that they would not only consume the Provisions, but the Men might fall sick, and the time be lost, which ought to have been employed in the Service they came for. Having agreed upon this, it fell to *John Anthony Columbus* his Lot to march with the Men, which were 40, to *Arauco* to Sail about with the Ships, and to *Carvajal* to stay and endeavour to bring the Rebels to an Accommodation. *John Anthony Columbus* setting forward the 2d day after they landed, those Labourers and Vagabonds sent over to Work, went away to the Rebels, leaving their Captain with only six or seven Men that stuck to him. He seeing their base Infidelity, without apprehending any Danger, went to *Roldan*, and told him, That since he pretended to promote the Service of their Catholic Majestie, it was not reasonable he should suffer those Men, that were come to People and Cultivate the Country, and to follow their Callings with Wages in hand, to stay there and loose their time, without doing any thing of that they were obliged to; and that if he had turn'd them away, it had been a token that his Words and his Actions agreed; that his staying there caused the Division and Disorder with the Lieutenant, and not any Inclination in him to obstruct the King's Service. But that which had happened turning to the Account of *Roldan* and his Followers, as well for the carrying on their Design, as because the Crime committed by many is generally soonest Conniv'd at; he excus'd himself as to that Point, saying, He could not use Violence towards them, and that his was a Religious Order, which refused no Man. *John Anthony* knowing it was not the part of a discreet Man to expose himself to the danger of pressing further without hopes of Success, resolv'd to go aboard again with those few that follow'd him; and therefore that they might not

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be serv'd so by those that were left, they two Captains fail'd immediately with their two Ships towards *S. Domingo*, with the Wind as contrary as they had fear'd; for they spent many days, spoil'd their

Provisions, and *Caravajal's* Ship was much damaged upon certain Sands, where she lost her Rudder, and sprung a Leak, so that they had much to do to bring her in.

C H A P. LXXIX.

Now the Captains of the Ships that came from Xaragua, found the Admiral at S. Domingo.

THE Captains with their Ships, arriving at *S. Domingo*, in their return from *Xaragua*, found the Admiral there, after his Discovery of the Continent. He being fully inform'd of the Condition of the Rebels, and having seen the Process his Lieutenant had made against them, tho' the Crime was plainly made out, to Deserve severe Punishment, yet he thought fit to form a new Process, and give their Majesties an Account of it, resolving at the same time to use all the Moderation he could in this matter, and endeavouring to reduce them by fair means. For which reason, and that neither they nor any others, might have cause to complain of him, or say, he kept them there by force, he made Proclamation on the 12th of September, giving leave to all that would return to *Spain*, and promising them free Passage and Provisions. And being inform'd on the other hand, That *Roldan* was coming towards *S. Domingo* with some of his Men, he ordered *Michael Ballester*, Commander of the *Conception*, to secure his Town and Fort; and in case *Roldan* came that way, he should tell him from the Admiral, that he was much concerned at his Sufferings, and all that was past, and would have no more said of it, granting a general Pardon to all, and desiring him to come away immediately to the Admiral, without fearing any thing, that by his Advice things might be ordered, as was for their Majesties Service; and if he required any Safe-Conduct, he would send it him in such Form as he required. *Ballester* return'd Answer on the 14th of February, That he had received certain Information, That *Riquelme* was the day before come to the Town of *Bonao*, and that *Adrian* and *Roldan*, who were the Ring-leaders, would meet there in seven or eight days, at which time he might there apprehend them, as he did. For having discours'd them according to the Instructions given him, he found them obstinate and unmanly, *Roldan* telling him,

They were not come to Treat, nor did they Desire, or Care for Peace, for he had the Admiral and his Authority at his beck, either to Support, or Suppress it, as he pleas'd; and that they must not talk to him of any Accommodation, till they had sent him all the *Indians* taken at the Siege of the *Conception*, since they had met together to serve the King, and upon his Promise of Security. Other things he added, by which it appear'd, he would make no Agreement, but what was much to his Advantage. To this purpose he demand'd, That the Admiral should send *Caravajal* to him, because he would Treat with no other but him, he being a Man that would hear Reason, and had Discretion, as he had found by Experience, when the three Ships, as has been said, were at *Xaragua*. This Answer made the Admiral suspect *Caravajal*, and not without much Cause.

First, Because before *Caravajal* was at *Xaragua*, where these Rebels then were, they had often Writ and sent Messages to their Friends that were with the Lieutenant, telling them, They would come and deliver themselves up to the Admiral as soon as he arriv'd, and therefore they desired them to intercede for them, and appease him.

Secondly, Because, since they did this as soon as they heard there were two Ships come to the Assistance of the Lieutenant, they had much more Cause to perform it, knowing the Admiral was not come, had not the long Conference *Caravajal* had with them prevented it.

Thirdly, Because if he would have done his Duty, he might have kept *Roldan*, and the chief Men of his gang Prisoners, aboard his Caraval, they having been two days aboard without any Security given.

Fourthly, Because knowing as he did, that they were in Rebellion, he ought not to suffer them to Buy aboard the Ships, as they did, 56 Swords, and 60 Cross-Bows.

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Fifthly,

The Admiral endeavours to induce the Rebels.

Caravajal suspected yet trust

Fifthly, Because there being some Proofs that the Men who were to Land with *John Anthony* to go to *S. Domingo*, would joyn the Rebels, he ought not to suffer them to Land, or at least when they were gone over to them, he ought to have been more Industrious to endeavour to recover them.

Sixthly, Because he gave out that he came to the *Indies* as Companion to the Admiral, that nothing might be done without him, for fear the Admiral should commit some Offence.

Seventhly, Because *Roldan* had Writ to the Admiral by *Caravajal* himself, acquainting him, that he was drawing near to *S. Domingo* with his Men, by the Advice of *Caravajal*, to be the nearer to Treat of an Accommodation, when the Admiral arriv'd in *Hispaniola*, and now he was come, his Actions not Suiting with his Letter, it appeared he had rather invited him to come thither, to the end that if the Admiral had been long coming, or had not come at all, he as the Admiral's Associate, and *Roldan* as Chief Justice, might govern the Island in despite of the Lieutenant.

Eighthly, Because at the same time that the other Captains came with the three Caravals to *S. Domingo*, he came by Land attended by a guard of the Rebels, and one of the Chief of them, called *Gamir*, who had been two days and two nights with him aboard his Ship.

Ninthly, Because he Writ to the Rebels when they came to *Bonao*, and sent them Presents and Provisions.

Tenthly, and Lastly, Because, besides that the said Rebels would not Treat with any Body but him, they all unanimously said, if there had been occasion, they would have taken him for their Captain.

Yet the Admiral on the other side, considering that *Caravajal* was a discreet prudent Person, and a Gentleman, and that every one of those Arguments might be answered, and perhaps what he had been told was not true, and looking upon him, as one that would not do any thing contrary to his Duty, having a great desire to put out that fire, he resolv'd to consult with all the Chief Men he had about him, about *Roldan's* Answer, and resolve upon what was to be done on this occasion. All agreeing upon it, He sent *Caravajal*, with *Ballester*, to Treat, who had no other Answer from *Roldan*, but that since they had not brought the *Indians* he demanded, they

should not without them talk of any Accommodation. *Caravajal* discreetly answering to these Words, made so taking a Discourse, that he mov'd *Roldan* and three or four of the chief Men to go wait upon the Admiral and Agree with him; but the others disliking of it, as *Roldan* and the others were mounting their Horses to go with *Caravajal* to the Admiral, they fell upon them, saying, They would not allow them to go, and that if any Agreement was to be made, it should be drawn up in Writing, that they might all know what was doing. So that after some days pass'd upon this Resolution, on the 20th of *October*, *Roldan* by the Consent of all his Men, writ a Letter to the Admiral, laying the Blame of their Separation on the Lieutenant; and telling the Admiral, that since he had not in Writing sent them Security to come and give an account of themselves, they had resolv'd to send him their Demands in Writing, which were the Reward of what they had hitherto done, as shall appear hereafter. Though their Proposals were extravagant and insolent, yet the Commander *Ballester*, the next day writ to the Admiral, extolling *Caravajal's* moving Discourse, and saying, That since it was not of force to remove those People from their wicked Design, nothing less then granting them what they demanded would prevail, for he found them so resolute, that he looked upon it as most certain, that most of the People that were with his Lordship would go over to the Rebels. And tho' he might rely on his Servants and Men of Honour, yet they would not be able to withstand such a number, many daily resorting to them, which the Admiral already knew by Experience; for when *Roldan* was near *S. Domingo*, he muster'd all that were fit to bear Arms, if it were requisite, and observ'd, that some feigning themselves sick, and some Lame, he had not found above 70 Men, of which there were not 40 that he could Confide in. For which reason, the next day, being the 17th of *October* 1498. the aforesaid *Roldan*, and the Chief of his Followers, who would have gone to the Admiral, sent him a Letter Subscribed by them, telling him, they had withdrawn from the Lieutenant to save their Lives, he having a design to destroy them; and that they being his Lordships Servants, whose coming they had expected, as one, that would look upon what they had done complying with their Duty, as good Service, they had hindred their People from

from doing harm to any that belong'd to his Lordship, as they might easily have done. But that since he was come, and was so far from thinking, that he insisted upon taking Revenge, and doing them harm, that they might with Honour do what they had undertaken, and be at liberty to do it, they took leave of him and his Service. Before this Letter was delivered to the Admiral, he had sent Roldan an Answer. Caravajal, whom he sent to him, telling him what Confidence he always repos'd in him, and what a good account he had given his Catholick Majesty of them, adding, that he did not write to him for fear of some inconvenience, if his Letter should be seen by the common sort, which might redound to his Disadvantage, and therefore instead of Hand and Seal, he had sent that Person to him, in whom he knew

how much he Confided, and might regard what he said, as if it were under his Seal, which was the Commander Ballester, and therefore he might consider what was proper to be done, and he should find him most ready to comply. On the 18th of October, he ordered five Ships to depart from Spain, sending their Catholick Majesties by them, a most particular Account of Affairs, and saying, he had kept those Ships till then, believing that Roldan and his Men would have gone away in them, as they had given out at first; and that the other three he kept with him, were sitting out for his Brother to go in them to pursue the discovery of the Continent of Paria, and take Order about the Fishery and Trade for Pearls, a Sample whereof he sent them by Alegria.

C H A P. LXXX.

How Francis Roldan went to Treat with the Admiral, but came to no Agreement with him.

Roldan having received the Admiral's Letter, answered the third day, seeming to incline to do all he order'd him, but his Men not allowing him to go to Treat without a Safe-Conduct, he desir'd him to send one, drawn up according to those Heads he sent under his Hand, and sign'd by the Chief Men about him. This Safe-Conduct was immediately sent him by the Admiral on the 26th of October, and Roldan having received it, soon came, but rather with a Design to draw some Body over to him, than to conclude any thing, as appeared by his impudent Proposals. Thus he return'd without concluding any thing, saying, He would give his Company an Account of Matters, and write word what they resolv'd on. And that there might be some Body from the Admiral to Treat and Sign what was agreed on, the Admiral's Steward went with him, his Name was Salamanca. After much talk, Roldan sent Articles of Agreement for the Admiral to Subscribe, telling him, That was all he could obtain of his People, and if his Lordship thought fit to grant it, he should send his Assent to the Conception; for at Bonao they had no longer Provisions to subsist on, and they would expect his Answer till the next Monday. The Admiral having read their Answer and Proposals, and considering what dishonourable Things they demanded,

would not grant them, least he should bring himself, his Brothers, and Justice it self into Contempt. But that they might have no Cause to complain, or say he was too stiff in this Affair, he ordered a general Pardon to be Proclaim'd, and to be 30 Days upon the Gates of the Fort, the purport whereof was as follows:

That for as much as during his Absence in Spain, some Difference had happened between the Lieutenant, and the Chief Justice Roldan, and other Persons, who had fled with him, notwithstanding any thing that had hapned, they might all in general, and every one in particular, safely come to serve their Catholick Majesties, as if no Difference had ever been, and that whosoever would go into Spain should have his Passage, and an Order to receive his Pay, as was usual with others, provided they presented themselves before the Admiral within 30 days, to receive the benefit of this Pardon, protesting that in case they did not appear within the time limited, they should be proceeded against according to Course of Law.

This Pardon, subscrib'd by himself, he sent to Roldan by Caravajal, giving him in Writing, the Reasons why he

A general Pardon.

neither



neither could nor ought to grant the Articles sent by him, and putting him in mind what they ought to do, if they aim'd at their Majesties Service. *Caravajal* went to the Rebels at the *Conception*, where they were very haughty and proud, laughing at the Admirals Pardon, and saying, He should soon have occasion to ask one of them. All this hapned in the space of three Weeks, during which

time, under colour of apprehending a Man *Roldan* would Execute, they kept the Commander *Ballester* besieged in the Fort, and cut off his Water, believing the want of it would oblige him to Surrender; but upon *Caravajal's* arrival, they rais'd the Siege, and after many Alterations made on both sides, came to the following Conclusion.

C H A P. LXXXI.

The Agreement made between the Admiral, and Roldan with his Rebels.

THE Articles Sign'd and Agreed to by *Francis Roldan*, and his Company, in order to their return to *Spain*, are as follows:

Art. I. That the Lord Admiral give him two good Ships, and in good Order, according to the Judgment of able Seamen, to be delivered to him at the Port of *Lavagua*, because most of his Followers were there; and because there is no other Port more commodious to provide and prepare Victualling and other Necessaries, where the said *Roldan* and his Company shall Embark, and Sail for *Spain*, if so God please.

II. That his Lordship shall give an Order for the Payment of the Salaries due to them all till that day, and Letters of Recommendation to their Catholick Majesties, that they may cause them to be paid.

III. That he shall give them Slaves for the Service they have done in the Island, and their Sufferings, and certifye the said Gift: And because some of them have Women Big with Child, or Deliver'd; if they carry them away, they shall pass instead of such Slaves they were to have; and the Children shall be free, and they may take them along with them.

IV. His Lordship shall put into the aforesaid Ships all the Provisions requisite for that Voyage, as has been given to others before; and because he could not furnish them with Bread, the Judge and his Company have leave to provide in the Country, and that they have 30 Hundred weight of Bisket allow'd them, or for want of it 30 Sacks of Corn; to the end, that if the *Carabi*, or *Indian* Bread should spoil, as might easily happen, they may subsist upon the aforesaid Bisket or Corn.

V. That his Lordship shall give a Safe-Conduct for such Persons as shall

come to receive the Orders for their Pay.

VI. For as much, as some Goods, belonging to several Persons, who are with *Roldan*, have been seiz'd, his Lordship shall order Restitution to be made.

VII. That his Lordship shall write a Letter to their Catholick Majesties, acquainting them, That the said *Roldan's* Swine remain in the Island, for the Inhabitants Provision, being 120 great ones and 230 small, praying their Highness to allow him the Price for them they would have bore in the Island; the which Swine were taken from him in *February* 1498.

VIII. That his Lordship shall give the said *Roldan* full Authority to Sell some Goods he has, which he must part with to go away, or to do with them as he pleases, or leave them for his own use with whom he thinks fit to make the best of them.

IX. That his Lordship will order the Judges to give speedy judgment concerning the Horfe.

X. That if his Lordships shall find the Demands of *Salamanca* to be just, he shall write to the said Judge to cause him to be paid.

XI. That his Lordship shall be Discours'd concerning the Captains Slaves.

XII. That for as much as the said *Roldan* and his Company mistrust, That his Lordship, or some other Person by his Order, may offer them some Violence with the other Ships that are in the Island, he shall therefore grant them a Pass or Safe-Conduct, promising in their Majesties Name, and upon his own Faith, and the Word of a Gentleman, as is us'd in *Spain*, that neither his Lordship, nor any other Person shall offend them, or obstruct their Voyage.

Having

Having Examined this Agreement made by *Afonso Sanchez de Carvajal* and *James de Salamanca*, with *Francis Roldan* and his Company, this day being Wednesday the 21th of November 1488. I am content it be fully Observ'd, upon Condition, That the said *Francis Roldan*, nor any of his Followers, in whose Name he Subscribed and Ratified the Articles by him delivered to the aforesaid *Afonso Sanchez de Carvajal* and *James de Salamanca*, shall not receive into their Company any other Christian of the Island, of any State or Condition whatsoever.

I *Francis Roldan*, Judge, Do Promise and Engage my Faith and Word for my Self, and all those with me, That the Articles above-mentioned shall be observ'd and fulfill'd, without any Fraud, but faithfully, as is here set down, his Lordship performing all that has been agreed on between *Afonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *James de Salamanca*, and myself, as is in the written Articles.

I 'THAT from the Day of the Date thereof, till the Answer be brought, for which Ten Days shall be allow'd, I will admit no Person whatsoever of those that are with the Lord Admiral.

II. 'That within 50 days after the said Answer shall be delivered to me

here in the *Concepcion*, sign'd and seal'd by his Lordship, which shall be within the Ten Days before-mentioned, we will Embark and set Sail for *Spain*.

III. 'That none of the Slaves freely granted us, shall be carried away by force.

IV. 'That whereas the Admiral will not be at the Port where we are to Embark, the Person, or Persons his Lordship shall send thither, be honour'd and respected as their Majesties and his Lordships Officers, to whom shall be given an Account of all we put aboard the Ships, that they may enter it, and do as his Lordship shall think fit; as also to deliver to them such things as we have in our Hands belonging to their Majesties. All the aforesaid Articles are to be Subscrib'd and perform'd by his Lordship, as *Afonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *James de Salamanca*, have them in Writing; the Answer whereof I expect here at the *Concepcion* for eight days to come; and if it be not then brought, I shall not be obliged to any thing here mention'd.

In Testimony whereof, and that I and my Company may Observe and Perform what I have said, I have Subscribed this Writing, given at the *Concepcion*, on the 16th of November 1498.

C H A P. LXXXII.

How after the Agreement concluded, the Rebels went away to Xaragua, saying, They would Embark on the Two Ships sent them by the Admiral.

THINGS being adjusted as above, *Carvajal* and *Salamanca* return'd to *S. Domingo* to the Admiral, and at their Request, on the 21th of November, he Subscribed the aforesaid Articles brought by them, and granted a new Safe-Conduct or Leave to all those that would not go to *Spain* with *Roldan*, promising them Pay, or the Liberty of Planters, as they liked best, and for others to come freely to manage their Affairs. These, the Castellan *Ballester* delivered to *Roldan* and his Company at the *Concepcion* on the 24th of November, and they having receiv'd them, went away toward *Xaragua*, to prepare for their departure, as was afterwards known. And tho' the Admiral was sensible of their Villany, and much concern'd that the good Service his Brother might have done in continuing the Discovery of the Continent of

Paria, and settling the Pearl Fishery and Trade, was obstructed by giving them those Ships, yet he would not give the Rebels occasion to blame him, saying, He had refus'd them their Passage. He began therefore presently to fit out the Ships as had been agreed, tho the Equipment was somewhat retarded for want of Necessaries. To Supply which defect, and that no time might be lost, he order'd *Carvajal*, to go over by Land to provide and dispose all things for the departure of the Rebels, whilst the Ships came about, giving him ample Commission for it, resolving himself to go soon to *Isabella*, to settle Affairs there, leaving his Brother *James* at *S. Domingo*, to look to that Place. After his departure, about the end of January, the two Caravals, furnish'd with all Necessaries for the Voyage, set out to take up the

Rebels, but a great Storm rising by the way, they were forced to put into another Port till the end of *March*; and because the Caraval *Ninna*, one of the two, was in the worst Condition, and requir'd most Repairs, the Admiral sent Orders

to *Peter de Arana* and *Francis de Garai*, to repair to *Xaragua* with another, called *Santa Cruz*, or the *Holy Cross*, aboard which *Carvajal* went, and not by Land. He was 11 days by the way, and found the other Caraval waiting for him.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

How the Rebels altered their Resolution of going to Spain, and came to a new Agreement with the Admiral.

The Rebels
refuse to
go to
Spain.

IN the mean while, the Caravals not coming, and most of *Roldan's* Men having no Mind to Embark, they took that delay for a pretence to stay, blaming the Admiral, as if he had not dispatch'd them as soon as he might; whereof he being inform'd, writ to *Roldan* and *Adrian*, perswading them in Friendly manner to perform the Agreement, and not fall into Disobedience. Besides *Carvajal*, who was with them at *Xaragua*, on the 20th of *April*, enter'd his Protection before a Notary, called *Francis de Garai*, afterwards Governor of *Panuco*, and of *Jamaica*, requiring them, since the Admiral had sent the Ships, to accept of them, and Embark according to Articles. And because they would not, on the 25th of *April*, he ordered the Ships to return to *S. Domingo*, because they were destroyed by the Worms, and the Men suffered much for want of Provisions. The Rebels were no way concern'd, but rather joyc'd and grew haughty, seeing such account was made of them, and were so far from acknowledging the Admiral's Civility, that they laid it to his Charge in Writing, that it was through his Fault they staid, saying, He had a Mind to be reveng'd on them, and had therefore delayed the sending of the Caravals, which were in such ill case, that it was impossible they should go in them to *Spain*, and that tho' they had been never so good, their Provisions were spent expecting them, and they could not get more under a long while; for which reason they had resolved to expect redress from their Majesties. *Carvajal* returned with this Answer by Land to *S. Domingo*, to whom at the time of his departure, *Roldan* said, He would willingly go wait on the Admiral, to endeavour for such an Accommodation, as might please all Parties, provided he would send him his Safe-Conduct. *Carvajal* sent the Admiral Word of it from *S. Domingo*, on the 15th of *May*, who ~~returned~~ on the 21th, commending him

for the Pains he took, and sent the Safe-Conduct he requir'd, with a short Letter to *Roldan*, tho' very pithy, perswading him to Peace, Submission, and their Majesties Service; which he afterwards repeated at *S. Domingo* more at large on the 29th of *June*; And on the 3d of *August*, six or seven of the Chief Men about the Admiral, sent *Roldan* another Safe-Conduct, that he might come to Treat with his Lordship. But the distance being great, and the Admiral having occasion to visit the County, he resolved to go with two Caravals to the Port of *Azua* in the same Island *Hispaniola*, West of *S. Domingo*, to be the nearer the Province where the Rebels were, many of whom came to the said Port; and the Admiral arriving there about the end of *August* with his Ships, conferr'd with the Chief of them, exhorting them to desist from their ill Course, and promising them all possible Favour and Kindness, which they promised to do, provided the Admiral granted them Four Things: *v.z.*

- I. 'That he should send fifteen of them to *Spain* in the first Ships that ^{New} ^{ships} went. ^{grc.}
- II. 'That to those that remain'd, he should give Land and Houses for their Pay.
- III. 'That Proclamation should be made, that all what had happened was caus'd by false Suggestions, and through the Fault of ill Men.
- IV. 'That the Admiral shall a-new appoint *Roldan* perpetual Judge.

This being concluded among them, *Roldan* return'd ashore from the Admiral's Caraval, and sent his Companions the Articles, which were so much to their Mind, and so unreasonable, that they concluded, saying, In case the Admiral fail'd in any part, it should be Lawful for them by force, or any other means, to oblige him, to Performance.

The

humilis The Admiral being eager to conclude this difficult matter, which had lasted above two years; and considering his Adversaries continued more obstinate than ever, and that many of those, who were with him, had a mind to joyn Companies, and Conspire together to go to other Parts of the Island, as *Roldan* had done; he resolv'd to sign the Articles whatsoever they were, viz. To grant *Roldan* a Patent for perpetual Judge, and the other Three above-mentioned Particulars, besides all they had sent in Writing, a Copy whereof was inserted above. On Tuesday following, being

the 5th of November, *Roldan* to Exercise his Office, and accordingly, it being a part of his Grant, he constituted *Peter Riquelme* Judge of *Bonao*, with Power to Imprison Offenders in Criminal Cases, but that he should send Criminals upon Life and Death, to be Tried by him at the Fort of the *Conception*. The Substitute being no Honester than his Master, he presently went about to build a strong House at *Bonao*, had not *Peter de Arana*, forbid him, because he plainly perceiv'd it was contrary to the respect due to the Admiral.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

How Ojeda returning from his Discovery, Excited new Troubles in Hispaniola.

TO return to the Course of our History, the Admiral having adjusted Matters with *Roldan*, appointed a Captain with some Men to march about the Island to pacifie it, and reduce the *Indians* to Pay the Tribute, and be always in a readines, that upon the least Mutiny among the Christians, and Sign of Rebellion among the *Indians*, he might Suppress and Punish them, which he did with a Delign to go himself over to *Spain*, and carry with him his Brother the Lieutenant, because it would be difficult if he were left behind, to forget old Grudges. As he was preparing for his Voyage, *Alonso de Ojeda*, who had been Discovering with four Ships, arriv'd in the Island. And for as much, as this sort of Men Sail about to make their Fortune, on the fifth of September he put into the Port the Christians called *Brasil*, and the *Indians*, *Yaguimo*, designing to take what he could from the *Indians*, and load with Wood and Slaves. Whilst he was thus employ'd, he did all the harm he could, and to show he was a Limb of the Bishop we have mention'd, endeavoured to raise another Mutiny, gave out, that Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*, was ready to Die; and as soon as she was Dead, there would be no Body left to support the Admiral, and that he as a faithful Servant to the said Bishop, might do what he pleas'd against the Admiral, because of the Enmity there was between them. Upon these Grounds he began to write to some that were not very sound, after the late Troubles, and to hold Correspondence with them. But *Roldan* being inform'd of his Proceedings and Designs, by the Admirals Order, went

against him with 21 Men, to prevent him doing the harm he intended: Being come within a League and a half of him on the 29th of September, he understood he was with 15 Men at a *Caciques*, whose Name was *Hanguaaba*, making Bread and Bisket, and therefore he travelled that Night to Surprize him. *Ojeda* understanding that *Roldan* was coming upon him, and being too weak to oppose him, to make the best of a bad Case, went to meet him, saying, Want of Provisions had brought him thither, to supply himself in the King his Master's Dominions, without designing any harm. And giving him an Account of his Voyage, said, He had been Discovering 600 Leagues Westward along the Coast of *Paria*, where he found People that fought the Christians even hand, and had wounded 20 of his Men, for which reason he could make no Advantage of the Wealth of the Country, where he said he had seen Deer and Rabbits, and Tygers Skins and Paws, and *Guanini's*, all which he show'd *Roldan* aboard the Caravals, saying, He would soon repair to *S. Domingo* to give the Admiral an Account of all. He at this time was much troubled, because *Peter de Arana* had signified to him, That *Riquelme*, Judge of *Bonao*, for *Roldan*, under colour of Building a House for his Herds, had made choice of a strong Rock, that he might from thence, with a few Men, do all the harm he thought fit; that he had forbid him: Whereupon *Riquelme* had drawn up a Process, attested by Witnesses against him, and sent it to the Admiral, complaining that *Arana* used Violence towards him, and praying relief, that no

dis

The first Discovery of

disorder might happen among them. Hereupon, tho' the Admiral knew that Man was not of a quiet Disposition, yet he thought fit to conceal his Jealousie, yet so as to be on his Guard, being of Opinion it was enough to provide against *Ojeda's* open Intrusion, without taking notice of that which might tolerably be conniv'd at. *Ojeda* holding his wicked purpose, and taking leave of *Roldan* in February 1500. went away with his Ships to *Xaragua*, where a great many of those lived, who had before Rebell'd with *Roldan*. And because Avarice is the most beneficial and ready way to promote any Mischief, he began to give out among those People, that their Catholick Majesties had appointed him and *Carvajal* the Admiral's Councillors, that they might not suffer him to do any thing, which they did not think was for their Majesties Service; and that among many other things they had ordered him to do, one was, That he should immediately pay in ready Money, all those that were in the Island in their Service; and since the Admiral was not so just as to do it, he was ready to go along with them to *S. Domingo*, to oblige him to Pay them out of hand; and that done, if they thought fit to turn him out of the Island, dead or alive; for they ought not to rely on the Agreement made, or the Word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than necessity oblig'd him to it. Upon these Promises, many resolv'd to follow him, and therefore being assisted by them, he one Night fell upon others who oppos'd him, and there were some killed and wounded on both sides. And being satisfied, That *Roldan*, who was return'd to the Admiral's Service, would not joyn with them, they resolv'd to Surprise and make him Prisoner; but he being inform'd of their Design, went well attended where *Ojeda* was, to put a stop to his Disorders, or Punish him, as he should find Expedient. *Ojeda* for fear of him, retir'd to his Ships, and *Roldan* continuing ashore, they treated about a Conference, each of them fearing to put himself into the Power of the other. *Roldan* perceiving that *Ojeda* was unwilling to come ashore, he offered to go Treat with him aboard; to which purpose he sent to ask his Boat, which he sent him well mann'd, and having taken in *Roldan* with six or seven of his Followers, when they least suspected it, *Roldan* and his People on a sudden fell upon *Ojeda's* Men, with their naked Swords, and killing some, and wound-

ing others, made themselves Masters of the Boat, returning with it to Land, *Ojeda* having only a small Skiff left him, in which he resolv'd to come peaceably to Treat with *Roldan*. Having made some Excuse for his Offences, he agreed to restore some Men he had taken by force, that his Boat and Men might be return'd him, alledging, if it were not restor'd, it would be the Ruin of them all and their Ships, because he had no other fit to serve them. *Roldan* readily granted it, that he might have no cause to complain, or say, he was lost through his Means; yet making him Promise, and give Security that he would depart the Island by a time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good Guard *Roldan* kept ashore. But as it is a hard matter to root out Cockle so that it may not Sprout up again, so is it no less difficult for People that have got a habit of doing ill to forbear relapsing into their Crimes, as happened to some of the Rebels a few days after *Ojeda* was gone. For one *D. Ferdinand de Guevara*, being in Disgrace with the Admiral, as a Seditious Person, and having taken part with *Ojeda*, in Hatred to *Roldan*, because he would not permit him to take to Wife the Daughter of *Cannua*, the principal Queen of *Xaragua*, began to gather many Conspirators to secure *Roldan*, and succeed him in the ill things he had done. Particularly he gain'd to his Party, one *Adrian de Moxica*, a chief Man among the late Rebels, and to other wicked Men, who about the middle of July 1500. had contriv'd to secure, or Murder *Roldan*. He having Intelligence of the Design, stood upon his Guard, and ordered his Business so well, that he seiz'd the aforesaid *D. Ferdinand*, *Adrian*, and the chief Men of their Party, and sending the Admiral an Account of what had happen'd, ask'd, What his Pleasure was he should do with them? The Answer was, That since they had endeavour'd without any Provocation to disturb the Country, (and if they were not punish'd every thing must run to ruin) he should punish them according to their Demerits, and as the Law directed. The Judge did it accordingly, and proceeding legally against them, hang'd *Adrian* as chief Author of the Conspiracy, Banish'd others, and kept *D. Ferdinand* in Prison, till on the 13th of June, he delivered him, with other Prisoners, to *Gonsalo Blanco*, to carry them to *la Vega*, that is, the Plain, where the Admiral then was. This Example quieted the Country, and the In-

Ojeda
Hurt up the
People to
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Adrian
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d. 1515

Indians again submitted themselves to the Christians. Such rich Gold Mines were discovered, that every Man left the King's Pay, and went away to live upon his own Account, applying himself to dig Gold at his own Expence, allowing the King the third part of all they found. This prospered so well, That a Man has gathered five Marks, (a Mark is eight Ounces) of Gold in a Day, and a Grain of pure Gold has been taken up worth above 196 Ducats; and the *Indians* were Submissive, dreading the Admiral, and so desirous to please him, that they readily became Christians only to oblige him. When any of the Chief of them was to appear before him, he endeavour'd to be Clad; and therefore to settle all things the better, the Admiral resolv'd to take a progress through the Island; and accordingly, he and his Brother, and Lieutenant, set out on Wednesday the 20th of February 1499. and came to *Isabella*

on the 19th of March. From *Isabella* they set out the 5th of April for the *Concepcion*, and came thither the Tuesday following. The Lieutenant went thence for *Xaragua* upon Friday the 7th of June. On *Christmas* Day following, which was in the year 1499. being forsaken by all the World, the *Indians* and Rebel Christians fell upon me, and I was reduced to such Distress, that to avoid Death, leaving all behind me, I put to Sea in a little Caraval. But our Lord presently reliev'd me, saying, Thou Man of little Faith, fear not, I am with you: And so he dispersed my Enemies, and shew'd how he could fulfil my Promises: Unhappy Sinner that I am, who placed all my Hopes on the World. From the *Concepcion*, the Admiral design'd to go to *S. Domingo* on the 3d of February in order to make ready to return into *Spain* to give their Catholick Majesties an Account of all Things.

CHAP. LXXXV.

How, their Catholick Majesties, upon false Informations, and malicious Complaints of some Persons, sent a Judge to take Cognizance of Affairs.

*W*Hilst these Disorders hapned as has been said, many of the Rebels by Letters sent from *H. Spaniola*, and others that were return'd into *Spain*, did not cease to give in false Informations to the King, and his Council, against the Admiral and his Brothers, saying, They were Cruel, and unfit for that Government, as well because they were Strangers and Aliens, as because they had not formerly been in a Condition to learn by Experience, how to govern People of Condition, affirming, That if their Highnesses did not apply some Remedy, those Countries would be utterly destroy'd; and in case they were not quite ruin'd by their ill Government, the Admiral would Revolt, and joyn in League with some Prince to support him, he pretending that all was his own, as having been Discovered by his Industry and Labour; and that the better to compass his Design, he concealed the Wealth of the Country, and would not have the *Indians* serve the Christians, nor be Converted to the Faith, because by making much of them he hoped they would be of his side, to do what he pleas'd against their Highnesses. They proceeding in these and such like Slanders, importun'd their Catholick Majesties, ever talking

ill of the Admiral, and complaining there were several years Pay due to the Men, gave occasion to all that were at Court to rail. So that when I was at *Granada*, at the time the most Serene Prince *Michael* hapned to Die, above 50 of them, like shameless Wretches, brought a Load of Grapes, and sat down in the Court of *Alhambra*, (a Castle and Palace) crying out, That their Highnesses and the Admiral made them live so miserably by not paying them, with many other scandalous Expressions. And their Impudence was so great, that if the Catholick King went abroad, they all got about him, crying, Pay, Pay. And if it hapned that my Brother, or I, who were Pages to her Majesty, pass'd by where they were, they cried out in a hideous manner, making the Sign of the Cross, and saying, There are the Admiral of the *Mosquito's* Sons; he that has found out false and deceitful Countries, to be the Ruin and Burial Place of the *Spanish* Gentry; adding many more such Insolencies, which made us cautious of appearing before them, their Complaints running to high, and their constant importunity with the King's Favourites, it was resolv'd to send a Judge to *Hispamola*, to enquire into all these Affairs, or

Columbus.

Bovadilla
the Judge
in Hispaniola.

dering him in case he found the Admiral guilty of what was alledg'd, to send him to Spain, and stay there himself as Governor. The Person their Majesties made choice of for this purpose, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a poor Knight of the Order of Calatrava; who, on the 21th of May 1499. had full and ample Commission given him at Madrid, and Blank Letters, Subscrib'd by their Majesties, to such Persons as he should think fit in Hispaniola, commanding them to be Aiding and Assisting to him. Thus furnished, he arrived at S. Domingo at the latter end of August 1500. at such time as the Admiral was at the Conception, settling the Affairs of that Province, where his Brother had been assaulted by the Rebels; and where there were more Indians, and those, more Understanding People than in the rest of the Island. So that Bovadilla at his arrival finding no Body to keep him in Awe, the first thing he did was to take up his Quarters in the Admiral's Palace, and Seize, and make use of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by Inheritance; and ga-

thering together all he could find that had been in Rebellion, and many others that Hated the Admiral and his Brothers, he presently declar'd himself Governor. And to gain the Affections of the People, he caus'd a general Freedom to be proclaim'd for 20 years to come, requiring the Admiral to repair to him without any delay, because it was convenient for his Majesties Service he should do so. And to back his Summons on the 7th of September, sent him the King's Letter by F. John de la Sera, which was to this effect.

To D. Christopher Columbus, *our Admiral of the Ocean.*

WE have Ordered the Commendary Francis de Bovadilla, the Bearer, to acquaint you with some Things from us: Therefore we Desire you to give him entire Credit, and to Obey him. Given at Madrid, the 21th of May 1499.
By Command of *I the King.*
their Highnesses, *I the Queen.*
Mich. Perez de Almazan.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

How the Admiral was Apprehended and sent to Spain in Irons, together with his Brothers.

The Pro-
ceedings of
Bovadilla.

THE Admiral having seen their Majesties Letter, came away presently to S. Domingo, where the aforesaid Judge was, who being eager to remain Governor there, at the beginning of October 1500. without any delay, or legal Information, sent him Prisoner aboard a Ship, together with his Brother James, putting them in Irons, and a good Guard over them, and ordered upon severe Penalties, that none should dare to speak for them. After this, (by *Abington Law*) he began to draw up a Process against them, admitting the Rebels his Enemies as witnesses, and publicly favouring all that came to speak ill of them, who in their Depositions gave in such Villanies and Incoherencies, that he must have been Blind that had not plainly perceiv'd, they were False and Malicious. For which reason, their Catholic Majesties would not admit of them, and cleared the Admiral, repenting that they had sent such a Man in that Employment; and not without good cause, for this Bovadilla ruin'd the Island, and squander'd the King's Revenues, that all Men might be his Friends, saying, Their

Majesties would have nothing but the Honour of the Dominion, and that the Profit should be for their Subjects. Yet he neglected not his own Share, but siding with the richest and powerfulest Men, gave them Indians to serve them, upon Condition they should share with him all they got by their means, and sold by Auction the Possessions and Rights the Admiral had acquir'd for their Majesties, saying, They were no Labourers, nor did not desire to make a Profit of those Lands, but only kept them for the Benefit of their Subjects. He thus Selling all things under this colour, endeavour'd on the other side that they should be Bought by some of his own Companions, for one third of the value. Besides all this, He made no other use of his Judicial Power but to Enrich himself, and gain the Affections of the People, being still afraid lest the Lieutenant, who was not yet come from *Xaraguna*, should put a stop to his Proceedings, and endeavour to set the Admiral at liberty by force of Arms; in which particular, the Brothers behaved themselves very prudently, for the Admiral

Admiral sent them word immediately, that they should come peaceably to him, the Kings Service so requiring, that the Island might not be put into an uproar; for when they were in Spain they should more easily obtain the Punishment of such a senseless Person, and Satisfaction for the wrong done them. Yet this did not divert *Bovadilla* from putting him and his Brothers into Irons, allowing the baser sort to Rail at them publicly, blowing Horns about the Port where they were Ship'd, besides many scandalous Libels set up at corners of Streets against them; so that tho' he was inform'd that one *James Ortiz*, Governor of the Hospital, had writ a Libel and read it publicly in the Market-Place, he was so far from punishing of him, that he seem'd to be very well pleas'd, which made every one endeavour to show himself in this sort. And perhaps for fear the Admiral should Swim back, he took Care when they were to Sail, to desire *Andrew Martin* the Master of the Ship, to look to him, and to deliver him in Irons as he was, to the Bishop *D. John de Fonseca*, by whose Advice and Direction it was concluded he did all these Things; tho' when they were at Sea, the Master being sensible of *Bovadilla's* Unworthiness, would have knock'd off the Admiral's Irons, which he would never permit, saying, That since their Catholick Majesties, by their Letter directed him to perform whatsoever *Bovadilla* did in their Name Command him to do, in Virtue of which Authority and Commission he had put him into Irons, he would have none but their Highnesses themselves to do their Pleasure herein; and he was resolv'd to keep those Fetters as Relicks,

and a Memorial of the Reward of his many Services, as accordingly he did; for I always saw those Irons in his Room, which he ordered to be Buried with his Body; notwithstanding, that he having on the 20th of November 1500. writ to their Majesties acquainting them with his arrival at *Cadiz*, they understanding the Condition he came in, immediately gave Orders that he should be releas'd, and sent him very gracious Letters, saying, They were very sorry for his Sufferings, and the unmannerly Behaviour of *Bovadilla* towards him, ordering him to go to Court, where Care should be taken about his Affairs, and he should be shortly dispatch'd with full Restitution of his Honour. Nevertheless, I cannot but blame their Catholick Majesties, who chose for that Employment a base and ignorant Man; for had he been a Man, who knew the Duty of his Office, the Admiral himself would have been glad of his coming; since he by Letter had desired that one might be sent, to take true Information of the Perversefeness of those People, and of the Crimes they committed, that they might be punish'd by another hand, he being unwilling to use that Severity which an impartial Person would have done, because the original of those Tumults had been against his Brother. And tho' it may be urg'd, That tho' their Majesties had such bad Accounts of the Admiral, yet they ought not to send *Bovadilla* with so many Letters, and such Power, without limittin the Commission they gave him. It may be answer'd in their behalf, That it was no wonder they did so, because the Complaints against the Admiral were very many, as has been said above.

The Admirals discharge.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

How the Admiral went to Court to give their Catholick Majesties an Account of himself.

AS soon as their Majesties heard of the Admiral's coming, and being in Irons, they sent Orders on the 12th of December for him to be set at liberty, and writ to him to repair to *Granada*, where he was received by their Highnesses with a favourable Aspect, and kind Words, telling him, His Imprisonment had not been by their Desire or Command, and therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take Care those that were in fault should be pu-

nish'd, and full Satisfaction given him. Having spoke these and such like gracious Words, they ordered his Business should be immediately gone upon, the Result whereof was, That a Governour should be sent to *Hispaniola*, who was to right the Admiral and his Brothers, and *Bovadilla* should be oblig'd to restore all he had taken from them; and that the Admiral should be allow'd all that belong'd to him, according to the Articles their Highnesses had granted him; and that

The Admirals receipt at Court.

the Rebels should be proceeded against and punish'd according to their Offences. *Nicholas de Obando*, Commandary of Laws, was sent with this Power; he was a wife and judicious Man, but as afterwards, appear'd Partial, craftily concealing his Passions, giving Credit to his own Surmises, and malicious Persons; and therefore acting cruelly and revengefully, as appears by the Death of the 80 Kings we have spoke of before. But to return to the Admiral; as their Majesties were pleas'd to send *Obando* to *Hispaniola*, so they thought it proper to send the Admiral upon some Voyage that might turn to his Advantage, and keep him employ'd till the said *Obando* could pacifie and reduce the Island *Hispaniola*, because they did not like to keep him so long out of his right, without any just occasion, the Information sent by *Bovadilla*, plainly appearing to be full of Malice, and not containing any thing whereby he might forfeit his Right. But there being some delay in the Execution of this Design, it being now the month of *October* 1500. and Ill Men endeavour'd to prevail that a new Information might be expected, the Admiral resolv'd to speak to their Majesties, and beg of them that they would defend him against all Dangers, which he afterwards repeated by Letter. This they promis'd him by Letter, when the Admiral was ready to set out upon his Voyage; the Words of it are to this effect:

AND be assured that your Imprisonment was very displeasing to us, which you were sensible of, and all Men plainly saw, because as soon as we heard of it, we applied the proper Remedies. And you know with how much Honour and Respect we have always ordered you to be treated, which we now direct should be done, and that you receive all worthy and noble Usage, promising that the Privileges and Prerogatives by us granted you shall be preserv'd in ample manner, according to the Tenor of our Letters Patents, which you and your Children shall Enjoy without any Contradiction, as is due in reason: And if it be requisite to Ratifie them a-new, we will do it, and will Order that your Son be put into Possession of all, for we desire to Honour and Favour you in greater Matters than these. And be

satisfied we will take the due Care of your Sons and Brothers, which shall be done when you are departed; for the Employment shall be given to your Son, as has been said. We therefore pray you not to delay your departure.

Given at *Valentia de la Torre*, on the 14th of March 1502.

This their Majesties writ, because the Admiral had resolv'd not to trouble himself any more with the Affairs of the *Indies*, but to ease himself upon my Brother, wherein he was in the Right; for he said, that, if the Services he had already done, were not sufficient to deserve to have those villainous People punish'd, all he could do for the future would never obtain it, since he had already perform'd the main thing he undertook before he discover'd the *Indie* which was to show that there was a Continent and Islands Westward, that th way was easie and navigable, the advantage visible, and the People gentle and unarm'd. All which, since he had revised himself in Person, there now remained nothing but for their Highnesses to pursue what was begun, sending People to discover the Secrets of those Countries: for now the Gate was open'd, any one might follow the Coast, as some did already, who improperly call themselves Discoverers; not considering they have not Discover'd any new Country, but that for the future they pursue the first Discovery, the Admiral having shew them the Islands and Province of *Paria*, which was the first Land of the Continent discover'd. Yet the Admiral having always had a great Inclination to serve their Catholick Majesties, and particularly the Queen, he was content to return to his Ships, and undertake the Voyage we shall speak of; for he was convinced there would daily be found out great Wealth, as he writ to their Highnesses the year 1499. speaking of the Discovery in this manner. It is not to be discontinued, for to say the truth, because one time or other something material will be found. As has since appeared by *New Spain* and *Peru*, though at that time, as generally happens to most Men, no Body gave Credit to what he said, and yet he said nothing but what proved true, as their Catholick Majesties testify in a Letter of theirs writ at *Barcelona* on the 5th of September 1498.

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

How the 'Admiral went from Granada to Seville, to fit out a Fleet for another Discovery.

THe Admiral having been well dispatch'd by their Catholick Majesties, set out from *Granada* for *Seville* in the year 1501. and being there so earnestly solicited the fitting out his Squadron, that in a small time he had Rigg'd and provided four Ships, the biggest of 70. the least of 50 Tun Burthen, and 140 Men and Boys, of which number I was one.

*Almi-
fourth
of* We set Sail from *Cadiz* on the 9th of *May* 1502. and failed to *S. Catharine's*, whence we parted on Wednesday the 11th of the same month, and went to *Arzilla* to relieve the *Portugueses*, who were reported to be in great Distress, but when we came thither, the *Moorees* had raised the Siege. The Admiral therefore sent his Brother, *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, and me, with the Captains of the Ships ashore, to visit the Governor of *Arzilla*, who had been wounded by the *Moorees* in an Assault. He return'd the Admiral Thanks for the Visit and his Officers, and to this purpose sent some Gentlemen to him, among whom some were Relations to *Donna Philippa Moniz*, the Admiral's Wife in *Portugal*. The same day we set Sail, and arriving at *Gran Canaria*, on the 20th of *May*, cast Anchor among the little Islands; and on the 24th, went over to *Maspalomas* in the same Island, there to take in Wood and Water for our Voyage. The next Night we set out for the *Indies*, and it pleas'd God the Wind was so fair, that without handing the Sails, on Wednesday the 15th of *June*, we arrived at the Island *Matrinno* with a rough Sea and Wind. There, according to the Custom of those that Sail from *Spain* to the *Indies*, the Admiral took in fresh Wood and Water, and made the Men wash their Linen, staying till Saturday; when we stood to the Westward and came to *Dominica*, ten Leagues from the other. So running along among the *Caribbee* Islands, we came to *Santa Cruz*; and on the 24th of the same month, ran along the South-side of the Island of *S. John*. Thence we took the way for *S. Domingo*, the Admiral having a mind to Exchange one of his Ships for another, because it was a bad Sailor; and besides, could carry no Sail, but the side would lie almost under Water, which was a hin-

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drance to his Voyage, because his design was to have gone directly upon the Coast of *Paria*, and keep along that shore, till he came upon the Streight, which he certainly concluded was about *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*. But seeing the Fault of the Ship, he was forced to repair to *S. Domingo* to change it for a better.

And to the end, the Commendary *Loves* sent by their Majesties to call *Bovadilla* to an Account for his Male-Administration, might not be surpriz'd at our unexpected arrival, upon Wednesday the 29th of *June*, being near the Port, the Admiral sent *Peter de Terreros*, Captain of one of the Ships to him, to signify what occasion he had to change that Ship; for which reason, as also because he apprehended a great Storm was coming, he desired to secure himself in that Port, advising him not to let the Fleet Sail out of the Port for eight days to come; for if he did it would be in great danger. But the aforesaid Governor would not permit the Admiral to come into the Harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the Fleet that was bound for *Spain*, which consisted of 18 Sail, and was to carry *Bovadilla*, who had Imprison'd the Admiral and his Brothers, *Francis Roldan*, and all the rest, who had been in Rebellion against them, and done them so much harm, all whom it pleas'd God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the Admiral's good Advice. And I am satisfied it was the hand of God; for had they arriv'd in *Spain*, they had never been punish'd as their Crimes deserv'd; but rather been favoured and preferred, as being the Bishop's Friends. This was prevented by their setting out of that Port for *Spain*; for no sooner were they come to the East Point of the Island *Hispaniola*, but there arose so terrible a Storm, that the Admiral of the Fleet sunk, in which was *Bovadilla*, with most of the Rebels, and made such havock among the rest, that of 18 Ships, only three or four were saved. This hapned upon Thursday the last of *June*, when the Admiral having foreseen the Storm, and being refused admittance into the Port, for his Security drew up as close to the Land as he could, thus sheltering himself, not without much

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dissatisfaction among his Men, who for being with him were denied that Reception, which had been allow'd to Strangers, much more to them that were of the same Nation, for they fear'd they might be so serv'd, if any Misfortune should befall them for the future. And tho' the Admiral was concern'd on the same Account, yet it more vex'd him to behold the Baseness and Ingratitude us'd towards him in that Country he had given to the Honour and Benefit of Spain, being refused to shelter his life in it. Yet his Prudence and Judgment secured his Ships, till the next day the Tempest increasing, and the Night coming on very dark, three Ships broke from him every one its own way: The Men aboard each of them, tho' all of them in great danger, concluded the others were lost; but they that suffered most were those aboard the Ship, called *Santo*, who to save their Boat, which had been ashore with the Captain *Terreros*, dragg'd it a-stern, where it over-set, and were at last forced to let it go to save themselves. But the Caraval *Bermuda* was in much more danger, which running out to Sea, was almost covered with it, by which it appeared the Admiral had reason to endeavour to change it, and all Men concluded, that under God, the Admiral's

Brother was the saving of her: by his Wisdom and Resolution; for as has been said above, there was not at that time a more expert Sailor than he. So that after they had all suffer'd very much, except the Admiral, it pleased God they met again upon Sunday following in the Port of *Azuza* on the South-side of *Hispaniola*, where every one giving an Account of his Misfortunes, it appeared that *Bartholomew Columbus* had weather'd so great a Storm, by flying from Land like an able Sailor; and that the Admiral was out of Danger by lying close to the Shore like a cunning Astrologer, who knew whence the Danger must come. Well might his Enemies blame him therefore, saying, He had rais'd that Storm by Art Magick, to be Reveng'd on *Bovadilla*, and the rest of his Enemies that were with him, seeing that none of his four Ships perish'd; and that of 18, which set out with *Bovadilla*, only one fo called *la Aguja*, or *The Needle*, the worst of them all, held on its Course for Spain, where it arrived safe, having on Board 4000 Peſo's in Gold, worth eight Shillings a Peſo, belonging to the Admiral, the other three that escap'd, returning to *S. Domingo* shatter'd, and in a distressed Condition.

C H A P. LXXXIX.

How the Admiral departed from Hispaniola, and discovered the Islands of Guanaia.

THE Admiral in the Port of *Azuza*, gave his Men a Breathing time after the Storm; and it being one of the Diversions us'd at Sea, to Fish, when there is nothing else to do, I will mention two sorts of Fish among the rest, which I remember were taken there; the one of them was pleasant, the other wonderful. The first was a Fish called *Saavina*, as big as half an ordinary Bell, which lying a-sleep above Water, was struck with a Harping-Iron from the Boat of the Ship *Bisceina*, and held so fast that it could not break loose; but being tied with a long Rope to the Boat, drew it after it, as swift as an Arrow; so that those aboard the Ship, seeing the Boat scud about, and not knowing the occasion, were astonish'd it should do so without the help of the Oars, till at last the Fish sunk, and being drawn to the Ships side, was there haul'd up with the Tackle. The other Fish was taken after

another manner, the *Indians* call it *Manati*, and there are none of the sort in *Europe*. It is as big as a Calf, nothing differing from it in the colour and taste of the Flesh, but that perhaps it is better and fatter; wherefore those that affirm there are all sorts of Creatures in the Sea, will have it, that these Fishes are real Calves, since within they have nothing like a Fish, and feed only on the Grass they find along the Banks. To return to our History; the Admiral having a little refreshed his Men, and repaired his Ships, left Port *Azuza*, and went to that of *Brasil*, which the *Indians* call *Giacchemo*, to shun another Storm that was coming. Hence he sailed again on the 14th of July, and was so becalm'd, that instead of holding on his Course, the Current carried him away to certain Islands near *Jamaica*, which are very small and sandy, and he called them, *Los Poros*, or *The Wells*, because not finding

2 strange
fishes.

ing Water in them, they dug many Pits in the Land, and took up that Water for the Use. Then sailing Southward for the Continent, we came to certain Islands, where we went ashore upon the biggest only, called *Guanata*, whence those that make Sea-Charts, took occasion to call all those Islands of *Guanata*, which are almost 12 Leagues from the Continent, near the Province now call'd *Honduras*, tho' then the Admiral called it *Cape Casinas*. But these Men making such Charts without having seen the World, they commit vast Mistakes; which since it now comes in my way, I will here set down, tho' it interrupts the Course of our History. These small Islands and Continent are by them twice set down in their Charts, as if they were different Countries; and whereas *Cape Gracias a Dios*, and that they call *Cape* are but one and the same, they make two of it. The occasion of this mistake, was, That after the Admiral had discovered these Countries, one *John Diaz de Solis*, from whom the River *de la Plata*, that is, of Silver or Plate, was called *Rio de Solis*, because he was there killed by the *Indians*, and one *Vincent Tanes*, who commanded a Ship the first Voyage, when the Admiral discover'd the *Indies*, set out together to discover in the year 1508. designing to follow along that Coast the Admiral had discovered in his Voyage from *Veragua* Westward; and he following almost the same Track, they put into the Coast of *Caria*, and pass'd by *Cape Gracias a Dios*, as far as *Cape Casinas*, which they call'd *Honduras*, and the aforesaid Islands they call'd *Guanajas* giving the Name of the biggest to them all. Thence they proceeded on further, without owning the Admiral had been in any of those Parts, that the Discovery might be attributed to them, and to have it believ'd they had found large Countries; notwithstanding that, *Peter de Ledesma*, one of their Pilots, who had been before with the Admiral in his Voyage to *Veragua*, told them, He knew that Country, and that he had been there with the Admiral Discovering it, from whom I afterwards had this. But the Nature of the Charts plainly demonstrates it, for the same thing is twice set down, and the Island is in the same Shape, and at the same Distance, they having at their return brought a true Draught of that Country, only saying, it lay beyond that which the Admiral had discover'd. So that the same Country is twice describ'd

in one Chart; which, if it please God, time will make appear, when that Coast is better known; for they will find but one Country of that sort, as has been said. But to return to our Discovery, being come to the Island of *Guanata*, the Admiral ordered his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus* to go ashore with two Boats, where they found People like those of the other Islands, but not of such high Foreheads. They also saw abundance of Pine-Trees, and pieces of *Lapis Calaminaris*, us'd to mix with Copper, which some Seamen taking for Gold, kept hid a long time.

The Admiral's Brother being ashore in that Island, very desirous to know something of it, fortune so order'd it, that a Canoo, as long as a Galley, and eight foot wide, all of one Tree, and like the others in shape, put in there, being loaded with Commodities brought from the Westward, and Bound towards *New Spain*. In the midst of it was a covering like an Awning made of Palm-Tree Leaves, not unlike those of the *Venetian Gondola's*, which kept all under it so close, that neither Rain nor Sea-Water could wet the Goods. Under this Awning were the Children, the Women, and all the Goods, and tho' there were 25 Men aboard this Canoo, they had not the Courage to defend themselves against the Boats that pursued them. The Canoo being thus taken without any Opposition, was carried aboard, where the Admiral Bless'd God, for that it had pleas'd him at once to give him Samples of the Commodities of that Country, without exposing his Men to any danger. He therefore order'd such things to be taken, as he judg'd most lightly and valuable; such as some Quilts, and Shirts of Cotton, without Sleeves, curiously wrought and dy'd of several Colours, and some small Clouts to cover their Privities, of the same sort; and large Sheets in which the *Indian Women* aboard the Canoo wrapp'd themselves, as the Moorish Women at *Granada* use to do; and long Wooden Swords with a Channel on each side, where the edge should be, in which there were sharp edges of Flint fix'd with Thread, and a bituminous sort of matter, which cut naked Men, as if they were of Steel, and Hatchets to cut Wood like those of Stone the other *Indians* use, but that these were made of good Copper; also Bells of the same Metal, Plates, and Crucibles to Melt the Metal. For their Provision, they had such Roots and Grain

A lower Canoo.

What Goods had.



Grain as they in *Hispaniola* Eat, and a fort of Liquor made of *Maiz*, like the English Beer; and abundance of *Cacao* Nuts, which in *New Spain* pass for Money; which they seem'd to value very much; for when they were brought aboard among their other Goods, I observed that when any of these Nuts fell, they all stoop'd to take it up, as if it had been a thing of great consequence: Yet at that time they seem'd to be in a manner besides themselves, being brought Prisoners out of their Canoo aboard the Ship, among such strange and fierce People, as we are to them; but so prevalent is Avarice in Man, that we ought not to wonder, that it should prevail upon the *Indians* above the apprehension of the danger they were in. I must add, That we ought to admire their Modesty, for it falling out, that in getting them aboard, some were taken by the Clouts they had before their Privities, they would immediately clasp their Hands to

Modesty of
the Indians.

cover them, and the Women would hide their Faces, and wrap themselves up as we said the Moorish Women do at *Granada*. This mov'd the Admiral to use them well, to rest their Canoo, and give them some Things in Exchange for those that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old Man, whose Name was *Giumbe*, that seem'd to be the wisest and chief of them, to learn something of him concerning the Country, and that he might draw others to Converse with the Christians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we sail'd where his Language was understood. Therefore, as a Reward for this his Service, when we came where he was not understood, the Admiral gave him some Things, and sent him home very well pleased, which was before he came to Cape *Gracias a Dios*, on the Coast of *Oreocbia*, whereof mention has been made already.

CHAP. XC.

How the Admiral would not go to New Spain, but Sail to the Eastward to find out the Streight in the Continent.

NOTwithstanding the Admiral had heard so much from those in the Canoo, concerning the great Wealth, Politeness, and Ingenuity of the People Westward towards *New Spain*; yet thinking that those Countries lying to the Leeward, he could Sail thither when he thought fit from *Cuba*, he would not go that way at this time, but held on his Design of discovering the Streight in the Continent, to clear a way into the *South Sea*, which was what he aim'd at in order to come at the Countries that produce Spice, and therefore resolv'd to sail Eastward towards *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, where he imagin'd the said Streight to be, as in effect it was; yet was he deceiv'd in the matter; for he did not conceit it to be an *Isthmus*, or narrow neck of Land, but a small Gulph running from Sea to Sea. Which mistake might proceed from the likeness of the Names, for when they said the Streight was at *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, it might be understood either of Land or Water; and he took it in the most usual Sense, and for that he most earnestly desir'd. And yet tho' that Streight is Land, yet it was, and is, the way to the Dominion of both Seas, and by which such immense Riches have been discovered and

conveyed; for it was God's Will, a matter of such vast concern should not be otherwise found out, that Canoo having given the first Information concerning *New Spain*.

There being nothing therefore in those Island of *Guanaia* worth taking notice of, he without further delay sail'd in order to seek out the Streight towards the Continent, to a Point he call'd *Casinas*, because there were abundance of Trees that bear a sort of Fruit that is rough, as a spungy Bone, and is good to Eat, especially Boil'd, which Fruit the *Indians* of *Hispaniola* call *Casinas*. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of all about that Country, the Admiral would not lose time to go into a great Bay the Land makes there, but held on his Course Eastwards along that Coast, which runs along the same way to Cape *Gracias a Dios*, and is very low and open. The People nearest to Cape *Casinas*, wear those painted Shirts or Jerkins before-mentioned, and Clouts before their Privities, which were like Coats of Mail made of Cotton strong enough to defend them against their Weapons, and even to bear off the stroke of some of

But,

But the People higher Eastward towards *Cape Gracias a Dios*, are almost black, of a different Aspect, goes stark Naked, is very *Liberal*, and as the *Indian* that was taken, said, Eats Man's Flesh, and raw Fish just as it is taken. They have their Ears bored with such large holes, that they may put a Hens Egg into them, which made the Admiral call that Coast *de las Orejas*, or of the Ears. There on Sunday the 14th of August 1502. *Bartholomew Columbus* went ashore in the Morning with the Colours, the Captains, and many of the Men, to hear Mass; and on Wednesday following, when the Boats went ashore to take possession of the Country for their Catholick Majesties, above 100 Men ran down to the shore, loaded with Provisions; who as soon as the Boats came ashore came before the Lieutenant, and on a sudden retir'd back without speaking a word. He ordered they should give them Horfe-Bells, Beads, and other Things; and by means of the aforesaid Interpreter, inquir'd concerning the Country, tho' he having been but a short time with us, did not understand the Christians, by reason of the distance of his Country from *Hispaniola*, where several Persons aboard the Ships had learnt the *Indian* Language. Nor did he understand those *Indians*; but they being pleas'd with what had been given them, came the next day to the same Place, above 200 of them loaded with several sorts of Provisions, as Hens of that Country, which are better than

ours, Geese, roasted Fish, red and white Beans, like Kidney Beans, and other Things like those they have in *Hispaniola*. The Country was green and beautiful, tho' low, producing abundance of Pines, Oaks, Palm-Trees of seven sorts, and *Mirabalans* of those in *Hispaniola* they call *Hobi*, and almost all sorts of Provisions that Island affords were here to be found. Abundance of Leopards, Deer, and others, as also all sorts of Fish there are in the Islands and in *Spain*. The People of this Country are much like those of the Islands, but that their Foreheads are not so high, nor do they seem to have any Religion. There are several Languages among them, and for the most part they go Naked, but cover their Privities. Some wear short Jumps down to their Navel without Sleeves. Their Arms and Bodies have Figures wrought on them with Fire, which make them look oddly; and some have Lions, others Deer, and others Castles with Towers, or other Things painted on their Bodies. Instead of Caps, the better sort of them wear red and white Cloths of Cotton; and some have Locks of Hair hanging on their Foreheads. But when they are to be fine against a Festival Day, they colour their Faces, some black, and some red; others draw streaks of several Colours; others Paint their Nose, and others black their Eyes; and thus they adorn themselves to appear beautiful, whereas in truth they look like Devils.

C H A P. XCI.

How the Admiral left the Coast he called de las Orejas, and by Cape Gracias a Dios came to Cariari, and what he did and saw there.

THE Admiral sailed along the said Coast *de las Orejas* Eastward to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, which was so call'd, because there being but 60 Leagues to it from *Cape Casinas*, we laboured 70 days by reason of the Currents and contrary Winds upon the Tack to gain it, standing out to Sea, and then making the shore, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing ground, as the Wind was scant or large when we came about. And had not the Coast afforded such good Anchoring we had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two fathom Water half a League from the shore, and two more at every Leagues distance; we had always the conveniency of Anchoring at Night, when there

was but little Wind, so that the Course was Navigable by reason of the good Anchoring, but with difficulty.

When on the 14th of September we came up to the Cape, perceiving the Land turn'd off to the South, and that we could conveniently continue our Voyage with those *Levant* Winds that reign'd there, and had been so contrary to us, we all in general gave Thanks to God, for which reason the Admiral called this *Cape Gracias a Dios*. A little beyond it, we pass'd by some dangerous Sands that ran out to Sea, as far as the Eye could reach.

It being requisite to take in Wood and Water; on the 16th of September, the Admiral sent the Boats to a River, that



seem'd to be deep, and to have a good entrance, but the coming out proved not so; for the Winds freshing from Sea, and the Waves running high against the current of the River, so distress'd the Boats, that one of them was lost with all the Men in it, wherefore the Admiral call'd it the River *de la Desgratia*, that is, of the Disaster.

In this River and about it, there were Canes as thick as a Man's Leg; and on Sunday the 25th of September, still running Southward, we came to an Anchor near a little Island called *Quiriviri*, and a Town on the Continent, the Name whereof was *Caniari*, where were the best People, Country, and Situation, we had yet seen, as well because it was high, full of Rivers, and abounding in Trees, as because the Island was thick Wooded, and full of Forests of Palm, Mirobalan, and other sorts of Trees. For this reason, the Admiral call'd it

Indians of
Canari
Country.

Huete. It is a small League from the Town the Indians call *Caniari*, which is near a great River, whether resorted a great multitude of People from the adjacent Parts, some with Bows and Arrows, others with Staves of Palm-Tree, as black as a Coal, and hard as a Horn, pointed with the Bones of Fishes, others with Clubs; and they came together as if they meant to defend their Country. The Men had their Hair braided and wound about their Heads; the Women short like ours. But perceiving we were peaceable People, they were very desirous to Barter their Commodities for ours, theirs were Arms, Cotton-Jerkins, and large pieces like Sheets, and *Guanini's*, which is pale Gold, they wear about their Necks, as we do Relicks. These things they Swam with to the Boats, for the Christians went not ashore that day nor the next; nor would the Admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that we might not be taken for Men that valued their Goods, but gave them some of ours. The less they saw us value the

Exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of Signs from Land. At last, perceiving no Body went ashore, they took all the things that had been given them, without reserving any, and tying them together, left them in the same place where the Boats first went ashore, and where our Men found them on the Wednesday following when they landed. The Indians about this place, believing, that the Christians did not Confide in them, they sent an Ancient Man of an awful Presence with a Flag

upon a Staff, and two Girls, the one about 8; the other about 14 years of Age, who putting them into the Boat, made Signs that the Christians might safely Land. Upon their Request, they went ashore to take in Water, the Indians taking great care not to do any thing that might fright the Christians, and when they saw them return to their Ships, they made Signs to them to take along with them the young Girls with their *Guanini's* about their Necks, and at the Request of the old Man that conducted them, they complied and carried them aboard. Wherein those People show'd more friendly than others had done; and in the Girls appear'd an undauntedness, for tho' the Christians were such Strangers to them, they express no manner of concern, but always look'd pleasant and modest, which made the Admiral Treat them well, Cloathed, Fed, and set them ashore again, where the 50 Men were, and the old Man that had delivered them received them again with much satisfaction. The Boats going ashore again that same day, found the same People with the Girls, who restor'd all the Christians had given them. The next day the Admiral's Brother going ashore to learn something of those People, two of the chief Men came to the Boat, and taking him by the Arms between them, made him sit down upon the Grass; and he asking some Questions of them, ordered the Secretary to write down what they answered; but they seeing, the Pen, Ink, and Paper, were in such a Consternation, that most of them ran away; which, as was believed, they did for fear of being Bewitch'd, for to us they seem'd to be Sorcerers, or Superstitious People, and that not without reason; because, when they came near the Christians, they scatter'd some Powder about them in the Air, and burning some of the same Powder endeavour'd to make the Smoak go towards the Christians; besides, their refusing to keep any thing that belong'd to us, show'd a Jealousie; for, as they say, *A Knave thinks every Man like himself*. Having staid here longer than was convenient, considering the haste we were in, after repairing the Ships, and provided all we wanted, upon Sunday the 2d of October, the Admiral order'd his Brother to go ashore with some Men to view that Indian Town, and learn something of their Manners, and the Nature of the Country. The most remarkable things they saw were, in a great Wooden Palace

late covered with Canes, several Tombs, in one of which there was a Dead Body dry'd up a . . . Embaln'd ; in another, two Bodies, wrapp'd up in Cotton-Sheets without any ill Scent ; and over each Tomb, was a Board with the Figures of Beasts carv'd on it ; and on some of them, the Effigies of the Person buried there, adorn'd with *Guanini's*, Beads, and other Things they most value. These being the most civiliz'd *Indians* in those Parts, the Admiral order'd one to be taken, to learn of him the Secrets of the Country ; and of Seven that were taken, two of the chiefest were pick'd out, and the rest sent away with some Gifts, and Civil Entertainment, that the Country might not be left in an uproar, telling them, they were to serve as Guides upon that Coast, and then be set at liberty. But they believing they were taken out of Covetousness, that they might Ransom themselves with their Goods and Things of value, the next day abundance of them came down to the Shore, and sent four aboard the Admiral, as their Ambassadors, to Treat about the Ransom, offering some Things, and freely giving two Hogs of the Country, which tho' small, are very wild. The Admiral therefore observing the Policy of this People, was more desirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learnt something of them, but would not give Ear to their Offers. He therefore ordered some Trifles to be given to the Messengers, that they might not go away dis-

satisfied, and that they should be paid for their Hogs, one of which was Hunted after this manner. Among other Creatures that Country produces, there is a kind of Cats of a greyish colour, and as big as a small Greyhound, but have a longer Tail, and so strong, that whatsoever they clap it about is as it were tied with a Rope. These run about the Trees like the Squirrels, leaping from one to another ; and when they leap, they do not only hold fast with their Claws, but with their Tail too, by which they often hang, either to rest them, or sport. It hapned that one *Ballester* brought one of these Cats out of a Wood, having knock'd him off a Tree, and not daring to meddle with it when down, because of its fierceness, he cut off one of his fore Legs, and carrying it so wounded aboard, it freighted a good Dog they had ; but put one of the Hogs they had brought us into a much greater fear ; for as soon as the Swine saw the Cat it ran away, with signs of much dread, which we were surpriz'd at ; because before this hapned, the Hog ran at every Body, and would not let the Dog rest upon the Deck. The Admiral therefore ordered it to be put close to the Cat, which presently wound her Tail about its Snout, and with that fore-Leg it had left, fastned on its Pole to Bite it, the Hog for fear grunting most violently. By this we perceiv'd that these Cats hunt like the Wolves or Dogs in *Spain*.

Indian Swine, and a fierce wild Cat.

C H A P. XCII.

How the Admiral went from Cariari, to Caravaro and Veragua, till he came to Portovelo, all along a very fruitful Coast.

Bay of Caravaro. UPON Wednesday the 5th of October, the Admiral sail'd, and came to the Bay of *Caravaro*, which is 6 Leagues in length, and above 3 in breadth, where there are many small Islands and 2 or 3 Channels to get in or out at any time. Within these Islands the Ships sail as it were in Streets between Islands, the Leaves of the Trees striking against the Shrouds. As soon as we Anchor'd in this Bay, the Boats went to one of the Islands, where there were 20 Canoes upon the Shore, and the People by, as Naked as they were Born, and had only a Gold Plate about their Neck, and some an Eagle of Gold. These, without showing any tokens of fear, the two *Indians*

of *Cariari* interpreting, gave a Gold Plate for three Horse-Bells ; it weigh'd ten Ducats, and they said there was great plenty of that Metal up the Continent not far from them.

The next day being the 7th of October, the Boats went ashore upon the Continent, where meeting ten Canoes full of People, and they refusing to Chaffer away their Gold Plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the Admiral might learn something of them with the assistance of two Interpreters. The Gold Plate one of them wore weigh'd 14 Ducats, and the others Eagle 22. These said, that a day or two's Journey up the Country, there was abundance of

Produ the Co try.

Gold

Columbus. Gold found in some Places which they named. In the Bay a vast deal of Fish was taken, and ashore there were abundance of those Creatures above-mention'd at *Cariari*; also great plenty of their Food, such as Roots, Grain, and Fruit. The Men, who are Painted all over Face and Body of several Colours, as red, black and white, go naked, only covering their Privities with a narrow Cotton Cloth.

Aburena. From this Bay of *Caravaro*, we went to another close by it, called *Aburena*, which in some measure is like the other.

On the 17th we put out to Sea to continue our Voyage; and being come to *Gua-ga*, a River 12 Leagues from *Aburena*, the Admiral commanded the Boats to go ashore, which as they were doing, they saw above 100 *Indians* on the Strand, who assaulted them furiously, running up to the middle into the Water, brandishing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in Warlike manner, to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the Christians, chewing Herbs and spurning it towards them. Our Men not stirring endeavoured to appease them, as they did, for at last they drew near to Exchange the Gold Plates they had about their Necks, some for 2, and some for 3 Horse Bells, by which means we got 16 Gold Plates, with 150 Ducats. The next day being Friday the 19th of *October*, the Boats went to Land again to Barter; yet before any Christian went ashore, they called to some *Indians*, who were under some Bowers they had made that Night to defend their Country, fearing the Christians would Land to do them some wrong. Tho' they called never so much, yet none of them would come, nor would the Christians Land without knowing first what mind they were in; for, as afterwards appear'd they waited in order to fall on them as soon as they landed. But perceiving they came not out of the Boats, they blew their Horns, beat the Drum, and making a great noise, ran into the Water as they had done the day before, till they came almost to the Boats, making signs as if they would cast their Javelins if they did not return to the Ships. The Christians offended at this their proceeding, that they might not be so bold, and despise them, wounded one with an Arrow in the Arm, and fir'd a Cannon, at which they were so frighted, that all ran away to Land. Then four Christians landed, and calling

them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their Arms behind them, and exchange'd three Gold Plates, saying, They had no more, because they came not provided for to Trade, but to Fight.

All the Admiral look'd for in this Journey, was to get Samples of what those Parts afforded; and therefore without further delay, he proceeded to *Catiba*, and cast Anchor in the Mouth of a great River. The People of the Country were seen to gather, calling one another with Horns and Drums; and afterwards sent a Canoe with two Men in it to the Ships, who having talk'd with the *Indians* that were taken at *Cariari*, presently came aboard the Admiral without any Apprehension of Fear; and by the Advice of those *Indians* gave the Admiral two Plates of Gold they had about their Necks, and he in return gave them some Baubles of ours. When these were gone ashore, there came another Canoe with three Men wearing Plates hanging at their Necks, who did as the first had done. Amity thus settled, our Men went ashore, where they found a abundance of People with their King, who differ'd in nothing from the rest, but that he was cover'd with one Leaf of a Tree, because at that time it rain'd hard; and to give his Subjects a good Example, he exchange'd a Plate, and bid them Barter for theirs, which in all were 19 of pure Gold. This was the first Place in the *Indies* where they saw any sign of a Structure, which was a great Mass of Wall, or Imagery, that to them seem'd to be of Lime and Stone; the Admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a Memorial of that Antiquity.

He went away Eastward, and came to *Cabravo*, the People of which Place lie near the Rivers of that Coast, and because none came down to the Strand, and the Wind blew fresh, he held on his Course, and went on to five Towns of great Trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the *Indians* said the Gold was gathered and the Plates made.

The next day he came to a Town, called *Cubiga*, where the *Indians* of *Cariari* said, the Trading Country ended, which began at *Carabora*, and ran as far as *Cubiga*, for 50 Leagues along the Coast.

The Admiral, without making any stay, went on till he put into *Porto Bello*, giving it that Name, because it is large, beautiful, well-peopled, and encompass'd by a well cultivated Country. He entered this Place on the 2d of *November*, passing

passing between two small Islands, within which the Ships may lie close to the Shore, and turn it out if they have occasion. The Country about that Harbour higher up, is not very rough, but Till'd and full of Houses, & Stones throw or a Bow shot one from the other; and it looks like the finest Landskip a Man can

imagine. During seven Days we continued there on account of the Rain and Ill Weather, there came continually Canoes from all the Country about to Trade for Provisions, and Bottoms of fine Spun Cotton, which they gave for some Trifles, such as Points and Pins.

C H A P. XCIII.

How the Admiral came to Port Bastimentos, or, Nombre de Dios, and continu'd his Voyage till he put into Retrete.

ON Wednesday the 9th of November we failed out of *Porto Bello*, eight Leagues to the Eastward; but the next day were forced back four Leagues by streſs of Weather, and put in among the Islands near the Continent, where is now the Town of *Nombre de Dios*; and because all those small Islands were full of Grain, he call'd it, *Puerto de Bastimentos*, that is, the Port of Provisions.

There a Boat well Mann'd, pursuing a Canoo, the *Indians* imagining our Men would do them some harm, and perceiving the Boat was within less than a Stones throw of them, they all threw themselves into the Water to Swim away, as in effect they did; for tho' the Boat row'd hard, it could not in half a League the pursuit lasted, overtake any of them; or if it did happen to overtake one, he would Dive like a Duck, and come up again a Bow-shot or two from the place. This Chase was very pleasant, seeing the Boat labour in vain, which at last returned empty.

Here we continued till the 23th of November, refitting the Ships, and mending our Cask; and that day we sail'd Eastward to a Place called *Guiga*, there being another of the same Name between *Veragua* and *Cerago*. The Boats going ashore, found above 300 Persons on it, ready to Trade for such Provisions as they have, and some small Things of Gold they wore hanging at their Ears and Noses.

But without making any stay here, on Saturday the 24th of November, we put into a small Port, which was called *Retrete*, that is, Retir'd Place, because it could not contain above five or six Ships together, and the Mouth of it was not above 15 or 20 Paces over, and on both sides of it Rocks appearing above Water as sharp as Diamonds; and the Channel between them was so deep that they found no bottom, tho' if the Ships la-

clin'd never so little to either side, the Men might leap ashore, which was it that sav'd the Ships in that narrow place, which was the fault of those who went in the Boats to view it, they being covetous to deal with the *Indians*, and perceiving the Ships would lie there conveniently for it, close to the Shore. In this Place we continued nine days with bad Weather; and at first the *Indians* came very familiarly to Trade for such as they had, but when they saw the Christians steal privately out of their Ships, they retir'd to their Houses, because the Seamen like covetous, dissolute Men, committed a thousand Insolencies; insomuch that they provok'd the *Indians* to break the Peace, and some Skirmishes hapned between them. They increasing daily, took Courage to come up to the Ships, which, as we said, lay with their sides close to the Shore, thinking to do some harm, which Design of theirs had turn'd to their own Detriments, had not the Admiral always endeavour'd to gain them by Patience and Civility: But at last, perceiving their Insolence, to strike a Terror into them, he caus'd some pieces of Cannon to be fir'd, which they answer'd with Shouts, thrashing the Trees with Staves, and threatening by Signs, showing they did not fear the noise, for they thought it had been only a thundering to terrifie them. Therefore to abate their Pride, and make them not Contemn the Christians, the Admiral caus'd a shot to be made at a Company of them that was got together upon a Hillock, and the Ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a Thunderbolt as well as Thunder; so that for the future they durst not appear, even behind the Mountains. The People of this Country were the properest they had yet seen among the *Indians*, for they were tall and spare, without any great Bellies, and well countenanced.

Column bus.
Alligators.

The Country was all Plain, bearing little Grass, and few Trees; and in the Harbour there were vast great *Crocodiles*, or *Alligators*, which go out to stay and sleep ashore, and scatter a Scent as if all the Musk in the World were together; but they are so ravenous and cruel, that

if they find a Man sleeping, they drag him to the Water to devour him, tho' they are fearful and cowardly when attack'd. These *Alligators* are found in many other Parts of the Continent, and some do affirm they are the same as the *Crocodiles of Nile*.

C H A P. XCIV.

How the Admiral being drove by stress of Weather, stood again to Westward, to get Intelligence concerning the Mines, and enquire concerning Veragua.

ON Monday the 5th of December, the Admiral perceiving the violent East and North-East Winds did not cease, and that there was no Trading with those People, he resolv'd to go back, to be satisfied concerning what the Indians said of the Mines of *Veragua*, and therefore that day he return'd to *Porto Bello*, ten Leagues Westward; and continuing his Course the next day, was assaulted by a West Wind, which was opposit to his new Design, but favourable to that he had for 3 Months past. But he believing this Wind would not last long, did not alter his Course, but bore up against the Wind for some days, because the Weather was unsettled; and when the Weather seem'd a little favourable to go to *Veragua*, another Wind would start up and drive him towards *Porto Bello*; and when we were most in hopes to get into Port, we were quite beat off again, and sometimes with such Thunder and Lightning, that the Men durst not open their Eyes, the Ships seem'd to be just Sinking, and the Sky to come down. Sometimes the Thunder was so continued, that it was concluded, some Ship fired its Cannon to desire Assistance. Another time there would fall such Storms of Rain, that it would last violently for two or three days, inso-much that it look'd like another Universal Deluge. This perplex'd all the Men, and made them almost Despair, seeing they could not get half an hours rest, being continually wet, turning sometimes one way and sometimes another, struggling against all the Elements, and dreading them all; for in such dreadful Storms, they dread the Fire in flashes of Lightning, the Air for its fury, the Water for the terrible Waves, and the Earth for the hidden Rocks and Sands, which sometimes a Man meets with near the Port, where he hop'd for Safety, and not knowing them, chooses rather to contend with the other Elements in whom he has less share.

Terrible
Tempests
for many
days.

Besides all these Terrours, there occur'd another no less dangerous and wonderful, which was a Spout rising from the Sea, on Tuesday the 13th of December, which if they had not Dissolv'd by saying the Gospel of St. John, it had certainly sunk whatsoever it fell upon; for as has been said, it draws the Water up to the Clouds like a Pillar, and thicker than a Butt, twisting it about like a Whirlwind. That same Night we lost sight of the Ship called *Cano*, and had the good fortune to see it again after three dreadful dark days, tho' it had lost its Boat, and been in great danger, being so near Land as to cast Anchor, which it lost at long run, being forced to cut the Cable. Now it appeared that the Currents on that Coast follow the Wind, running Westward with the East-Wind, and the contrary, the Water still going after the prevailing Wind. The Ships being now almost shattered to pieces with the Tempest, and the Men quite spent with Labour, a day or two's Calm gave them some respite, and brought such multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold, especially for such as are Superstitious; because, as it is reported, That Ravens at a great distance smell out Dead Bodies; so some think these Sharks do, which if they lay hold of a Man's Arm or Leg, cut it off, like a Razor, for they have two rows of Teeth in the nature of a Saw. Such a multitude of these was killed with the Hook and Chain, that being able to destroy no more, they lay Swimming upon the Water, and they are so greedy, that they do not only Bite at Carrion, but may be taken with a red Rag upon the Hook. I have seen a Tortoise taken out of the Belly of one of these Sharks, and it afterwards liv'd aboard the Ship; but out of another was taken the whole Head of one of his own Kind, we having cut it off and thrown it into the Water,

Multit
of Shark

Water, as not good to Eat, no more than they are themselves, and that Shark had swallowed it, and to us it seem'd contrary to reason, that one Creature should swallow the Head of another of its own bigness, which is not to be admir'd because their Mouth reaches almost to their Belly, and the Head is shaped like an Olive. Tho some look'd upon them to forebode mischief, and others thought them bad Fish, yet we all made much of them by reason of the want we were in, having been now above 8 Months at Sea, so that we had consum'd all the Fish and Flesh brought from Spain; and what with the heat and moisture of the Sea, the Bisket was so full of Maggots, that, as God shall help me, I saw many that staid till Night to Eat the Potage or Brewice made of it, that they might not see the Maggots; and others were so us'd to Eat them, that they did not mind to throw them away when they saw them, because they might lose their Supper if they were so very curious.

Upon Saturday the 17th, the Admiral put into a Port 3 Leagues East of *Pennon*, which the *Indians* called *Hurva*. It was like a great Bay, where we rested 3 days, and going ashore, saw the Inhabitants dwell upon the tops of Trees, like Birds, laying Sticks across from Bough to Bough, and building Huts upon them, rather than Houses. Tho' we knew not the Reason of this strange Custom, yet we guess'd it was done for fear of the Griffins there are in that Country, or of Enemies; for all along that Coast, the People at every League distance are great Enemies to one another.

We sail'd from this Port on the 20th with fair Weather, but not settled; for as soon as we were got out to Sea, the Tempest began to Rage again, and drove us into another Port, whence we departed again the third day, the Weather seeming somewhat mended, but like an Enemy that lies in wait for a Man, rush'd out again, and forced us to *Pennon*, where when we hop'd to put in, the Wind started up so contrary, that we were drove again towards *Veragua*. Being at an Anchor in the River, the Weather became again so Stormy, that all the favour we had from it, was, that it allowed us to get into that Port, where we had been before on Thursday the 12th of same month. Here we continued from the 2d day in *Christmas*, till the 3d of *January* the following year 1503. when having repair'd the Ship called *Gallega*,

and taken aboard abundance of *Indian* Wheat, Water and Wood, we turn'd back towards *Veragua* with bad Weather and contrary Winds, which chang'd crossly, just as the Admiral alter'd his Course. And this was so strange and unheard of a thing, that I would not have repeated so many changes, if, besides my being then present, I had not seen the same written by *James Mendez*, who sail'd with the Canoes of *Jamaica*, whereof I shall speak hereafter, and write an Account of this Voyage, and the Letter the Admiral sent by him to their Catholick Majesties, which is Printed, will inform the Reader how great our Sufferings were, and how much Fortune persecuted him the ought most to favour. But to return to the Changes of Weather, and of our Course, which put us to so much trouble between *Veragua* and *Porto Bello*, for which reason, that Coast was called *Costa de Contrastes*, that is, Coast of Thwartings.

Upon Thursday, being the Feast of the *Epiphany*, we cast Anchor near a River, which the *Indians* call *Yebra*, and the Admiral nam'd *Belem*, or *Belehem*, because we came to that Place upon the Feast of the three Kings. He caus'd the Mouth of that River, and of another Westward, to be Sounded; the latter the *Indians* call *Veragua*, where he found but shoal Water, and in that of *Belem*, 4 Fathom at high Water. The Boats went up this River to the Town, where, they were inform'd the Gold Mines of *Veragua* were. At first the *Indians* were so far from converting, that they assembled with their Weapons, to hinder the Christians landing. The next day, our Boats going to the River of *Veragua*, the *Indians* there did as the others had done, and that not only ashore, but stood upon their Guard with their Canoes in the Water. But an *Indian* of that Coast, who understood them a little, going ashore with the Christians, and telling them, we were good People, and desir'd nothing but what we paid for, they were somewhat pacified, and truck'd 20 Gold Plates, some hollow pieces like Joints of Reeds, and some Grains never melted; which to make their value the more they said were gathered a great way off upon uncouth Mountains, and that when they gather'd it, they did not Eat, nor carry Women along with them, which same thing the People of *Hispaniola* said, when it was first discovered.

Wonderful changes of Weather.

Indian Policy.

Columbus.

C H A P. XCV.

How the Admiral went into the River of Belem, and resolv'd to Build a Town there, and leave his Brother the Lieutenant in it.

ON Monday the 9th of January, the Admirals Ship, and that called *Biscaina*, went up the River, and the *Indians* came presently to truck for such Things as they had, particularly Fish, which at certain times of the year comes out of the Sea up these Rivers in such quantities as seems incredible to such as do not see it; and they exchange'd some little Gold for Pins, and those things they most valued they gave for Beads or Hawks-Bells. Next day the other two Ships came in, which they had not done at first, because there being but little Water at the Mouth of the River, they were forced to stay for the Flood; tho' there the Sea never rises or falls above half a Fathom.

Veragua being fam'd for Mines and extraordinary Wealth, the third day after our arrival, the Admirals Brother went up the River with the Boats to the Town of *Quibio*, so the *Indians* call their King, who hearing of the Lieutenants coming, came down the River in his Canoes to to meet him. They met in very friendly manner, giving one another interchangeably such things as they valu'd most, and having discours'd a long time together, every one went away peaceably. Next day the said *Quibio* came aboard to visit the Admiral, and having discours'd together about an Hour, the Admiral gave him some things, and his Men truck'd Bells for some Gold, and so he return'd without any Ceremony the same way he came.

A dangerous sudden Flood.

We being thus very easie and secure, on Wednesday the 24th of January, the River of *Belem* suddenly swell'd so high, that before we could provide against it, or carry a Cable ashore, the fury of the Water came so impetuously against the Admirals Ship, that it broke one of its two Anchors, and drove her with such force against the Ship *Gallega*, which lay a-stern of it, that it brought the Foremast by the Board, and were both carried away foul of one another in utmost danger of perishing. Some judg'd the mighty Rains to have been the Cause of this mighty Flood, they having never ceased all the Winter in that Country; but had that been it, the River would have swell'd by degrees, and not all on a sudden, which made it be believed some great Shower had fallen on the Mountains of *Veragua*, which the Admiral called St. *Christopher's*, because the highest of them was above the Region of the Air, where

Meteors are bred, for no Cloud was ever seen above, but all below it. To look to it is like an Hermitage, and lies at least 20 Leagues up the Country, in the midst of woody Mountains, whence we believed that Flood came which was so dangerous, that tho' it brought Water enough to carry the Ships out to Sea, the Wind was then so boisterous, that they must have been shatter'd to pieces at the Mouth of the River, distant half a Mile from whence they broke loose. This Tempest lasted so long, that we had time enough to refit and Caulk the Ships. The Waves broke so furiously upon the Mouth of the River, that the Boats could not go out to Discover along the Coast, to learn where the Mines lay, and choose a Place to build a Town; the Admiral having resolv'd to leave his Brother there with most of the Men, that they might settle and subdue that Country, whilst he went to *Spain* to send Supplies of Men and Provisions. Upon this Prospect, the Weather growing Calmer, on Monday the 6th of February, he sent his Brother with 68 Men by Sea to the Mouth of *Veragua* River, a League distant from *Belem* Westward, and he went a League and half up the River, to the *Caciques* Town, where he staid a day enquiring out the way to the Mines.

On Wednesday they travell'd four Leagues and a half, and came to lie near a River, which they pass'd 44 times, and the next day advanced a League and half towards the Mines, show'd them by *Indians* sent by *Quibio* to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither, every Man gather'd some Gold about the Roots of the Trees, which were there very thick, and of a prodigious height. This Sample was much valued, because none of those that went had any Tools to dig, or had ever gather'd any. Therefore the Design of their Journey being only to get Information of the Mines, they return'd very well pleas'd that same day to *Veragua*, and the next to the Ships. True it is, that, as was afterwards known, these Mines, were not those of *Veragua*, GoldM which lay much nearer, but of *Uirra*, of Uirra a Town whose People are Enemies to those of *Veragua*, to do whom a displeasure, *Quibio* ordered the Christians to be conducted thither, and that they might go away to those and leave us.

C H A P. XCVI.

How the Admirals Brother went to see some Towns of that Province; with an Account of the Country, and Customs of those People.

ON Thursday the 14th of Febr. 1503. the Admirals Brother went into the Country with 40 Men, a Boat following with 14. The next day they came to the River of *Urira*, 7 Leagues from *Belem* Westward. The *Cacique* came out a League from his Town to meet him, with 20 Men, and presented him with such Things as they feed on, and some Gold Plates were Exchang'd here. Whilst they were here, the *Cacique*, and Chief Men, never ceased putting a dry Herb into their Mouths and Chewing it, and sometimes they took a sort of Powder they carried with that Herb, which looks very odd. Having rested here a while, the Christians and *Indians* went together to the Town, where abundance of People came out to them, and assign'd them a great House to lie in, giving them much to Eat. Soon after came the *Cacique* of *Dumuri*, which is a Neighbouring Town, with a great many *Indians*, who brought some Gold Plates to truck; all these *Indians* said, there were *Caciques* up the Country, who had plenty of Gold, and abundance of Men arm'd like ours. Next day, the Lieutenant ordered the rest of his Men to return by Land to the Ships, and he with 30, he kept with him, held on his Journey towards *Zobaba*, where the Fields for above 6 Leagues were all full of *Mais*, like Corn-Fields. Thence he went to *Cacaba*, another Town; at both Places he was well entertained, abundance of Provisions given him, and some Gold Plates truck'd, which, as has been said, are like the Paten of a Chalice, some bigger and some less, weighing 12 Ducats more or less; they wear them about their Necks, hanging by a String, as we do Relicks. The Lieutenant being now very far from the Ships, without finding any Port along that Coast, or any River bigger than that of *Belem* to settle his Colony, he came back the same way on the 24th of February, bringing above Ducats in Gold he had Exchanged for. As soon as he return'd, presently order was taken for his stay, and 80 Men being appointed to remain with him, they agreed by ten and ten, or more or less in a Gang, and began to build Houses upon the Bank of the aforesaid River of *Belem*, about a Cannon shot from the Mouth of it,

within a Trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the River, at the Mouth of which there is a little Hill. Besides these Houses, which were all of Timber, and covered with Palm-Tree Leaves, which grew along the Shore, another large House was built, to serve as a Store-House and Magazine, into which several pieces of Cannon, Powder, and Provisions were put, and other Necessaries for the Support of the Planters. But for Wine, Bisket, Oil, Vinegar, Cheefe, and much Grain, which was all they had to Eat; these things were left in the safest place, aboard the Ship call'd *Gallega*, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, that he might make use of it either at Sea, or ashore, having all its Cordage, Nets, Hooks, and other Fishing Tackle; for as we have said, there is vast plenty of Fish in that Country in every River, several sorts at certain times running along the Coast in Shoals, on which the People of the Country feed more than upon Flesh; for tho' there be some sorts of Beasts they are not enough to maintain them. The Customs of these *Indians* are for the most part much like those of *Hispaniola*, and the Neighbouring Islands; but these People of *Feragua*, and the Country about it, when they talk to one another, and Eat, turn their Backs, and are always Chewing an Herb, which we look upon to be the occasion that their Teeth are decay'd and rotten. Their Food is Fish, which they take with Nets, and Hooks made of Tortoise-shell, which they cut with a Thread, as if they were Sawing; the same they use in the Islands. They have another way of catching some very small Fishes, which in *Hispaniola* they call *Titi*. These at certain times being drove to the Shore by the Rains, are so persecuted by the bigger Fish, that they are forced up to the Surface of the Water, where the *Indians* take as many as they will of them in little Mats, or small Nets, and wrap them up in Leaves of Trees, as Apothecaries do their Drugs; and having dried them in an Oven, they keep a long time. They also catch Pilchards almost in the same manner; for at certain times these Fishes fly from the great ones so violently, and in such fear, that they leap out two or three Paces upon the dry Land, so that there is no more

Indians manner Fishing.

Colony at Belem.

Canoe to
Canoe to

to do, but to take them as they do the others. These Pilchards are taken after another manner; for in the middle of their Canoes, from Stern to Stern, they raise a partition of Palm-Tree Leaves two yards high, and plying about the River they make a noise, and beat the Shore with their Oars, and then the Pilchards, to fly from the other Fish, leap into the Canoe, and hitting against those Leaves fall in, by which means they take as many as they please. Several sorts of Fish pass along the Coast in Shoals, whereof wonderful quantities are taken, which they keep roasted a long time. They have also an abundance of *Mauz*, which is a sort of Grain growing in an Ear, or hard Head like *Miller*, whereof they make white and red Wine, as Beer is made in *England*, and mix of their Spice with it, as pleases their Pallat; it has a pleasant taste like a sharp brisk Wine: They also make another sort of Wine of certain Trees like Palms; and I believe they are of that kind, but that they are smooth, and have such Prickles on the Trunk as the Thorn. From the Pith of this Palm, which is like

Indian
Wines.

Palmitoes squeeze'd, they draw a Juice, whereof they make Wine, Boiling with it Water and Spice; and this they make great account of. They make another Wine of the Fruit we said is found in the Island *Guadalupe*, which is like a great Pine-Apple: It is planted in great Fields, and the Plant is a Sprout growing out at the top of the Fruit it self, like that which grows out of a Cabbage or Lattice. One Plant lasts 3 or 4 years, and bears. They make Wine of other sorts of Fruit, particularly of one that grows upon very high Trees, and is as big as a large Limon, and every one has two, three, and some nine Stones like Nuts, but they are not round, but long, or like a Chestnut. The Rind of this Fruit is like a Pomegranate, and when first taken from the Tree it resembles it exactly, save only that it wants the prickly Circle at the top. The Taste of it is like a Peach: of these some are better, some worse, as is usual among other Fruit. There are of them in the Islands, and the *Indians* call them *Mamei*.

C H A P. XCVII.

How for the greater Security of the Christian Colony, Quibio, and several of the principal Men were made Prisoners, and how through the Carelessness of his Keepers, he made his Escape.

The Mouth
of the Ri-
ver shoal'd
up with
Sand.

ALL things were now settled for the Christian Colony, and 10 or 12 Houses Built and Thatch'd, and the Admiral ready to Sail for *Spain*, when he fell into greater Danger for want of Water, than he had been before by the Inundation. For the great Rains of *January* being over, the Mouth of the River was so choak'd up with Sand, that whereas when they came in, there was about ten Foot Water, which was scant enough, when we would have gone out there were not two foot, so that we were shut up without any help, it being impossible to get the Ships over the Sand, and though there had been such an Engine, the Sea was so boisterous, that the least Wave which beats upon the Shore was enough to beat the Ships in pieces, especially ours, which were at this time like a Honey-Comb, being all Worm-eaten through and through. We had nothing left but to have recourse to God, and beg Rain of him, as before we pray'd for fair Weather; for the Rain we knew would swell the River, and clear the Sand from the Mouth of it, as is usual in those Rivers. It being in the mean while

discovered by means of the Interpreter, that *Quibio*, the *Cauque* of *Veragua* intended to set Fire to the Houses and Destroy the Christians, because all the *Indians* were against their Planting upon that River. It was therefore thought fit, as a Punishment to him, and a Terror and Example to others, to make him a Prisoner with all his chief Men, and send them into *Spain*, and that his Town should remain at the disposal of the Christians.

To this purpose, the Lieutenant, on the 30th of *March*, went with 76 Men to the Town or Village of *Veragua*; and because I call it a Town or Village, it is to be observ'd that in those Parts their Houses are not close together, but they live as in *Biscay* at some distance from one another. When *Quibio* understood that the Lieutenant was come near, he sent him word not to come up to his House, which stood upon a Hill above the River of *Veragua*; and the Lieutenant, that he might not fly for fear of him, resolv'd to go with only 5 Men, ordering those he left behind to come after him, two and two, at some distance from

from one another, and when they heard a Musquet fired, they should beset the House, that none might escape. Being come up to the House, *Quibio* sent another Messenger, bidding him not go in, for he would come out to talk to him, tho' he was wounded with an Arrow, which they do that their Women may not be seen, being wonderful jealous of them. Accordingly he came and sat at the Door, bidding only the Lieutenant come near him, who did so, ordering the rest to fall on, as soon as he laid hold of his Arm. He ask'd the *Cacique* some Questions concerning his Indisposition, and the Affairs of the Country by the Assistance of an *Indian* he had, whom we had taken not far off above Three Months since, and he willingly went along with us. This Man was then much afraid, for knowing that *Quibio* design'd to destroy all the Christians, and not knowing our Strength, he thought that might easily be done by the great multitude of People there was in that Province. But the Lieutenant minded not his fear, and pretending to look where the *Cacique* was wounded, he took him by the Arm, and tho' they were both very strong, yet the Lieutenant took such good hold, that he lost it not till the other four came up, which done, one of them fir'd a Musquet, and on a sudden all the Christians running out of their Ambush, beset the House, in which there were 30 People great and small, most of which were taken and never a one wounded, for they seeing their King taken, would make no Resistance. Among these there were some Wives and Children of *Quibio*, and other Men of Note, who offered great Wealth, saying, There was a great Treasure in the adjoining Wood, and they would give it all for their Ranfom. But the Lieutenant not regarding their Promises, ordered *Quibio*, with his Wives and Children, and the principal Men, to be carried aboard, before the Country took the alarm, staying himself there with most of the Men, to go after his Kindred and Subjects who were fled. Then having consulted with the Captains and Chief Men, whom they

should intrust to Conduct the Prisoners to the Mouth of the River; he at last delivered them to *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, a Pilot, and a Man in good Reputation, he offering to carry them, the *Cacique* being bound Hands and Feet; and this Pilot being charg'd to take special Care that the *Cacique* should not escape, he answered, He would give them leave to pull of his Beard if he got from him. So he took him into his Custody, and went down the River of *Veragua*. Being come within half a League of the Mouth of it, and *Quibio* complaining that his hands were too hard bound, *John Sanchez* out of Compassion, loosed him from the Seat of the Boat, to which he was tied, and held the Rope in his Hand. A little after, *Quibio* observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the Water; and *John Sanchez*, not being able to hold fast the Rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the Water. Night coming on, and those in the Boat being all in a Confusion, they could not see or hear where he got ashore, so that they heard no more of him than if a Stone had fallen into the Water: That the like might not happen with the rest of the Prisoners, they held on their way to the Ships with much shame for their Carelessness and Oversight. The next day, the Lieutenant, perceiving the Country was very mountainous and woody, and that there were no regular Towns, but one House here and another at a great distance, and that it would be very difficult to pursue the *Indians* from place to place, he resolved to return to the Ships with his Men, not one of them being either killed or wounded. He presented the Admiral with the Plunder of *Quibio's* House, worth about 300 Ducats, in Gold Plates, little Eagles, and small Quills which they string and wear about their Arms and Leggs, and in gold Twists which they put about their Head in the Nature of a Coronet. All which Things, deducting only the 5th part for their Catholick Majesties, he divided among those that went upon the Expedition: And to the Lieutenant, in token of Victory, was given one of those Crowns or Coronets above-mentioned.

C H A P. ^o XCIII.

How after the Admiral was gone from Belem to return to Spain, *Quibio* assaulted the Christian Colony, in which Engagement there were many kill'd and wounded

Al things being provided for the maintenance of the Colony, and the Rules and Methods for them to be

govern'd by settled, by the Admiral, it pleas'd God to send so much Rain, as swell'd the River and open'd the Mouth

Columbus.
The Admiral
sails.

of it; wherefore the Admiral resolv'd to depart with all speed for *Hispaniola*, to send speedy Supplies to this Place. Having waited for a Calm that the Sea might not beat upon the Mouth of the River, we went out with 3 Ships, the Boats going a-head and Towing us. Yet never a one went out so cleverly, but his Keel raced upon the Sand, and had been in danger notwithstanding the Calm but that those are loose moving Sands. Then we presently took in all we had unladed to lighten the Ships that they might get out. As we lay waiting for a fair Wind upon the open Coast, a League from the Mouth of the River, it pleas'd God miraculously to give us an occasion of sending the Admirals Boat ashore, as well for Water, as for other necessary Affairs, that by the loss of these, both those ashore, and those in the Ships might be sav'd, which hapned thus. When *Quibio*, and the *Indians*, saw that the Ships were without, and could not relieve them that were left behind, they assaulted the Christian Colony at the same time that the Boat came to the shore. They having not been discover'd by reason of the thickness of the Wood; when they came within ten Paces of our Mens Houses, fell on with great Shouts, casting Javelins at those they spied, and at the very Houses, which being covered with Palm-Tree Leaves, were easily struck through and through, and so sometimes they wounded those within. Having thus surpriz'd our Men thinking of no such thing, they wounded 4 or 5 before they could put themselves into a posture of Defence. But the Lieutenant being a Man of great Resolution, he went out against the Enemy with a Spear, encouraging his Men, and falling furiously on the *Indians*, with 7 or 8 that followed him, so that he made them retire to the Wood, which as we said was close to the Houses. Thence they return'd and skirmish'd, casting their Javelins, and then retiring, as the *Spaniards* use to do in the Sport they call *Juego de Camas*, many of them flying from the Christians after they had felt the edge of their Swords, and the Teeth of a Dog, who furiously fell in among them; so that at length they fled, having kill'd one Christian, and wounded 7, one of which was the Lieutenant, who was hurt with a Javelin in the Breast; from which danger two Christians took care to preserve themselves, which Story I will relate to show the Comicalness of the one, who was an *Italian of Lombardy*, and the *Gravest* of the *Indians* who was a *Spaniard*.

Indians
attack the
new Colony

The *Lombard* running hastily to hide himself in a House, *James Mendez*, of whom mention will be made hereafter, said to him, Turn, Turn back *Sebastian*, Whither are you going? He answered, Let me go, you Devil, for I am going to secure my Person. The *Spaniard* was Captain *James Trifan*, whom the Admiral sent ashore in the Boat, who never went out of it with his Men, tho' the fray was just by the River; and being blam'd by some for not assisting the Christians, he answer'd, He said he did it that those ashore might not run to the Boat and so all perish, because if the Boat were lost, the Admiral would be in danger at Sea, and therefore he would do no more than he had been commanded, which was to take in Water, and to see whether there was any need of his assistance. Resolving therefore to take in the Water immediately, that he might carry the Admiral an Account of what had hapned, he went up the River for it, where the Sweet did not mix with the Salt, tho' some advis'd him not to go for the danger there was of the *Indians* and their Canoes; to which he answered, he did not fear that danger, since he was sent for that purpose by the Admiral. Accordingly he went up the River, which is very deep within, and shelter'd on both sides with abundance of Trees, which come to the edge of the Water, and so thick that there is scarce any going ashore, except in some Places which are the Fishermens Paths, and where they hide their Canoes. As soon as the *Indians* perceived he was got about a League from the Colony up the River, they rush'd out from the thickest on both sides the River in their Canoes, and making a hideous Noise, blowing their Horns, assaulted him boldly on all sides with great odds on their side, because their Canoes being swift, and one Man being enough to command and turn them which way they please, especially those that are little, and belong to the Fishermen, 3 or 4 Men came in each of them, one of whom row'd, and the rest cast their Javelins at those in the Boat; I call them Javelins because of their bigness, tho' they have no Iron-Heads, but only Points of Fish Bones. There being but 7 or 8 Men in our Boat who row'd, and the Captain with 3 or 4 Men for Fight, they could not cover themselves against the many Javelins they threw at them, and therefore they were forced to quit the Oars to take up their Targets. But there was such a multitude of *Indians*, who pour'd in on all sides, coming up and retiring in

Ind
kill
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Boat

good order, as they thought fit, that they wounded most of the Christians, especially the Captain, who was hurt in many Places; and tho' he stood unmov'd encouraging his Men, it avail'd him nothing; for he was beset on all sides, and could not stir, nor make use of his Muskets, till at last they struck a Javelin into his Eye, and he fell down Dead; and all the rest came to the like Fate, except one *John de Noia* of *Sevil*, who by good luck in the height of the Fray fell into the Water, and Diving got to the shore, and made his way through the thickest of the Wood to the Colony to carry the News of what had hapned. This so terrified our Men, that seeing they were but a few, some of their Companions being kill'd, and others wounded, and that the Admiral was at Sea without a Boat, and in danger not to return to a Place whence he might send them relief, they resolv'd not to stay there; and accordingly would have gone away immediately without any Orders, had not the Mouth of the River hindred, the bad Weather having shut it up again, for neither could the Ship they had left them get out, nor durst any

Boat attempt it, because the Sea beat so violently, so that there was no sending, the Admiral Advice of what had hapned. He was in no less danger himself, riding in an open Road, having no Boat, and but few Men, so many having been kill'd: So that we were all in the same Trouble and Confusion, as they were within, who considering what had hapned, and seeing those that had been killed in the Boat drive down the River covered with Wounds, and followed by the Country Crows, look'd upon these things as ill Omens, and dreaded coming to the same end; and the more because they perceived the *Indians* were puff'd up with their Success, infomuch that they gave them not a Minutes respite by reason of the ill Situation of the Colony; and there is no doubt but they must have all suffer'd, had they not advis'd to remove to an open Strand Eastward, where they made a work round them with the Casks and other things, and planting the Cannon in convenient Places defended themselves, the *Indians* not daring to come out of the Wood, because of the mischief the Bullets did among them.

C H A P. XCIX.

How the Indians that were kept Prisoners aboard made their Escape, and the Admiral was inform'd of the Ill Success of his Men.

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emphases
W Hilst these things hapned, the Admiral waited ten days with much Trouble, and suspecting what might fall out, till the Sea would settle, that he might send another Boat to know what it was that detain'd the first; but Fortune thwarting him in all things, would not allow us to hear of one another; and to add to our Affliction, it hapned that the Sons and Kindred of *Quibio*, whom we kept Prisoners aboard the Ship *Bermuda*, to carry them to *Spain*, found means to escape thus. At Night, they were kept under Hatches, and the Scuttle being so high that they could not reach it, the Watch forgot to fasten it with a Chain as they used to do, especially because some Seamen lay upon it. The Prisoners therefore one Night, gathering the Stones that were in the Hold under the Scuttle, and raising themselves on them, set their Shoulders against it, and forced it open, tumbling those that lay on it over and over, and some of the principal Men, leaping out, cast themselves into the Sea. The Seamen taking the Alarm, many of them could not get out; and the Scuttle being fastned with the Chain, better care was
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taken, but those that remain'd in Despair, because they could not get off with their Companions, hang'd themselves with the Ropes they could come at, and so were found the next Morning, their Feet and Knees dragging upon the bottom of the Hold, the Place not being high enough for them to hang without touching, so that all the Prisoners aboard that Ship escap'd or died. Tho' this loss was not material to the Ships, yet besides that it increas'd the number of Mistortunes, it was fear'd it might be hurtful to those ashore; because *Quibio* would willingly have made Peace with them to get his Children, and now there being no Hostage left, there was cause to suspect he would make War with the greater fury. Being thus afflicted amidst so many Troubles and Disasters, having nothing to trust to but our Anchors and Cables, without knowing any thing from shore, there wanted not those, who said, that since those *Indians* only to obtain their liberty, had ventur'd to leap into the Sea above a League from shore, they to save themselves, and so many more, would be content to Swim ashore, provided that Boat
8 K which

Columbus

which remain'd would carry them as far as where the Waves did not break. I say one Boat remain'd which was that of the Ship *Bermuda*, for that of the *Biscaina* we said before was lost in the fray, so that they had only that one Boat at present among the 3 Ships. The Admiral hearing these Seamens honest proposal, allow'd of it, and so the Boat carried them within a Musket shot of Land, not being able to go nearer without great danger, because of the great Waves that broke on it. There one *Pierre de Ledesma*, a Pilot of *Sevil*, threw himself into the Water, and with a good Heart got to shore, where he learnt the Condition our Men were in, and how they all unanimously said, they would not upon any account remain there in that forlorn Condition and therefore desired the Admiral not to Sail till he had

A Spaniard swims ashore.

taken them off, for to leave them there was Sacrificing of them, and the more because there were already Divisions among them, and they Obey'd neither the Admirals Brother, nor the Captains, and all their Care was upon the first fair Weather, to secure a Canoo and go aboard, because this could not be conveniently done with only one Boat that was left them; and if the Admiral would not receive them, they would endeavour to save their Lives aboard that Ship which was left them, and rather trust Fortune than be at the Mercy of the *Indians*, who would inhumanly Butcher them. With this Answer, *Peter de Ledesma*, returned to the Boat which waited for him, and thence to the Ships, where he gave the Admiral an Account how Matters stood.

C H A P. C.

How the Admiral brought off the Men he had left at Belem, and struck over to Jamaica.

THE Admiral understanding the Rout, the Confusion, and Despair those ashore were in, he resolv'd to stay and bring them off, tho' not without great danger, because his Ships lay in an open Road, out of all shelter, and without hopes of escaping had the Weather grown more boisterous. But it pleased God in 8 days he continued there, the Weather mended so much, that those ashore with their Boat, and large Canoes fast bound together, that they might not over-set, began to gather their Goods, and every one striving to be none of the last, they used such diligence, that in two days nothing was left ashore but the Hulk of the Ship, which by reason of the Worms was unfit for Service. Thus rejoicing we were all together again, we sailed up that Coast Eastward; for tho' all the Pilots were of Opinion that we might return to *St. Domingo* standing away to the North, yet only the Admiral and his Brother, knew it was requisite to run a considerable way up that Coast, before they struck across that Gulph that is between the Continent and *Hispaniola*, which our Men were much displeased at, thinking the Admiral design'd directly for *Spain*, whereas he neither had Provisions, nor were his Ships fit for that Voyage. But he knowing best what was fit to be done, we held on our Course till we came to *Porto Bella*, where we were forced to leave the Ship *Biscaina* it was so Leaky, being all Worm-eaten through and through. And holding along up the Coast, we pass'd by the Port we

The New Colony abandoned.

call'd *Retrete*, and a Country near which there were abundance of small Islands, which the Admiral called *las Barbas*, but the *Indians* and Pilots, call that the Territory of the Cacique *Pocorosa*: Hence we held on 10 Leagues to the last Land we saw of the Continent, call'd *Marmora*, and on Monday the first of May 1503. we stood to the Northward, the Wind and Currents East, which made us lie as near the Wind as we could. And tho' all the Pilots said, we should be East of the *Caribbee* Islands; yet the Admiral fear'd he should not make *Hispaniola*, which prov'd so; for upon Wednesday the 10th of the same Month of May, we were in sight of two very small and low Islands, full of Tortoises, as was all the Sea about; inso-much that they look'd like little Rocks, for which reason those Islands were call'd *Tortugas*, or, *Tortoisers*. Sailing on Northwards, on Friday following about Evening, 30 Leagues from those Islands, we came to those call'd *Jardin de la Reina*, or the *Queen's Garden*, which is a great number of Islands on the Southside of *Cuba*. Being here at an Anchor, 10 Leagues from *Cuba*, with Men and Trouble enough, because they had nothing to Eat but Bisket, with some little Oil and Vinegar, labouring day and night at the Pump, because the Ships were so Worm-eaten they were ready to sink, a great Storm arose in the night, and the Ship *Bermuda* not being able to ride it out, ran foul of us, and broke our Stem, and its own Stern, and tho' with much difficulty, because of the

Tortug Islands.

the roughness of the Sea and high Wind, it pleas'd God they got loose from one another, and tho' we cast all our Anchors none would hold, but the Sheet-Anchor, whose Cable when day appeared, we found held but by a Thread, which if the night had lasted an hour longer, must have given way, and all that place being full of Rocks, we could not miss splitting upon some of those that a-stern us. But it pleas'd God to deliver us here, as he had done from many other Dangers. And so Sailing hence with much Toil, we came to an *Indian* Town on the Coast of *Cuba*, called *Mataia*, where having got some Refreshment, we sail'd for *Jamaica*, for the East Winds and great Currents setting Westward, would not permit us to stand for *Hispaniola*, especially the Ships being so Worm-eaten, that, as has been said, we never ceas'd day and night working at 3 Pumps in each of them, and if any one broke, whilst it was mended, we were forced to supply the want of it with Kettles. For all this, the Night before *Mid-*

summer-Eve, the Water was so high in our Ship, that there was no draining of it, for it came almost up to the Deck; and with much Labour we held out in that manner till day appearing we put into a Harbour in *Jamaica* called *Puerto Bueno*, or, *Good Harbour*; which tho' good to take shelter against a Storm, had no fresh Water, nor any Town near it. Having made the best shift we could, on the day after the Feast of *St. John*, we set out for another Harbour Eastward, called *Santa Gloria*, or *Holy Glory*, which is enclos'd with Rocks. Being got in and no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, we run them ashore as far in as we could, stranding them close together board and board, and shoaring them up on both sides, fixt them so that they could not budge, and in this posture the Water came up almost to the Deck, upon which, and the Poop and Forecastle, were Sheds made for the Men to lie in, to secure our selves, that the *Indians* might not hurt us, because the Island was not then inhabited or Subdued by *Christians*.

The Admiral runs his Ships aground.

C H A P. CI.

How the Admiral sent Canoo's from Jamaica to Hispaniola, to give Advice that he was cast ashore there with his Men.

BEING thus fortified in our Ships about a Bow-shot from Land, the *Indians*, who were a peaceable good natur'd People, came in their Canoo's to Sell Provisions, and such things as they had, for our Commodities. Therefore, that there might not be some disorder committed among the *Christians*, and that they might not take more in Exchange than was fitting, and the others might have their Due, the Admiral appointed two Persons to oversee the Buying of such Things as they brought, and to divide daily among the Men what was Exchanged, because there was nothing left aboard to subsist on, as well because most of the Provisions were spent, as for that the rest was spoil'd and some lost when the Men came away from *Belem*, where the Haste and Confusion hindered things being brought off as they should. That we might be supplied with Sustenance, it pleas'd God to direct us to that Island, which abounds in Provisions, and is inhabited by *Indians* who are willing enough to Trade, and therefore they resorted from all Parts to Barter such Commodities as they had. For this reason, and that the *Christians* might not disperse about the Island, the Admiral chose to fortifie himself upon the Sea, and not settle a dwelling ashore, because we being

naturally Disobedient, no Command or Punishment would have kept the Men from running about the Country and into the Houses of the *Indians*, to take from them what they found, and thus they would have anger'd their Wives and Children, which would have caus'd Quarrels and made them our Enemies, and the taking their Provisions by force, would have reduc'd us to great want and distress. This could not happen now, because the Men were aboard, and there was no going ashore without leave, which pleas'd the *Indians*, who sold 2 *Fluties*, which are little Creatures like Rabbits, for a Bit of Tin, and Cakes of Bread, they call *Zah*, for 2 or 3 red or yellow Glass-Beads, and when they brought a quantity of any thing, they had a Hawks-Bell, and sometimes we gave a *Cacique*, or Great Man, a little Looking-glass, or red Cap, or a pair of Sizzers to please them. This good Order kept the Men plentifully supplied with Provisions, and the *Indians* were well pleased with our Company. But it being requisite to find some means to return to *Spain*, the Admiral sometimes consulted with the Captains and principal Men about the means of getting out of that Confinement, and at least returning to *Hispaniola*; for to stay there in hopes

some

some Ship might arrive was a mere folly, and to think to build a Vessel was impossible, having neither Tools nor Workmen fit to do any thing to the purpose, but what would take up a long time, and not produce such a Vessel as was fit to sail against the Winds and Currents that prevail among those Islands, and therefore it had been only time lost, and would rather have prov'd our Ruin than Relief. Therefore after many Consultations, the Admiral resolv'd to send to *Hispaniola* to give an Account that he was cast ashore on that Island, and desired a Ship might be sent him with Provisions and Ammunition. To this purpose he made choice of two Persons that might perform it faithfully and courageously: I say courageously, because it seem'd impossible to go over from one Island to the other in Canoes, and there was no other way for it. These being Boats, as has been said above, made of one single Tree hollow'd, and so contriv'd that when they are loaded, they are not a Span above Water. Besides they must be indifferent large for that passage, because little ones would be more dangerous, and the biggest by reason of their own weight were not fit for a long Voyage, or to perform what was deligu'd. Two Canoo's fit for the purpose being chose, the Admiral in July 1503. order'd *James Mendez de Segura*, his chief Secretary to go in one of them with six *Christians* and 10 *Indians* to row, and in the other he sent *Bartholomew Fiesco*, a *Genoise* Gentleman, with the like number of Men; that as soon as *James Mendez* got over to *Hispaniola*, he might continue his Journey to *St. Domingo*, which was 250 Leagues from the Place where we

Canoo's
sent over
to Hispaniola.

were, and *Fiesco* might return to bring the News that the other was safe arriv'd, and we might not be left in fear least some Disaster had befallen him, which there was much cause to fear; considering, as has been said, how unfit a Canoo is to live upon a rough Sea, especially when there were *Christians* in it; for if there were none but *Indians* the danger had not been so great, because they are so dextrous, that tho' a Canoo oversets when they are half way over, they turn it up again, Swimming and get into it. But Honour and Necessity putting Men upon bolder Attempts than this, the Persons above-mentioned took their way along the Coast of *Jamaica* to the Eastermost Point of it, which the *Indians* call *Aoamaquique* from a Cacique of that Province so called, 33 Leagues from *Mama*, where we were. There being 30 Leagues distance between the two Islands, and nothing in the way but one little Island or Rock 8 Leagues from *Hispaniola*, it was requisite to expect a Calm in order to cross over so great a Sea in such poor Vessels, which it pleas'd God they soon had. Every *Indian* having put aboard his Calabash of Water and *Carrabi*, or such Provisions as they use, and the *Christians* with Swords and Targets, and the necessary Sustenance, they put out to Sea; and the Admirals Brother, who went to that Point of *Jamaica* to see that the *Indians* of the Island should no way hinder them, staid there till night coming on, he lost sight of them, and then return'd easily towards the Ships, in his way perceiving the People of the Country to Converse and be Friendly with us.

C H A P. CII.

How the Brothers, called Porras, with many of the Men, Mutinied against the Admiral, saying, They would go to Spain.

When the Canoo's were gone for *Hispaniola*, the Men left aboard the Ships began to fall sick, as well by reason of the Hardships endur'd during the Voyage, as the change of Diet; for at present they had no Spanish Provisions, nor Wine, nor Flesh, except some of those *Indies* we have spoke of, they hapned to get in Exchange. So that those who were Sound, thinking it very hard to be so long confin'd, did not forbear to Mutter among themselves in private; saying, the Admiral would return into *Spain* no more, because their Catholick Majesties had turn'd him off, nor much

Mutiny
against
the Admiral.

less to *Hispaniola*, where he had been refus'd admittance at his coming from *Spain*, and that he had sent those in the Canoo's into *Spain* to sollicite his own Affairs, and not to bring Ships or other Succours, and that he design'd, whilst they were solliciting their Catholick Majesties to stay there to fulfill his Banishment, for otherwise *Bartholomew Fiesco* had been come back by this time, as was given out he was to do. Besides, they knew not, whether he and *James Mendez* were drown'd by the way; which, if it had hapned, they should never be reliev'd, if they did not take care for it themselves, since the Admiral

Limbs

Admiral did not seem to look to it for the Reasons aforesaid, and because of the Gout, which had so seiz'd all his Limbs, that he could scarce stir in his Bed, much less undergo the Fatigue and Danger of going over to *Hispaniola* in Canoo's. For which Reasons, they ought with a good Heart to fix their Resolution, since they were well, before they fell sick, with the rest, that it would not be in the Admirals Power to hinder them; and being once in *Hispaniola*, they would be so much the better receiv'd, by how much the danger they left him in was greater, because of the Hatred and Enmity born him by the Commandary *Lares*, then Governor of that Island; and that when they went into *Spain* they might go to the Bishop *D. John de Fonseca*, who would favour them, as would the Treasurer *Morales*, who kept for his Mistress the Sister of those *Porras's*, the Ringleaders of the Mutineers, and chief Fomenters of the Sedition, who did not doubt but they should be well receiv'd by their Catholick Majesties, before whom all the Fault would be laid upon the Admiral, as had been in the Affairs of *Hispaniola* with *Roldan*; and their Majesties would the rather Seize him and take all he had, than be oblig'd to perform all that was agreed upon between them and him. These and the like Arguments they us'd among themselves, and the Persuasions and Suggestions of the aforesaid Brothers, one of whom was Captain of the Ship *Bermuda*, and the other Controller to the Squadron, prevailed with 48 Men to join in this Conspiracy, taking *Porras* for their Captain; and every one provided what he could against the day and hour appointed; and being all ready with their Arms, on the 2d of *January* in the morning, the aforesaid Captain *Francis de Porras* came upon the Quarter-Deck of the Admirals Ship, and said to him, My Lord, What is the meaning that you will not go into *Spain*, and will keep us all here perishing? The Admiral hearing these unusual insolent Words, and suspecting what the matter might be, very calmly answer'd, He did not see which way they could go, till those that were gone in the Canoo's sent a Ship. That no Man was more desirous to be gone than he, as well for his own private Interest, as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that if he had any thing else to propose, he would again call together the Captains and principal Men to Consult, as had been done several times before. *Porras* replied, It was no time to talk, but that he should Embark quickly, or stay there by himself, and so turning

his Back, added in a loud Voice, I am going to *Spain* with those that will follow me, at which time all his Followers, who were present, began to cry out, We will go with you, We will go with you, and running about, possess themselves of the Forecastle, Poop, and Round Tops, all in Confusion; and Crying, Let them Die; others, For *Spain*, for *Spain*; and others, What shall we do Captain? Though the Admiral was then in Bed so Lame of the Gout that he could not stand; yet he could not forbear rising and stumbling out at this Noise. But 2 or 3 worthy Persons, his Servants, laid hold of, and with labour laid him in his Bed, that the Mutineers might not Murder him. Then they ran to his Brother, who was courageously come out with a Half-Pike in his Hand; and wresting it out of his Hands, put him in to his Brother, desiring Captain *Porras* to go about his Business, and not do some Mischief they might all suffer for, that he might be satisfied they did not oppose his going; but if he should kill the Admiral, he could not expect but to be severely punish'd, without hopes of any Benefit. The Tumult being somewhat appeas'd, the Conspirators took ten Canoo's, that were by the Ships side, and which the Admiral had bought all about the Island, and went aboard them as joyfully as if they had been in some Port of *Spain*. Upon this, many more, who had no hand in the Plot, in Despair to see themselves as they thought forsaken, taking what they could along with them, went aboard the Canoo's with them, to the great Sorrow and Affliction of those few faithful Servants, who remain'd with the Admiral, and of all the Sick, who thought themselves lost for ever, and without hopes of ever getting off. And it is certain, that had the People been well, not 20 Men had remain'd with the Admiral, who went out to Comfort his Men with the best Words the posture of his Affairs would suggest; and the Mutineers, with their Captain, *Francis de Porras*, in their Canoo's, went away for the East-point of the Island, whence *James Mendez* and *Fresco* went over for *Hispaniola*; and whosoever they came, they insulted the *Indians*, taking away their Provisions, and what else they pleas'd by force; and telling them, they might go to the Admiral and he would Pay them, but in case he did not, they might kill him, which was the best thing they could do; because he was not only Hated by the *Christians*, but had been the Cause of all the Mischief had befallen the *Indians* of the other Island, and would do the same

Mutineers go over the Coast of the Island.

The first Discovery of

by them, if they did not prevent it by his Death, for that was his Design in staying there. Thus travelling to the Easternmost Point of *Jamaica*, the first Calm they set out for *Hispaniola*, carrying some *Indians* in every Canoo to row. But the Weather not being well settled, and their Canoo's over loaded, they resolv'd to return to *Jamaica* before they were 4 Leagues at Sea, the Wind turning against them, and they being able to make but little way. Besides, they not being skillful at managing the Canoo's, it hapned a little Water flash'd in over the sides; to remedy which, they lightned, throwing all they carried over-board; so that nothing remain'd but their Arms, and as much Provision as would serve them back. The Wind still rising, and they thinking themselves in some danger, it was resolv'd to Murder the *Indians*, and throw them into the Sea; this they accordingly executed upon some of them; and others, who for fear of Death, trusting in their skill in Swimming, leap'd over into the Water, and being very weary would hang by the Canoo's to Breathe a little, had their Hands cut off, and were wounded in other Parts; so that they Butcher'd 18, leaving only a few alive to Steer the Canoo's, because they knew not how to do it. And had not the need they had of them prevented it, they had compleated the greatest Act of Cru-

elty imaginable, leaving not one of them alive, after they had by Intreaties, and Deceitfully drawn them to their assistance in that dangerous Voyage. Being come to Shore, they differ'd in Opinions; for some said it was better to go to *Cuba*, and that from that Place where they were, they might take the East-Winds and Currents upon their Quarter, and so run over without any trouble in a short time, and so cross over from thence to *Hispaniola*, not knowing they were 17 Leagues asunder: Others said it was better to return to the Ships, and make their Peace with the Admiral, or take from him by force what Commodities and Arms he had left; others were for staying till another Calm, to attempt the same Passage again. This being thought the best Advice, they staid in that Town of *Asamague* above a Month, waiting for fair Weather, and destroying the Country. When the fair Weather came, they embark'd again twice, but made nothing of it. the Wind being contrary. Being thus disappointed of that Passage, they set out towards the West from one Town to another, with an ill-Will, without Canoo's or any Comfort, sometimes Eating what they found, and taking it where they could by force, according to their Strength, and that of the *Caciques*, through whose Territories they pass'd.

C H A P. CIII.

What the Admiral did, after the Mutineers were gone from him, and the Advantage he made of an Eclipse.

TO return to what the Admiral did, after the Rebels were gone, he took great Care that the Sick should be furnished with such things as were proper for their Recovery, and that the *Indians* should be so civilly treated that they might not forbear bringing Provisions to Exchange for our Commodities; which things were so well manag'd, and with such Application by him, that the *Christians* soon recover'd, and the *Indians* continued some days providing all things plentifully. But they being a People that take little Pains in Sowing; and we Eating more in one day than they did in 20; besides having no longer any Inclination to our Commodities, and making little account of them, they began in some measure to take the Advice of the Mutineers, since they saw so great a part of our Men against us, and therefore brought not such Plenty of Provisions as we stood in need of. This brought us to great Distress; for if we would have taken it by force, the greatest

part of us must have gone ashore in warlike manner, and have left the Admiral aboard in great danger, he being very ill of the Gout; and if we expected they should bring it of their own accord, we must live in Misery, and give ten times as much for it as we did at first, they knowing how to make their Bargains, as being sensible of the Advantage they had over us. But God, who never forsakes those that have recourse to him, as the Admiral had, put him in the way how he should be furnish'd with all he wanted, which was thus. He bethought himself, that within 3 days there would be an Eclipse of the Moon in the first part of the night; and then sends an *Indian* of *Hispaniola*, who was with us, to call the principal *Indians* of that Province, saying, He would talk with them about a matter of Concern. Being come that day before the Eclipse was, he ordered the Interpreter to tell them, That we were *Christians*, and Believ'd in God, who dwelt

in Heaven, and took Care of the Good, and Punish'd the Wicked: That he seeing the Rebellion of the *Spaniards* had not permitted them to go over to *Hispaniola*, as *James Mendez* and *Fiesco* had done, but had made them run through all those Sufferings and Dangers all the Island had heard of: That as for the *Indians*, seeing how negligent they were in bringing Provisions for our Commodities, he was angry with them, and had Decreed to punish them with Plague and Famine; which because perhaps they would not believe; God had appointed to give them a manifest token of it in the Heaven that they might plainly know the Punishment was to come from him. Therefore, he bid them that night, observe when the Moon appear'd, and they should see her Rise Angry and of a bloody Hue, to denote the mischief God intended should fall on them. Having said this to them, the *Indians* went away, some afraid, and others looking upon it as an idle Story: But the Eclipse beginning as the Moon was Rising, and increasing, the higher she was, the *Indians* took notice of it, and were so frightened, that they came running from all Parts loaded with Provisions, crying and lamenting, and pray'd the Admiral by all means to intercede with God for them, that he might not make them feel the Ef-

fects of his Wrath, and promising for the future carefully to bring him all he wanted. The Admiral said he would speak with God, and shut himself up whilst the Eclipse lasted, they still crying out to him to assist them; and when the Admiral saw, the Eclipse began to go off, and the Moon would soon shine, he came out of his Cabin, saying, He had pray'd to his God for them, and promis'd him in their names they would be good for the future, and use the *Christians* well, bringing them Provisions and other Necessaries; and that therefore God forgave them, and as a token of it they should see the Angriyness and Bloody colour of the Moon would go off. This proving so, just as he spoke it, they gave the Admiral many thanks, and prais'd his God, continuing so till the Eclipse was quite pass'd. From that time forwards they always took Care to provide all that was necessary, ever praising the God of the *Christians*, for they believ'd the Eclipses they had seen at other times, had denoted Mischiefs to befall them; and being ignorant of the cause of them, and that they hapned at certain times, not believing it possible to know on Earth, what was to happen in the Heavens, they certainly concluded the God of the *Christians* had reveal'd it to the Admiral.

C H A P. CIV.

Of another Mutiny among those that remain'd with the Admiral, which was quell'd by the coming of a Vessel from Hispaniola.

EIGHT Months being pass'd after *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fiesco* went away, and there being no News of them, the Admirals Men were very much cast down, suspecting the worst; some saying they were lost at Sea; others, that they were kill'd by the *Indians* in *Hispaniola*; and others, that they had Died with Sickness and Hardships; for from the Point of that Island, which lay next *Jamaica*, there was above 100 Leagues to *S. Domingo*, whither they were to go for Relief, the way by Land being over uncouth Mountains, and by Sea against the prevailing Winds and Currents. To confirm their Suspicion, some *Indians* assur'd them they had seen a Canoo over-set and carried on the Coast of *Jamaica* by the Current, which its likely had been spread abroad by the Mutineers to make those that were with the Admiral Despair of getting off. They therefore concluding for certain that no Relief would come to them; one *Bernard*, an Apothecary of *Valencia*, with two Companions, whose

Names were *Zamora* and *Villatora*, and most of those that had remain'd sick, secretly conspir'd together to do the same the others had done before. But Almighty God, who knew how dangerous this second Sedition must be to the Admiral, was pleas'd to put a stop to it by the coming of a Vessel sent by the Governor of *Hispaniola*. It came to an Anchor one Evening near the Ships that were aground; and the Captain of it, whose Name was *James de Escobar*, came in his Boat to visit the Admiral, saying, The Commendary and Governor of *Hispaniola* sent him his Commendations; and not being able so soon to send a Ship fit to carry off all those Men, had sent him in his Name to Visit him, and presenting him a Cask of Wine and two Fitches of Bacon, return'd to his Caraval, and without taking any Letter, sail'd away that very Evening. The Men, somewhat comforted with his coming, took no notice of what they had conspir'd to do; tho' at the same time they much wanted that

the Caraval had stole away so privately, and in such haste; and they suspected, that perhaps the Governor of *Hispaniola* would not have the Admiral go thither. He being aware of it, told them he had so ordered it, because he would not go away without carrying them all off, which that Caraval was not big enough to perform; he being willing to prevent any Disorders his stay might occasion, from the Mutineers. But the Governor of *Hispaniola* was afraid that if the Admiral return'd to Spain, their Catholick Maje-

sties would restore him to his Government, and so he should be forced to quit it; for which reason he would not provide as he might have done for the Admiral's Voyage to *Hispaniola*; and therefore had sent that little Caraval to spy and observe the Condition the Admiral was in; and to know whether he could contrive with safety to have him destroyed, which he knew, by what had hapned to *James Mendez*, who sent an Account of his Voyage in Writing, by the Caraval, which was as follows.

C H A P. CV.

An Account of what hapned to James Mendez, and Fiesco in their Voyage.

JAMES Mendez, and Fiesco, setting out from *Jamaica*, that day they found the Weather settled Calm, and so held on till night, encouraging and persuading the *Indians* to row with those Paddles they use instead of Oars; and the Weather being violently hot, they would sometimes leap into the Water and Swim, and then come fresh again to Row. Thus holding on their way, at Sun-set they lost sight of Land, and half the *Christians* and *Indians* taking their Watch together at night to Row, and take care the *Indians* should not prove treacherous, they advanced all that night without staying, so that when day appear'd they were all weary enough. But the Commanders encouraging their Men, and sometimes Rowing to give a good Example; after Eating to recover their Strength, and the Fatigue of the Night, they fell to their Labour again, seeing nothing but Sky and Water. And tho' this was enough to afflict them sufficiently, yet we may say of them that they were in *Tantalus* his Condition; who having the Water within a Span of his Mouth, could not quench his Thirst; so they were in Distress; for through the Ill-Management of the *Indians*, and the great Heat of the foregoing day and night, all the Water was drank up, without any regard to the future: And all Heat and Labour being intolerable without Drink, the higher the Sun ascended the second day after they set out, the more the Heat and Thirst increas'd, so that by noon they had no Strength left. And as upon such occasions, the Head is bound to supply the Defect of the Hands and Feet; so by good fortune, the Captains found two Casks of Water, wherewith now and then relieving the *Indians*, they kept them up till the Cool of the Evening, encouraging them, and affirming they should be soon near a small Island

called *Nabazza*, which lay in their way 8 Leagues distant from *Hispaniola*. This with their extraordinary Thirst, and the Labour of Rowing two days and a night, quite cast them down, believing they had lost their way; for according to their reckoning they had run 20 Leagues, and ought now to be in sight of the Island. But it was weariness that deceiv'd them, as well because a Canoo that Rows well cannot in a day and night Row above 10 Leagues, as by reason the Currents are against them that go from *Jamaica* to *Hispaniola*, which they always judge to be more that suffer most by it. Night being come, having thrown one into the Sea who died with Thirst, and others lying stretch'd out on the bottom of the Canoo, they were so afflicted in Mind, and so weak and spent that they hardly made any way. Yet, taking sometimes Sea Water to refresh their Mouths, which we may say was the Comfort given our Saviour, when he said, *I thirst*; they gently held on their way till the second night came on without sight of Land: But they being of those God intended to save, it pleased him, that in that time of need, when the Moon began to rise, *James Mendez* perceiv'd he got up over-Land, for a little Island cover'd her in the Nature of an Eclipse. Nor could they have seen it otherwise, because it was small, and at that time of night. Comforting them cheerfully, and showing them the Land, he so encouraged them supplying them in their great Thirst with a little Water out of the Barrels, that the next morning they found themselves near the small Island, we said was 8 Leagues from *Hispaniola*, and called *Nabazza*. They found it to be all round a hard Rock, and about half a League in circumference. Landing there the best they could, they all gave God Thanks for that Mercy; and there being

Great Distress for Thirst.

Nabazza
Island

Columbus. no Spring nor Tree, they went about taking up Rain-Water with their Calabashes, which lay in holes among the Rocks; which it pleas'd God to give them such plenty of, that they fill'd their Bellies and Vessels; and tho' the wiser sort advis'd the others to use Moderation in Drinking, yet Thirst made some of the *Indians* exceed all Measure, whereof some died there, and others got desperate Distempers. Having rested that day till Evening, diverting themselves, and Eating such things as they found along the Shore, for *James Mendez* had all Utensils to strike Fire, rejoicing to be in sight of *Hispamola*, and fearing some bad Weather might start up, they made ready to put an end to their Voyage, and accordingly about Sun-setting in the cool of the Evening, they set out towards Cape St. Michael, the nearest Land of *Hispamola*, where they arriv'd the next morning, being the fourth day after they set out. When they had rested here two days, *Bartholomeu Fiesjo*, who was a Gentleman that stood upon his Honour, would have return'd as the Admiral had commanded him, but the Men who were Sailors, and *Indians*, being spent and in-

dispos'd with their past Labour, and Drinking Sea-Water, and thought they had been delivered out of the Whales-Belly, their 3 days and nights answering to those *Jonas* lay there, he could not get a Man to go with him. *James Mendez*, as being most in haste, was gone up the Coast of *Hispamola* in his Canoo, notwithstanding he suffer'd under a Quartan Ague caus'd by his great Sufferings at Sea and at Land, in that Condition, travelling over Mountains and bad Roads, he came to *Xaragua*, which is a Province in the West of *Hispamola*, where the Governor then was, who seem'd to rejoyce at his coming, tho' afterwards he was tedious in dispatching him, for the Causes above-mention'd, till after much importunity, it was obtain'd of him, that he should give *James Mendez* leave to go to St. Domingo, there to buy and fit out a Vessel with the Admiral's Money: which Ship being by him got ready, was sent to *Yumaica* at the latter end of May 1504. and sail'd for Spain, according to the Admirals Direction, to give their Catholick Majesties an Account of the Success of his Voyage.

C H A P. CVI.

How the Mutineers set themselves against the Admiral, and would hear of no Agreement.

NOW to return to the Admiral, who with all his Company had now receiv'd some Comfort and certain hopes of being delivered, by the Account of *James Mendez* his arrival, and the coming of the Caraval; he therefore thought fit to make it known to the Mutineers, that their Jealousie ceasing, they might return to their Duty. He therefore sent two Men of Note, who had Friends among them, and knowing they would not believe, or at least not seem to believe the coming of the Caraval, he sent them part of the Bacon, the Captain of it had presented him. These two being come where Captain *Porras* was, with those he confided most in, he came out to meet them, that they might not move, or persuade the Men to repent them of the Crime they had committed, imagining, as the Truth was, That the Admiral sent them a General Pardon. Yet it was not in the power of the Brothers so to curb their Men, but that they heard the News of the coming of the Caraval, the Health of those that were with the Admiral, and the Offers he made them. After several Consultations among themselves,

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and the principal Men, the Result was, that they would not trust to the Pardon the Admiral sent them, but would go peaceably away to *Hispamola*, if he would promise to give them a Ship to go in, provided two came; and if there came but one, he should assign them half of it: and in the mean while, because they had lost their Cloths, and Commodities they had to Trade upon the Sea, he should share what he had with them. To which the Messengers answering, That those were no reasonable Proposals, they interrupted them saying, That since it was not granted them by fair means, they would have it by force. Thus they dismiss'd the Admirals Messengers, misinterpreting his Offers, and telling their Followers, that he was a cruel revengeful Man; and tho' they fear'd nothing for themselves, because the Admiral durst not presume to wrong them, because of the favour they had at Court, yet they had reason to fear he would be reveng'd on the rest, under colour of just Punishment; and that for this reason, *Felidas* and his Friends in *Hispamola* had not trusted him, nor his Offers, and it suc-

The Rebels obstinate.

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ceeded well with them, they finding so much favour, that they had him sent into Spain in Irons. And that the coming of the Caraval with the News of *James Mendez*, might make no Impression on them, they intimated to them, that it was no true Caraval, but a Phantom made by Art Magick, the Admiral being very Skillful in that Art, alledging, It was not at all likely, that if it had really been a Caraval, the Men aboard it would

not have had some further Discourse with those about the Admiral, but would have vanish'd so soon. Nay, it was more probable, that had it been a Caraval, the Admiral himself would have gone aboard it, with his Son and Brother. With these and other Words to this purpose, they again confirm'd them in their Rebellion, and then brought them to resolve to repair to the Ships to take what they found by force, and secure the Admiral.

C H A P. CVII.

How the Mutineers being come to the Ships, the Admiral's Brother went out to Fight them, overcame them, and took Porras their Captain.

THE Mutineers continuing obstinate in their wicked Resolution, came to a Town of the *Indians* within a quarter of a League of the Ships, then called *Maima*, where afterwards the *Christians* built the Town they called *Sevil*; which the Admiral understanding, and being inform'd of their Design, he resolv'd to send his Brother against them, to endeavour to reduce them by good Words; but so attended, that if they offer'd him any wrong, he might be able to oppose them. To this purpose, the Lieutenant drew out 50 Men, well arm'd, and ready for any Service. These being come to a small Hill, a Bow-shot from the Town where the Rebels were, sent those two before, who had gone on the first Message, to require them to be peaceable, and that their Captain should come peaceably to a Conference. But they being nothing inferior in Strength or Number, and almost all Seamen, persuaded themselves, that those who came with the Lieutenant were weak Men, and would not Fight them; therefore they would not permit the Messengers to talk to them, but with their naked Swords, and the Spears, they had all in a Body, crying, Kill, Kill, fell upon the Lieutenants Party, six of the Rebels, who were accounted the boldest, having taken an Oath, not to part, but go directly against the Lieutenant, for if he were kill'd, they made no account of the rest; wherein it pleas'd God they were disappointed; for they were so well receiv'd, that 5 or 6 of them drop'd at the first Charge, most of them being of those that aim'd at the Lieutenant, who fell upon his Enemies in such manner, that in a very short time, *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, from whom *Quibio* made his escape, was kill'd, as was *John Barba*; the first I saw draw his Sword when they ran into Rebellion, and

some others fell very much wounded, and *Francis de Porras* their Captain was taken. Seeing themselves so roughly handled like base Rebellious People, they turn'd their Backs and fled as fast as they could. The Lieutenant would have pursued, had not some of the chief Men about him been against it, saying, It was good to punish, but not so severely, lest when he had killed many of them, the *Indians* should think fit to fall upon the Victors, since he saw they were all in Arms, waiting the event of the fray, without taking either side. The Lieutenant approving of the Advice, return'd to the Ships, carrying along with him the Captain of the Rebels and some other Prisoners, where he was well receiv'd by the Admiral, his Brother, and those that had remain'd with him, all of them giving Thanks to God for that Victory, which they attributed to him, and wherein the Guilty had receiv'd their just Punishment, and their Pride been humbled, none being wounded on our side but the Lieutenant in his Hand, and one of the Admiral's Gentlemen of the Chamber, who died of a small wound he receiv'd with a Spear in his Hip. But to return to the Rebels, *Peter de Ledesma*, that Pilot we mention'd above, who went with *Vincent Tanez* to *Honduras*, and swam ashore at *Belem*, fell down certain Rocks, and lay hid that day and the next, till the Evening, no body assisting him, or knowing where he was, except the *Indians*, who with Amazement, not knowing how our Swords would cut, with little Sticks opened his Wounds, one of which was in his Head, and his Brains were seen through it, another on his Shoulder, so large that his Arm hung, as it were loose, and the Calf of one Leg almost cut off, so that it hung down to his Ankle, and one foot, as if it had a Slipper on it, being sliced from

The Re-
bels.

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A 107

Insult from the Heel to the Toes. Notwithstanding all which desperate Hurts, when the *Indians* disturb'd him, he would say, Let me alone, for if I get up, &c. And they at these Words would fly in a great Confection. This being known aboard the Ships, he was carried into a Thatch'd House hard by, where the Dampness and Gnats were enough to have kill'd him. Here instead of Turpentine, they dress'd his Wounds with Oil, and he had so many, besides those already mention'd, that the Surgeon who dress'd him swore, That for the first 8 days, he still found out new ones, and yet at last he recover'd, the Gentleman of the Chamber dying, in whom he apprehended no danger. The next day, being the 20th of May, all those that had escap'd, sent a Petition to the Admiral, humbly begging he would be merciful to them, for they repeated them of what was past, and were ready


to submit themselves to him. The Admiral granted their Request, and pass'd *The Rebel Submit, and are Pardon'd* a general Pardon, upon Condition the Captain should continue a Prisoner, as he was, that he might not raise another Mutiny. And because they could not be so easie, and conveniently aboard the Ships, and there might arise some provoking Words among the common sort, which would cause disturbance, and rub up old Sores, which might be the cause of fresh Tumults, and because it would be a hard matter to Quarter, and maintain so many Men conveniently, those few there were beginning to suffer want, he resolv'd to send them a Commander with Commodities to Exchange, that he might go with them about the Island, and contain them within the Bounds of Justice, till such time as the Ships came, which he daily expected.

C H A P. CVIII.

How the Admiral went over to Hispaniola, and thence into Spain, where at Valladolid he pleased God to take him to himself.

THE *Christians* being all again return'd to their Duty, and the *Indians* for that same reason being more careful to supply them for their Commodities, some days pass'd which made up a year since we arriv'd at *Jamaica*. After which, there arriv'd a Ship, which *James Mendez* had bought and fitted out at *St. Domingo* with the Admirals Money, aboard which all the Men, as well Enemies as Friends, were Shipp'd, and setting Sail on the 28th of June, we proceeded on our Voyage with much difficulty, the Winds and Currents, as we have said before, being very contrary to go from *Jamaica* to *St. Domingo*, where we arriv'd in great need of rest on the 13th of August 1504. and the Governor made a great Reception for the Admiral, lodging him in his own House; tho' this was a treacherous kindness; for on the other side, he set *Porrus* who had headed the Mutineers at liberty, and attempted to punish those who had a hand in apprehending of him, and to try other Causes and Offences that belong'd only to their Catholick Majesties, who had appointed the Admiral Captain General of their Fleet, and yet he fawn'd upon the Admiral, using all Demonstrations of Kindness in his presence. This lasted till our Ship was refitted, and another hir'd, on which the Admiral, his wife, and Servants embark'd, most of the rest remaining in *Hispaniola*. We

failed on the 2d of September, and being but two Leagues at Sea, the Mast of the Ship came by the board; for which reason the Admiral caus'd it to return into the Harbour, and we in the other held on our Course for *Spain*. Having run about the 3d part of the way, there arose such a terrible Storm, that the Ship was in great danger. The next day, which was the 19th of October, the Weather being fair, and we very still, the Mast flew into four pieces; but the Courage of the Lieutenant, and the Admiral's Ingenuity, tho' he could not rise out of his Bed for the Gout, found a Remedy for this Misfortune, making a Jury-Mast of a Yard, and strengthening the middle of it with Ropes, and some Planks they took from the Poop and Stern. In another Storm we spent our Foremast, and yet it pleased God we sail'd 700 Leagues in that Condition, and arriv'd at the Port of *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, and thence to *Sevil*, where the Admiral took some rest after the Fatigues he had gone through; and in May 1505. set out for the Catholick King's Court, for the glorious Queen *Isabel* had the year before Exchang'd this Life for a better, which was no small trouble to the Admiral, she having always favoured and supported him, whereas the Catholick King had prov'd unkind, and averse to his Affairs; which plainly appear'd by the Reception he gave him;


 for tho' to appearance he show'd him a favourable Aspect, and pretended to restore him to his full power, yet he would have quite stript him of all, had not shame hindred him; which as has been said, has great Power over Noble Spirits, and the King himself and Queen had both in-gag'd their Faith to him, when he went upon his last Voyage. But the *Indies* daily more and more discovering what they were like to be, and the King perceiving how great a share fell to the Admiral, by Virtue of the Articles granted him, he strove to have the absolute Dominion in himself, and to dispose of all those Employments which belong'd to the Admiral, according to his own Will and Pleasure. Hereupon he began to propose new Terms to him by way of Equivalent, which God would not permit to take Effect; because just then King *Philip* the first came to Reign in *Spain*; and at the time his Catholick Majesty went from *Valladolid* to meet him, the Admiral much oppress'd with the Gout, and troubled to see himself put by his right, other Distempers coming on him, gave up his Soul to God upon *Ascension-Day*, being the 20th of *May* 1506. at the aforesaid City of *Valladolid*, having devoutly receiv'd all the Sacraments of the Church, and said these Words last, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*: which through his infinite Mercy we do not question but he received into his Glory: To which may he admit us with him.

His Body was afterwards convey'd to *Sevil*, and there by the Catholick King's

Order magnificently Buried in the Cathedral, and an Epitaph in *Spanish* cut on his Tomb, in Memory of his Renowned Actions, and Discovery of the *Indies*. The Words are these:

A CASTILIA, YA LEON,
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

That is,

Columbus gave Castile and Leon a New World.

Words well worth Observing, because the like cannot be found either among the Ancient or Moderns.

It will therefore be ever remembred, that he was the Discoverer of the *West-Indies*, tho' since then, *Ferdinand Cortes* and *Francis Pizarro* have found out many other Provinces and vast Kingdoms on the Continent; For *Cortes* discovered the Province of *Tucatan*, and the City of *Mexico*, called *New Spain*, they possess'd by the great *Montezuma*, Emperor of those Parts; and *Francis Pizarro* found out the Kingdom of *Peru*, which is of a vast Extent, and full of Endless Wealth, which was under the Dominion of the great King *Atabaliba*. From which Countries and Kingdoms there come every year into *Spain*, many Ships laden with Gold, Silver, Brazil, *Cochinele*, Sugar, and many other Commodities of great value, besides Pearls and other Jewels, which are the Cause that at this time *Spain* and its Princes flourish and abound in Wealth.

F I N I S.

Pyramidographia :
OR, A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
PYRAMIDS
IN
Æ G Y P T.

By JOHN GREAVES, *Professor of Astronomy in the University of OXFORD.*

Romanorum Fabricæ & antiqua opera (cum veniâ id dictum sit) nihil accedunt ad Pyramidum splendorem, & superbiam.
Bellon. lib. 2. Observ. cap. 42.

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T H E

T H E

PREFACE.

HOW high an Estimation the Ancients had of the Egyptian Pyramids, appears by the several Testimonies of Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny.

* Κάτοι αἰσθολογός γε καὶ ὁ τὸν ἱερὸν οὗτον νεὸς, καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἥ γὰρ νῦν αἰ πυραμίδες λόβημιζόντες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκαστὴν οὐτῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἔρεσαν καὶ μετρίων κτισθῆναι. Herod. l. 2.

For Herodotus acknowledges, that though there were a Temple at Ephesus very renowned, as also at Samos; yet the Pyramids were worthier of Relation: Each of which

single, might be compared with many of the most sumptuous Structures of the Grecians. Diodorus Siculus confirms as much; who as he prefers the Works of the Egyptians for Magnificence before those of other Nations, so he prefers the Pyramids before the rest of the Egyptians:

ἡ (ὁμοιοῦται) ὁ ταῦτα τὰ ἔρεσα πολλὰ πρὸς ἄλλων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ἃ μόνον πρὸ βασιλῆος καὶ κληρονομιάτων καὶ τὰ δαπάνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τὴν ἐκαστοῦ. Diod. Sic. Biblioth. l. 1. Τὸν δὲ μεγάλῳ τὴν ἔρεσαν καὶ τὴν καὶ τὴν τέχνην γυνεργῶν θαυμαστῶν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλων τοῖς θεοῦ. Ibid.

* Τρεῖς δ' ἀἰσθολογοί, τὰς ὁ δὲ τῶν τῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐστὶν ἀντιστοιχίαν κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν. Strab. l. 17.

* Regum praeae recta, ac fulta ostentant. — Tres quae omnem Terrarum imperare fama Plin. l. 35. c. 12.

Wealth of Kings, yet he grants that three of them have filled the World with their Fame. Which three, by his Description, and by such Indications as may be collected out of Diodorus and

Strabo, must necessarily be these three, which now are extant, and of which I intend especially to discourse. For

Diodorus writes, That they are seated on Libya-side, an CXX Stadia (or Furlongs) from Memphis, and from Nilus XLV. We likewise read in Strabo, XL Stadia from the City (Memphis,) there is a certain Brow of an Hill in which are many Pyramids; who,

presently after describing more particularly the three greatest, gives us this Character: These three stand near to one another upon the same Plain. And if this be not sufficient to point them

out, Pliny delivers many evident marks whereby to discover them: These three (as he informs us,) are very conspicuous to those that sail upon the Nilus, there are seated on Africa side, upon a Rocky and Barren Hill,

between the City Memphis and that place which we said is called the Delta, from the Nilus less than IV Miles, from Memphis VI; there being a Village apposite to them, which they name Busris, from whence they use to ascend up to them. All which Characters, were, and are applicable to none but only to these three.

Having thus discovered their true Place, or Situation, we shall next discourse of the Authors who have written of them. Amongst the Ancients, there were many who thought it worth their labour to describe them. For Pausanias, as it were, complaining that the Grecians had been very curious in describing these, whilst they had omitted

* Αὐτὸς δὲ κέντρους καὶ λιγυρίων τὴν Μέρμης ὁρίσιν, καὶ ἐκαστὴν καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὸν τετρασέκοντα. Liod. l. 1.

* Τετρασέκοντα δὲ ἐκαστὴν καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὸν τετρασέκοντα. Strab. l. 12. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκαστὴν καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὸν τετρασέκοντα. Ibid.

* Reliquae tres] sanctae undique innavigantibus sunt in parte Africae, in saxo sterilique inter Nilum oppidum, et quod auri diximus Delta, a minus IV milia pass. a Memphis, ubi appositum, quem vocant Busrin, th quo sunt affixae decere illas. Plin. l. 35. c. 1

many

This LETTER underneath was written by M^r Greaves to the famous Claudius Hardy, who publish'd EUCLID's DATA, and was in great Esteem for his Learning in the Mathematicks, and his Skill in the Oriental Languages.

Clarissimo Doctissimoque Viro D. C. H.

To the most Worthy and most Learned D. C. H.

QUatuor anni elapsi sunt (vir clarissime) ex quo propter longinquam peregrinationem à me in Orientem suscepiam, nulla mihi opportunitas data est, affectum, sincerumque tibi animum testandi. Tandem favente Numine, salvo & incolumi reverso, conceditur nonnihil otii, & de periculis præteritis, & de amicis veteribus, cogitandi. Inter quos si rectè de humanitate, studiisque tuis iudico, nemo erit qui de reditu meo, majori, quam tu, lætitiâ afficiatur. Fâque tantò erit ac convulsiat, cum intellexeris iter tam periculosum non alias ob causas initum, nisi ut linguis Orientalibus, & studiis Astronomicis, peregrè felicitè incumbere, in quibus utrisque quantum profeceris, eruditus tuis scriptis, literatis omnibus satis comprobasti. Quapropter breviter, strictumque, ubi commemoratus sum, quid præstiterim, & quos libros mecum adduxerim, pro veteri amicitia tibi indicabo. Primum annum Constantinopoli egi, ut metotum linguæ Arabicæ addicerem, sed spe falsus, idoneis destitutus magistris, ad alias curas animum induxi, cùmque diligenti librorum MSS. disquisitioni applicui. Quo quidem in genere non pœnitendam operam locavi. Nam præter varios codices Arabicos, Perlicos, Turcos, propemodum de universis scientiis scriptos, & præter Lexica melioris notæ tribus hæc linguis deservientia, coemi insuper penè omnes antiquos Mathematicos Græcos, in idioma Arabicum ante aliquot sæcula traductos, unà cum operibus præcipuè Astronomorum recentium, apud Arabes, & Indos, maxime insignium. Inter verò illos antiquos, non leviter gaudeo adhuc superstities reperiri, quatuor libros Apollonii Pergæi Geometræ subtilissimi

IT is now four Years, worthy Sir, since my long Travels into the East have depriv'd me of the opportunity of giving you some Testimony of my Affection, and sincere Inclinations to you. Being at length, by the help of God, return'd in safety, I have some leisure to think on past Dangers, and old Friends; among whom, if I be not mistaken in your Favour and Inclinations, none will more rejoice at my Return than you. And your Satisfaction will be the greater, when you understand that I undertook so dangerous a Journey upon no other Account, but to apply my self more successfully in Foreign Parts, to the Study of Astronomy, and the Oriental Languages; in both which, how great a Proficient you are, has been sufficiently made appear to the Learned World by your Writings, full of Erudition. I will therefore, in pursuance of our former Friendship, briefly inform you in what Parts I resided, what I did there, and what Books I have brought with me. I spent the first Year at Constantinople, with a design to apply my self wholly to the Arabick Tongue; but being deceiv'd in my expectation, and wanting able Masters, I bent my Mind to other Affairs, and apply'd my self to a diligent Search of Manuscript Books. Wherein I have not lost my Labour: For besides several Arabick, Persian, and Turkish Books, which treat of almost all Sciences, and besides the best Lexicons for the understanding of these three Languages, I have bought almost all the ancient Greek Mathematicians, translated some Ages since into the Arabick Tongue, together with the Works of the most renowned modern Astronomers among the Arabians and Indians. But among those ancient ones, I do not a little rejoice, that there are still found in being four Books of Apollonius Pergæus, the most subtle Geometrician,

في قطع الخطوط علي النسب

Conicorum libri quatuor.

quorum Pappus, alique meminerunt. Constantinopoli cum classicè Turcicâ solvi, eo anni tempore, quo solent, multis navigiis simul, pro more Gentis, Alexandriam petere. Fretus satis prosperâ navigatione Rhodum appuli, ubi, propter auctoritatem Posidonii, clanculum in subingeniis Christianorum hortis altitudinem solis sæpe observavi: inde post sex dies è portu discedens, octo dierum spacio, flantibus leniter Etefisis, Alexandriam perveni; ubi corruptis Judæis, qui vœtigalibus ibi præfunt, instrumenta mea Astronomica sine periculo exposui. Erant autem diversa, ex ære ut plunium fabrefacta, & ab egregio artifice summâ cum diligentia constructa, quorum maximum quadrans erat totus zneus, radii obtinens septem eorum pedum, qui apud Anglos veteri edicto Regio usurpantur. Alexandriæ sex menses continuos hæsi, soli stellique intentus, quoties per caligines, aut pluvias, licebat, quas illic, mediâ præcipuè hyeme, contra receptam opinionem, & crebras, & violentas,

of which Pappus, and others make mention. I sail'd from Constantinople with the Turkish Fleet, at the time the great Convoy of that Nation uses to set out for Alexandria. My passage was good, and I arriv'd at Rhodes, where, in respect to Posidonius's Authority, I often took the Sun's Altitude privately in the Gardens of the Christians without the Walls. Departing that Port after six Days, a gentle Easterly Gale, in eight Days, brought me to Alexandria; where bribing the Jews, who have the collecting the Customs, I landed, my Astronomical Instruments in safety. I had several of them, most of them of Brass, and made by a notable Workman, with extraordinary accuracy; the biggest whereof was a Brass Quadrant, w^{ch} Radius was seven ancient Statute Foot of England. I continu'd six whole Months at Alexandria, observing the Sun and Stars, as often as Fogs and Rains would permit; which, contrary to the receiv'd Opinion, I found to be frequent and violent, especially in the

lentia, esse scilicet. Laboribus, & vigiliis defessus,
 curandi animi gravibus Memphis petu, seu
 ut rectius loquar **القاهرة** Nam antiqua Meui-

polis Orientalis est hedecina Elkahira septem ad
 minimum millibus passuum: inde ad sepulcra
 veterum Aegyptiorum accessi, & cryptas illas
 subterraneas tuos; post ad pyramides me con-
 tuli, earumque iustam magnitudinem, idoneis
 ad eam rem adutus instrumentis, deprehendi,
 & multa illic, dum omnia curiosius perlustro,
 nec a prisca scriptoribus, nec à recentioribus,
 literis mandata, annotavi. Opera sanè stupen-
 da, & ab ipsis Antiquis inter orbis miracula me-
 rito iudicata, sed a nemine (quod sciam) pro
 eorum dignitate satis descripta.

Interiorem cameram, & nonnulla secretiora
 adyta, temporis injuriâ non lum corrupta, nec
 unquam, si rectè iudico, corrumpenda, mensu-
 ris Anglicis diligenter mensuravi, adeo exactè,
 ut è viginti mille partibus, in quas viginti pedes,
 lineis transversis, live potius diagonis, divisi, ne
 unam quidem, vel decem, vel superesse, existi-
 mem. Quod ideo tanto accuratius præstiti, ut
 ex istâ comparatione omnium gentium mensurae,
 qua hodie sunt, aut olim fuerunt, è duraturo
 aliquo monumento posteris signari possint. Quod
 quidem si à Mathematicis olim præstitum fuisset,
 selectis aliquibus idoneis locis, temporum inju-
 ria non obnoxius, minus hodie incerti essemus
 in antiquorum mensuris investigandis. Quid de
 meo consilio cenicandum sit, eruditorum iudicio
 permitto; me certè, neque propositi, neque la-
 boris suscepti poenitet. Teverò (Vir clarissimè)

depth of Winter. Being spent with Labour and
 Watching, I went twice to divert my self to Mem-
 phis, or to speak more properly, Elkahira;
 For the present Elkahira (Grand Cairo) is at
 least seven Miles to the Eastward of the ancient
 Memphis. Thence I repair'd to the Sepulchres of
 the ancient Egyptians, and enter'd those subterra-
 nean Cells, or Caverns; thence I went to the Pyra-
 mids, and having fit Instruments for that purpose,
 took their exact Dimensions, observing there many
 things, as I curiously view'd them, which have not
 been deliver'd in writing either by the ancient or mo-
 dern Authors. They are indeed amazing Structures,
 and deservedly reckoned by the Ancients among the
 Wonders of the World, but not yet describ'd as they
 ought to be by any one that I know of.

I carefully took the Dimensions of the inner Cham-
 ber, and some more private places, which Time has
 not yet, nor, if I mistake not, ever will destroy, with
 English Measures; and that so exactly, that I be-
 lieve there is not one part over or under of 20000,
 into which 20 Foot are divided by Cross, or rather Dia-
 gonal Lines. Which I was the more exact in, to the
 end that the Measures of all Nations that now are,
 or formerly were, may be transmitted to Posterity
 from some lasting Monument, by comparing them
 with these. Had this been formerly done by Arabi-
 cians, choosing for the purpose some proper Places
 not expos'd to the Injury of Time, we should not at
 present be so uncertain in the search after the Mea-
 sures of the Ancients. I leave it to the Learned to
 determine, what Judgment is to be made of this my
 Design; for my part I neither repent my Attempt
 nor my Labour. I intreat and conjure you (most
 Excellent) to send me the French Weights and

si peperisset, quo cum meo
 industriam, & conatus faciliè su-
 perasset. Ipse dum peregrè agebam tanquam
 itineris explorator, Arabum, Persarum, Turca-
 rum, Italicorum, Hispanorum, Germanorum,
 variâ, & diversa pondera, & mensuras, meis

I, during my Travels, by the by, view'd and nam'd
 the several and sundry Weights and Measures of the
 Arabians, Persians, Turks, Italians, Spaniards,
 and Germans, and carefully compar'd them with the
 English. I should have done the same by the French,
 had I return'd home by the way of Paris, but being

London, May 14.
 1641.

Your most Affectionate,

Londini 18. Kal.
 Jun. MDCLXI.

Tibi addictissimus,

JOHN GREAVES.

JOANNES GRAVIUS.

in the *Greek*; a practice not unusual with him, and with other approved Authors. Thus the Patriarch *Isaac* in the Scriptures, being denominated from *παῖς*, that is, *Laughter*, is by *Alexander Polyhistor*, as * *Eusebius* testifies, named *Γέλαος*. Wherefore *Cham* in *Hebrew*, (or in the *Greek* *σέθιον*, *Chemmis*.) signifying *Aduſtion*, which anciently might be the ſame in *Egyptian*, and *χλωφ*, or *καλωφ*, ſignifying *Swartly Viſage* or *Aduſt*; *Herodotus* might call him *Cheops* in *Greek*, whom in the *Egyptian* Language *Diodorus* ſtiles *Chemmis*. But I go on with *Dio-*

* Ruſeb.
lib. 8.
Evangel.
prepar.
cap. 19.

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Χέμ-
μης] καλεσκόμενος ὁ τῆς πυ-
ρίδος τῶν τριῶν Πυραμίδων
τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑσπέραις τοῖς
ὀπίσθεσι τοῖς ἑσπέραις τοῖς
μύταις.

he alſo enlarges the number of the Workmen employed by him, to *Three hundred and ſixty thouſand*, which *Herodotus* mentions only to have been an *Hundred thouſand*; though both of them concur, and * *Pliny* with them both, that *twenty years* were ſpent in the building of this Pyramid.

* Pyramis
ampliſſima
ex Arabiis
lapideis
conſtat.

Tricenta LX hominum milla annis XX eam conſtruſſiſſe produntur. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12.

Concerning the ſecond Pyramid, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* aſſign the Author of it to have been *Cephren*, Brother to the former King. *Diodorus* adds, that by ſome he is alſo called *Chabryſis*, and was the Son of *Chemmis*; a difference which I imagin to have been occaſioned out of the diverſity of Pronunciation of *Chabryſis* for *Cephren*; there being an eaſie Tranſmutation in Letters of the ſame Organ, as *Grammarians* uſe to ſpeak.

Cheops, as * *Herodotus* informs us, being de-
ceaſed, his Brother *Cephren* reigned after him; who imitated him, as in other things, ſo in the making of a Pyramid, the Magnitude of which is leſs than that of his

¹ Herod. lib. 3. Τῆς δὲ
πυρίδος ὅς τῆς ἐκείνου
τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἀφ' ἧς αὐ-
τὸς χεφρήν, &c.

* Diodor. lib. 1. Τῆς δὲ
πυρίδος ὅς τῆς βασιλείας τῆς
ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς χεφρήν, &c.

Brothers. And * *Diodorus* relates, That *Chemmis* being dead, his Brother *Cephren* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and reigned Fifty ſix Years: Some ſay, that not his Brother, but his Son, which was named *Chabryſis*, reigned after him. This is affirmed by the con-

ſent of all, that the Succeſſor of the former King, in imitation of him, built the ſecond Pyramid like to the firſt, in reſpect of the Art and Workmanſhip, but far inferior to it in reſpect of Magnitude.

The third Pyramid was erected by * *Amycerinus*, ſome call him *Mycherinus*, as it is obſerved by *Diodorus*, who makes him the Son of *Chemmis*, as *Herodotus* doth of *Cheops*; the difference between them being, as we noted before, rather nominal than real. The ſame

* Diodorus lib. 2. Amycerinus
Berosus lib. 2.

* *Herodotus* alſo writes, That ſome of the *Grecians* make the third Pyramid the work of *Rhodopis* a *Curtizan*; an Error in Opinion of thoſe who ſeem not to know who this *Rhodopis* might be of which they ſpeak, for neither could ſhe have undertaken ſuch a Pyramid, on which ſo many thouſand Talents were to be ſpent; neither lived ſhe in this Man's time, but in the time of King *Amphiſis*. Now this *Amphiſis*, as he elſewhere ſhews, lived long after theſe Pyramids were in being. The ſame Story is recited by * *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, both of them omitting the Names of the Founders of the former two. *Strabo* gives her a double Name; The third Pyramid is the Sepulchre of a *Curtizan*, made by her Lovers, whom *Sappho* the Poetreſs calls *Doricha*, Miſtreſs to her Brother *Charaxus*; others name her *Rhodope*. But whether we name her *Doricha*, or *Rhodope*, the Relation is altogether improbable, if we conſider either her Condition or the infinite vaſtneſs of the Expence. For * *Diodorus*, though he * *Diod. Sic.* rightly acknowledges this Pyramid to lib. 1. be much leſs than either of the former two, yet in reſpect of the exquisite Workmanſhip, and richneſs of the Materials, he judges it not inferior to either of them. A Structure certainly too great and ſumptuous to have been the deſign and undertaking of a *Curtizan*, which could hardly have been performed by a rich and potent Monarch. And yet *Diodorus* hath almoſt the ſame Relation, only a little altered in the Circumſtances: * *Some ſay*, that this

* Δέσπῃς ὅς ἑταῖρας το-
φὸς γέγονας ὡς τῆς ἐκείνης
ἢ Σαφφῶς ἢ τῆς Μελίτωνος
τοιαύτη, καὶ δὲ Δορίχα ἢ
Ῥοδόπη τῆς ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὴς χα-
ρεῖται γυναικῶν ἄλλοι δ' οὐκ
μαρτυροῦν. Strab. lib. 17.

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Τῆς δὲ πυρίδος ὅς τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς χεφρήν, &c.

μὲν οὖν τινες ἑταῖρας ἡγουμένην, διὰ φιλοστοργίας οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐπιτελέσας κοινῇ τὴν κατασκευάσαντα.

Circles.

is the Sepulchre of the Strumpet Rhodope; of whom, some of the Nomarchæ (or Prefects of the Provinces) being enamoured, by a common Expence to win her Favour, they built this Monument. But to pass by this Fable, (for it is no better,) and to return to our Inquiry. The same Author immediately before, ingeniously confesses, that concerning them all three, there is little Agreement either amongst the

Natives or amongst Writers: 'For they say, Armæus made the greatest of these; the second, Amafis; the third, Inaron. And 'Pliny informing us, that these three were made in seventy eight Years and

four Months, leaves the Founders of them very uncertain: For reciting the Names of many Authors that had described them, he concludes, '*Inter omnes eos non constat à quibus facta sint, iustissimo casu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis authoribus.*'

The *Arabians*, whose Excellencies I judge to have been in the speculative Sciences, and not in the Histories and Occurrences of ancient Times, assign other Founders of these three, different from those mentioned by the *Greeks*. The Author of the Book intitled, *Morât Alceman*, writes, *They differ concerning him that built the Pyramids: Some say Joseph, some say Nimrod, some Dalukah the Queen, and some that the Egyptians built them before the Flood: For they foresaw that it would be, and they carried thither their Treasures, but it profited them nothing.* In another place he tells us, *That the Coprites (or Egyptians) report, that there were two greater Pyramids, and the lesser, which is coloured, are Sepulchres. In the East Pyramid is King Saurid, in the West Pyramid his Brother Hougib, and in the coloured Pyramid Fazzfarinoun the Son of Hougib: The Sabæans relate, that one of them is the Sepulchre of Shiri, (that is Seth,) and the second the Sepulchre of Hermes, and the coloured one the Sepulchre of Sab, the Son of Hermes, from whom they are called Sabæans. They go in Pilgrimage thither, and sacrifice at them a Cock, and a black Calf, and offer up Incense.* Ibn Abd Al-hakm: another *Arabian*, discoursing of this Argument, confesses, That he could not find amongst the Learned Men in *Ægypt*, any certain Relation

concerning them, (wherefore) *what is more reasonable* (saith he,) *than that the Pyramids were built before the Flood?* For if they had been built after, there would have been some Memory of them amongst Men. At last he concludes, *The greatest part of Chronologers affirm, that he which built the Pyramids, was Saurid ibn Salhouk the King of Egypt, who was before the Flood 300 Years.* And this Opinion he confirms out of the Books of the *Aegyptians*: To which he adds, *The Coptites mention in their Books, that upon them there is an Inscription ingraven; the Exposition of it in Arabic is this, I Saurid the King, built the Pyramids in such and such a time, and finished them in six Years; he that comes after me, and says he is equal to me, let him destroy them in six hundred Years; and yet it is known, that it is easier to pluck down than to build; and when I had finished them, I covered them with Satin, and let him cover them with Mats.* The same Relation I find in several others of them, that this *Saurid* was the Founder of these three Pyramids, which the admiration of After-times inrolled amongst the Miracles of the World. And these are those three, which are still fair and intire, and standing near to one another, formerly not far distant from the great and ancient City *Memphis*, built by *Uchoreus*, (of which there is now not so much as the Ruins left,) and less distant from the River *Nilus*, as *Diodorus Strabo*, and *Pliny* rightly describe.

Besides these three, we find mentioned in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, the Names and Authors of some others, not much inferiour to these in magnitude, long since ruined, and defaced by time. On the contrary, there are many now standing in the *Lybian* Desert, whose Names and Authors, neither *Herodotus* nor *Diodorus*, nor yet any of the Ancients, have exprest.

After *Mycerinus*, according to ^ⁱ *Herodotus*, (for *Diodorus* is here silent,) lib. 2. *Afychis* succeeded in the Kingdom, ^ⁱ who being desirous to excel his Predecessors, left for a Monument a Pyramid made of Bricks, with these words in

Ὁὐχ
 ῥῶς ἐπὶ
 πόλιν
 Μάμφιν,
 ἐπὶ φανε
 ράτῳ τῷ
 καὶ Ἀϊ-
 συπτον.
 Diodor.
 lib. I.

= 'Τπρς
 λειψ ὁ
 λόγος
 τῆς
 βασιλείας

*graven in Stone, Compare not me with
the Pyramids built of Stone, which I as
far excel as Jupiter doth the other Gods.
For striking of the bottom of the Lake
with long Poles, and gathering the Dirt
which stuck to them, they made thence
Bricks, and formed me in this manner.*

The same Author relates, that many Ages after this *Aycheh*, *Sazacharib* King of the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*, who certainly is the same which is mentioned in the Scriptures, having expelled *Sethon* the King of the *Egyptians*, and the Priest of *Vulcan*, * the *Egyptians* recovering their liberty, made choice of twelve Kings, (which is also confirmed by *Diodorus*,) dividing Egypt into so many Parts; for they could at no time live without a King; these by a common consent, built a Labyrinth above the Lake of *Memris*: At the Angle where the Labyrinth ends, there is a Pyramid of *XL Orgyia*, (that is, of *CCXL* Feet,) in which are engraven huge Resemblances of Beasts, the Passage to it is under-ground. And this is that Pyramid, as may evidently be collected out of * *Strabo*, in which *Imandes* lyes buried, whom we may probably suppose to have been the Builder of it: His words are these, *At the end of this Building*, (that is, of this Labyrinth,) which contains a Furlong in length, there

many: And whereas *Strabo* makes this to be quadrilateral, he describes these (if I mistake not his words,) to be sexangular. ^b *Superque Nemeſes XV. ædificus inclinetur Pyramides complures* (that is, above this Labyrinth which which he places in *Heracleopolite Nemo.*) *quadrangorum Ulnarum VI radice muros obinentes.*

Long before these four Pyramids of *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Aschis*, who immediately succeeded one another in the Kingdom, but after this of *Ismandes*, *Myris* as he is called by *Diodorus*, (but *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, name him *Maris*) another *Ægyptian* King, built two admirable Pyramids; the description of which, tho' in *Herodotus*, it immediately follows that of the twelve Kings; yet as it may evidently be collected out of him and *Diodorus*, these two of *Maris* must many Ages have pre-

ceded. For *Herodotus* tells us, that from *Meneis* (the first King of the *Egyptians*, whom *Diodorus* names *Menais*,) the Priests recited out of their Books **CCCCXXX** Kings, the last of which was *Mæris*; long after whom reigned *Sejofstris*, who is called by *Manethos*, *Sethosis*; and by *Diodorus*, *Sejofstris*, and *Sejofsis*; who more particularly than *Herodotus*, expresses *Sejofstris* to have been ^a seven Ages ^d *Diod.* after *Mæris*, and to have reigned long ^{Sic. lib. 1.} before these twelve Kings. The which *Sejofstris*, or *Sethosis*, immediately succeeding *Amenophis*, (according to *Manethos* in *Josephus*, as we shall shew in the ensuing Discourse,) must have been before *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Ayphis*; and therefore consequently, that *Mæris* must long have preceded these twelve Kings. This *Mæris* undertook, and finished that most admirable Lake denominated after his name, as it is testified by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*. A Work the most useful and wonderful, if it be rightly considered, that I think was ever by any Man attempted; in the midst of which, he erected two Pyramids, the one in memory of himself, the other of his Wife, each of them being **100** Feet in height, the description of both which, and of his Lake, we ^a *Diod.* have in *Herodotus* the latter we find in ^{Sic. lib. 1.}

Greaves.

b Plin.
lib. 36.
cap. 13.

c Herod. lib. 2. Μετὰ τὸν [Μιῦα] κατέλειπον οἱ ῥῆες ἐκ βίβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τεμπροσίνων. Τεμπροσὶν ἐνόμαζα ἑχαλὶ - αὐτοὺς Μοῖρες.

^d Diod.
Sic. lib. 1.

Sic. lib. i.
'Επεί το ὅ
τι παλαιότερον

11514 3000

dorcas,

Herod.
2. 2.

Strab.
ib. 17.

Diodorus relates, that over the Sepulchre there was

Greaves. *dorus*, and therefore I shall relate his words. *Ten* Schoenes, (that is, 100 Furlongs; though *Strabo* and *Artemidorus* before him, observe a difference of *Schoenes* in *Aegypt*;) above the City (*Memphis*;) *Myris* dug a Lake of admirable use, the greatness of which Work is incredible. For they relate, that the circumference of it contains 100 100 100 100 Furlongs, the depth of it in many places is fifty Fathom, (that is, two hundred Cubits, or three hundred Feet,) who therefore may not deservedly ask, that shall consider the greatness of the Work, how many Myriads of Men, and in how many Years they made it? The common benefit of it to those that inhabit *Aegypt*, and the Wisdom of the King, no Man can sufficiently commend. For since the rising of *Nilus* is not always alike, and the Country is the more fruitful by the moderateness of this, he digged a Lake to receive the superfluity of the Water, that neither by the greatness of the inundation unseasonably drowning the Country, it should occasion Marshes or Lakes; or flowing less than it should do, for want of Water, it should corrupt the Fruits; he therefore cut a Ditch from the River to the Lake, eighty Furlongs long, and three hundred Feet in breadth. By which, sometimes receiving in, and sometimes diverting the River, he exhibited a seasonable quantity of Water to the Husbandmen, the Mouth of it sometimes being opened, and sometimes shut, not without much Art, and great Expences. For he that would open the Bars (or Sluces,) or shut them, it was necessary that he spent at the least fifty Talents. The Lake in this manner benefiting the *Agyptians*, hath continued to our Times, and from the Author of it at this day, is called the Lake of *Myris*. The King that digged it, left a place in the midst, in which he built a Sepulchre and two Pyramids, each a Furlong in height; the one for himself, the other for his Wife, placing upon them two Marble-Statues, sitting on a Throne, imagining by these Works he should propagate to Posterity an immortal Memory of his worth. The Revenue of the Fish of this Lake, he gave to his Wife for her Unguents, and other Ornaments, the fishing being worth to her a Talent a day: For they report, there are two and twenty sorts of Fishes in it, and that such a Multitude is taken, that those who are perpetually employed in salting them, of which there is a very great number, can hardly dispatch the Work.

Thus far *Diodorus*. Which description, as it is much more full than that of *Herodotus*, so *Herodotus* hath this memorable Observation omitted by *Diodorus*: 'That this Lake was made by *Hand*, and hollowed, it is apparent, because almost in the midst of it, there stands two Pyramids fifty Fathoms above the Water, and as many Fathoms of the Building under-water: Upon the top of each of which, there is a Colossus of Stone sitting upon a Throne; so that the Pyramids are an hundred Fathoms high. *Strabo* I know not by what oversight omits these two Pyramids, whereas he acknowledges the Lake of *Maris* in which they stood, to be admirable, being like a Sea for Greatness and for Colour.

Moies *ἡ ἀρχαία τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μεγάλῃ, ὡς ὁμοιωμένη.* *Strab.* lib. 17.

Besides these which we have handled, and whose Founders are upon record in the Writings of the Ancients, there are many others in the *Libyan* Desert where it bounds *Aegypt*, of which there is no particular mention extant, either in the *Greeks*, *Latins*, or *Arabians*; unless we shall apply these

words of *Diodorus* to some of them. There are three other Pyramids, each side of which contain two hundred Feet, the Structure of them, excepting the Magnitude, is like to the former, (that is, as he there specifies, to those three Pyramids of *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*;) these three Kings before mentioned, are reported to have erected them for their Wives. The bigness of some of these now extant, doth well answer the measure assigned by *Diodorus*: But if these three Kings built them for their Queens, it may be wondered why they should have placed them so remote from their own Sepulchres; or why they should stand at such large and unequal differences of several Miles from one another. I find as little satisfaction in *Pliny*,¹ where he writes, *Multa circa hoc varietas illorum hominum fuit, vestigiaque*^{lib. 36. cap. 12}

collect out of him, and likewise out of that Ode in *Horace* :

Plin.
lib. 30.
ib. 3.

*Exegi monumentum ære perennius :
Regalique situ Pyramidum altius.*

Plin.
lib. 36.
ap. 12.

That they were the Works of *Ægyptian* Kings ; but of which of them, and at what time, we are altogether uncertain. *Regum pecunie*, * saith *Pliny*, *otiosa, ac stulta ostentatio*. Of the same Opinion is *Leo Africanus*, in his accurate Description of *Africa*, after many Years travel in those Parts. *Hæc per desertum arenaceum, itur ad Pyramides, nempe ad præcorum Ægypti Regum Sepulchra, quo in loco Memphim olim existisse asserunt*. It may be it was the Royal Prerogative, and that it was prohibited to private Men, how wealthy and potent soever to be thus intombed ; but without some farther Light from the Ancients, it would be too great a presumption to determine any thing.

Lucan.
lib. 8.

Lucan, I know not upon what ground, makes as if the *Ptolemies* had imitated the *Ægyptian* Kings in this particular :

*Cùm Ptolemaeorum manes seriemque
pudendam
Pyramides claudant.*

Surely if they did, these are none of those : For they would have built them at *Alexandria*, which was then the Regal Seat, and not at *Memphis*, the which as * *Diodorus* assures us, began to decay after the Building of *Alexandria*,

* Diodor.
lib. 1.

like as the ancient *Thebes* (as the * *Grecians* stiled it ; or the City of the Sun, as the *Ægyptians*, according to * *Diodorus*, called it ; or *Diospolis*, as *Diodorus* and * *Strabo* al-
fo name it.) did after the building of *Memphis*. Those which imagin the Monument or Sepulchre, mentioned by * *Plutarch* at *Alexandria*, into which *Cleopatra* fled for fear of *Augustus*, to have been a Pyramid, are much deceived. For in the Life of *Mark Antony*, where he informs us, that there were Sepulchres near the Temple of *Isis*, of exquisite Workmanship, and very high ; into which she conveyed the richest of her Treasures, he describes one of them, wherein she hid her self, to have had a Window above the Entrance, by which she drew up with Cords the Body of *Antony*, and by which afterwards *Proculeius* entred, and surprized her. This Window is not in any of those Pyramids I have seen ; neither can I apprehend, if these were of as solid and massie Stones, and of the same shape as those at *Memphis*, and the Chambers within as remote from the outward Superficies, of what use it could be, either in respect of Light or Ornament ; and therefore I conjecture these Monuments of the *Ptolemies* to have been of a different Structure from those of the Pyramids.

Greeves.
Plato, &c
alibi.
Diodor.
lib. 1.
Strab.
lib. 17.

In all other Classical Authors, I find no mention of the Founders of the rest in the *Libyan* Desert ; and after such a distance of time, we must be content to be silent with them.

Of the Time in which the PYRAMIDS were built.

TO define the precise Time in which these Pyramids were erected, as it is an Inquiry of much Difficulty, so of much Importance, in regulating the various and uncertain Traditions of the Ancients concerning the *Ægyptian* Chronology. For it we shall peruse those Fragments of *Manethos*, an *Ægyptian* Priest, preserved by * *Josephus*, or those Relations of * *Herodotus*, of CCCXXX Kings to *Meris*, from *Menes* the first that reigned in *Ægypt*, (who probably is * *Mizraim*, the second Son of *Cham*, and * *Father* of the

* Joseph. lib. 1. contra
herodot. lib. 2.

* Gen. 10. 6.

* Joseph. lib. 1. Antiq. cap. 7.

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Ægyptians;) or that computation of * *Diodorus*, borrowed from their sacred Commentaries, That to the CLXXX Olympiad, or to the time in which he travelled thither, there had been a Succession in the Royal Throne for XV CIO Years ; or that Calculation of * *Pomponius Mela*, of CCCXXX Kings to the time of *Amasis*, continuing above XIII CIO Years ; or lastly, those Dynasties mentioned by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, but pretermitted by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* ; the first of which * *Joseph Scaliger* places in the VII CIO and IX Year of that *Julian* Period, which by him

* Trecentos & triginta Reges ante Amasim, & supra tredecim millium annorum ætates, certis annalibus referunt. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9.

* Scal. in Eusebii Chronici.

him is called *Periodus Juliana postulatitia*, and the time *tempus prolepticum*, preceding the Creation by CIO CCC XXXVI Years, we shall find our selves intangled in a Labyrinth, and Maze of Times, out of which we cannot, without much perplexity, unwind our selves. And if we farther consider, that amongst those many Names delivered by *Manethos*, and preserved by *Josephus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, how few there are that concur with those of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, or with those in *Plato*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Censorinus*, and some others: And that which is of greater consequence, how difficult it is to reconcile these Names and Times to the *Ægyptian* Kings recorded in the Scriptures, we shall find our selves beset, and as it were environed on every side with great and inextricable Doubts. What therefore in Inquiries of this nature, is approved as the most solid and rational Foundation, that is, to find out some common and received *Epocha*, in which either all or most agree, that shall be our Guide in Matters of so great Antiquity. Now, of all the antient *Epocha's* which may conduce to our purpose, there is none that we may safer rely upon than that of the migration of the Israelites out of *Ægypt*; which had the same hand faithfully to pen it, that was the most active and miraculous instrument of their departure. And though prophane Historians differ much in the manner of this Action, either as they were tainted with Malice against the *Hebrews*, or misled with the Calumnies and False Reports of their Enemies, the *Ægyptians*; of whom, ^h *Josephus* may seem to have given a true censure, That all the *Ægyptians* in general are ill affected to the Jews; yet all agree in this, that *Moses* was the chief Author, and conductor of this Expedition. If therefore we shall discover the time in which *Moses* flourished, and in which this great Enterprize was performed by him, it will follow by way of consequence, that knowing what *Pharaoh*, or King in *Ægypt*, was coetaneous and concurrent with him, we may by *Synchronism*, comparing sacred and prophane Authors, and following the Line of their Successions, as it is delivered by good Authority, at length fall upon the Age in which *Cheops*, and those other Kings reigned in *Ægypt*, whom we assigned out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, to have been the Founders of these Pyramids.

And here, for our Inquiry, what *Ægyptian* King was concurrent with *Moses*, we must have recourse to the Relations, not only of the Scriptures, but also of other approved Authors amongst the Jews and *Gentiles*; in which last, though we often find more than an *Ægyptian* Darknesh, yet sometimes thorough this we may discover some glimmerings of Light. By the Scriptures alone, it is impossible to infer, what King of *Ægypt* was coetaneous with *Moses*; seeing the Name, which is there given him, of *Pharaoh*, is a common denomination applyable to all of them; much like *Cæsar* or *Augustus* with the Roman Emperours, or sometime *Cosroe* with the Persians, and no distinctive Appellation. Yet in *Herodotus* we find one King, the Successor of *Sesostris*, to have been called ' *Pharon*; which I suppose is *Pharaoh*, and his proper and peculiar Name. But who this *Pharaoh* should be, whose Heart God hardened, and upon whom *Moses* wrought so many Wonders, is worth our disquisition. *Josephus* in his first Book contra Apionem, out of *Manethos* contends, that *Tethmosis* (who is termed also *Amosis* by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*.) reigned then in *Ægypt*. The whole force of his Argument lyes in this, that *Manethos* mentions the Expulsion of the Nation of Shepherds to have been by *Tethmosis*: But the *Hebrews* were a Nation of Shepherds: Therefore the *Hebrews* were expelled out of *Ægypt*, or in the Scripturephrase, departed out of *Ægypt* under *Tethmosis*; and consequently, that *Moses*, who was their Conductor, was coetaneous with him. That the *Hebrews* were a Nation of Shepherds, and so accounted of themselves, and were esteemed by others, is very perspicuous. ^k And *Joseph* said unto his Brethren, and unto his Father's House, I will go up, and shew *Pharaoh*, and say unto him, My Brethren and my Father's House which were in the Land of Canaan, are come unto me: And the Men are Shepherds, for their Trade hath been to feed Cattel, and they have brought their Flocks, and their Herds, and all that they have. And it shall come to pass, when *Pharaoh* shall call you, and shall say, What is your Occupation?

abomination to the Egyptians. But before we shall disprove this Assertion of *Josephus*, which carries much speciousness with it, and therefore is approved and followed

" In oratione contra Graecos.
" In paranetico ad eos.
" lib. 1. Stromatum.

" Joseph. lib. 1. contra
Falsos Prophetas
et ritus & dogmas, &c.

by ["] *Tatianus*, by ["] *Justin Martyr*, and by ["] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we shall put down the words of *Manethos* himself, as they are reported by ["] *Josephus* in his First Book contra Apionem. *Ti-*

maus by name being our King, under him I know not how God was displeased, and beyond expectation, out of the Eastern Countries, Men of obscure Birth incamped themselves in the Country, and easily, and without Battel, took it by force, binding the Princes, and besides, cruelly burning the Cities, and overthrowing the Temples of the Gods. Last of all, they made one of themselves a King, who was named Salatis; he reigning nineteen Years, died. After him, another named Baxo reigned forty four Years; next to him Apachnas; another, thirty six Years seven Months; then Apophis, sixty one; Janias fifty, and one Month; after all Assis, forty nine Years and two Months. And these were the first six Kings of them always conquering, and desiring to extirpate Egypt. Their Nation was called Hycios, that is, Kingly Shepherds. For Hyc in the sacred Tongue, signifies a King; and Sos a Shepherd, or Shepherds in the common Dialect, and thence Hycios is compounded. But some say, that these were Arabians. [In other Copies I have found, that by the denomination Hyc, Kings are not signified, but on the contrary, captive Shepherds. for Hyc in the Egyptian Language, when it is pronounced with a broad Sound, plainly signifies Captives; and this seems more probable to me, and better agreeing to the ancient History.] These Kings therefore which we before mentioned, and those which were called Pastors, and those which descended of them, ruled Egypt five hundred and eleven Years. After this, he mentions that by the Kings of Thebes, and of the rest of Egypt; there was an Invasion made against these Shepherds, and a very great and lasting War. The which, he says, were conquered by a King, whose name was Alisfragmuthosis, whereby they lost all Egypt, being shut into a place containing in circuit ten

thousand Acres. This space *Manethos* says, the Shepherds incamped with a great and strong Wall, that they might secure all their Substance and their Spoils in a defensible place. But *Themosis* the Son of Alisfragmuthosis endeavouring to take them, with Four hundred thousand armed Men, beleaguere'd the Walls, who despairing to take them by Siege, made conditions with them that they should leave Egypt, and go without any damage whither they would: They upon this agreement, no less than Two hundred and forty thousand, with all their Substance, went out of Egypt by the Desert into Syria, and fearing the Power of the Assyrians (who then ruled Asia,) in that Country, which is now called Judaea, they built a City capable to receive so many Myriads of Men, naming it Hierusalem.

Graeves.

By way of answer to *Josephus*, we say, that though the *Israelites* might properly be called Shepherds, yet it cannot hence be inferred out of *Manethos*, that these Shepherds were *Israelites*. Nay, if we compare this Relation of *Manethos* with that in *Exodus*, which ["] *Josephus* being a Jew, cannot but approve of, we shall find the contrary. For there they live under a heavy Slavery and Persecution, whereas here they are the Persecutors and Afflictors; there they groan under their Task-masters the Egyptians, here they make all Egypt to groan under them: Lastly, whereas there they are employed in the lowest Offices, ["] in Mortar and in Brick, ["] *Exod. 1.* and in all manner of Service in the ["] Field: Here, after the destruction of many Cities, and Men, and infinite Outrages committed upon the Egyptians, they make one of themselves a King, and for six Descents keep themselves in Possession of the Royal Throne, of which, after a long and bloody War, they are deprived. Their building likewise of a City in Judaea, and naming it *Jerusalem*, according to *Manethos*, is a strong Argument against *Josephus*, that these Shepherds could not have been the *Israelites*. For before the Entrance of the *Israelites* into Canaan, we find that *Jerusalem* was a Fort of the Jebusites upon Mount Sion, unconquered by *Joshua*. ["] As for the Jebusites the ["] *Josh. 15.* Inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Children of Israel could not drive them out. But they were long after subdued by *David*. And ["] *David* and all Israel went ["] to Jerusalem, which is Jebus, where the ["] *11. 4. 5.* Jebusites were the Inhabitants of the Land.

" These are the words of the Jews, and not of the Arabians."

Land. And the Inhabitants of Jebus
Greaves. said to David, Thou shalt not come bi-
ther; nevertheless, David took the
Castle of Zion, which is the City of Da-
 vid. Besides all this, the History and Chronology of those ancient Times, if we compare sacred and prophane Authors, will in no sort admit that these Shepherds must have been the *Israelites*. For if these that departed out of *Aegypt* in the Reign of *Tethmosis*, King of *Thebais*, or of the upper part of *Aegypt*, were the Children of *Israel*, then must *Moses* their Conductor have been as ancient as *Tethmosis*, or *Amosis*, that is, as ancient as *Inachus*, the first King of the *Argives*. For *Apion*, in his Fourth Book of the Histories of *Aegypt*, shews out of *Ptolemaus Mendesium*, an *Aegyptian* Priest, that this *Amosis* lived in the time of *Inachus*, as it is record-

* In *Oratone contra Græ-*

ccs.

" In *parænetico ad Græcos.*

* *Lib. 1. Strom.*

† And so doth *St. Augustin*,
Eduxit Moses ex Aegypto po-
pulum Dei novissimo tem-
pore Cecropis, Atheniensium
Regis. L. 18. c. 11. de Civ.
Det.

* *Euseb. Chron.*

• *Euseb.*
Chron.

† *Ptole-*
maus cy-
presianus
evangelista.

Clemens, & Africanus; ex Judeis, Jo-
sephus, & Justus, veteris historie mo-
nimenta replicantes. Now *Inachus*, ac-
 cording to * *Castor* an ancient Chrono-
 grapher, with whom *Eusebius* also con-
 curs, began to reign a Thousand and
 eighty Years before the first *Olympiad*,
 that is, CIO CCLXVIII before the de-
 struction of the Temple under *Zede-*
kiah, and before Christ's Nativity, af-
 ter the *Dionysian* or common Account,
 CIO CCLVI. That of the *Olym-*
piads is so assured an *Epocha*, and
 so strongly and clearly proved by *Eclipses*
 of the Sun and Moon, which are the
 best demonstrations in Chronology,
 these being expressed by some of the
 Ancients to have hapned in such a Year
 of such an *Olympiad*, as by † *Ptolemy*;
 others in such a Year of the *Epocha* of
Nabonassar, that we cannot err in our
 Calculations an hour, much less an in-
 tire day. By this therefore we shall
 fix the time of *Zedekiah*, and the de-
 struction of the Temple: And conse-
 quently, if, by our continuation of the
 Years mentioned in the Sacred Story,

it shall appear, that from the time of
Moses, either to the first *Olympiad*, or to
Zedekiah and the destruction of the
 Temple, there cannot be so great a di-
 stance as these suppose, we may safe-
 ly then conclude, that *Moses* lived not
 in the time of this *Tethmosis*, and is
 not so ancient as *Josephus* makes him,
 and that these Shepherds were not the
Israelites, but very probably *Arabians*,
 as *Manethos* here also reports; Some say
 that these were *Arabians*, who to this
 day, for the greatest part, like the *No-*
mades, wander up and down, feeding
 their Cattel, and often make incursions
 upon the *Aegyptians* and *Syrians*. Which
 occasioned *Sesostris* the great (as we
 find it in † *Diodorus*.) to make a Wall^d on the East-side of *Aegypt* a Thousand
 and fifty furlongs in length, from *Pelu-*
sium by the Desert to *Heliopolis*, a-
 gainst the invades of the *Syrians* and
Arabians. As at this day the *Chinese*
 have done against the irruptions of the
Tartars on the North and West Parts of
China, for many hundred Miles; the which
 appears by a large Map of mine of that
 Country, made and printed in *China*. On
 the contrary, if the succession of Times
 from *Moses*, recorded in the Holy Writ,
 better agrees with the Age of *Ameno-*
phis, the Father of *Rameses*, whose
 Story † *Josephus* hath preserved out of † *Joseph*
Manethos, and whose Time and Rank
 in the Dynasties, *Africanus* and *Euse-*
bius deliver out of the same *Manethos*,
 we may with more probability affirm,
 that the migration of the *Israelites* and
 time of *Moses*, was when *Amenophis*
 was *Pharaoh*, or King of *Aegypt*, than
 that it was when *Tethmosis* reigned, as
Josephus and others contend, out of a
 desire to make *Moses* ancienter than in
 truth he is.

And though this Argument from the
 Series and Successions of Time is so de-
 monstrative and conclusive, that nothing
 can be opposed against it, and therefore
 might be sufficient to evince our pur-
 pose: Yet if we considerately examin
 another Relation of *Manethos*, (which
 is slighted and depressed by *Josephus*,
 because it made not for his purpose,) it
 must necessarily be that by those
 Shepherds he meant not the *Israelites*,
 but rather by the *Israelites* the leprous
 People, which in his computation are

^d *Diod. S*
lib. 1.

^d *Joseph*
lib. 1. cc
tra Apic
nem.

The sum of whose Discourse is this, That *Amenophis*, who was a great worshipper of the Gods, as *Orus* one of the former Kings had been, being desirous to see the Gods, one of the Priests of the same Name with him, told him he might, if he cleansed the Country of leprous and polluted People. This leprous People chose for their Captain one of the Priests of *Heliopolis*, named *Osarsiphus*, who changing his Name, was called *Moses*; he causing *Amenophis* for fear to fly into *Aethiopia*, was afterward by him, and by his Son *Sethon*, who was also called *Rameffes*, by the name of his Father, overthrown in Battel, and the leprous People were persued by them unto the Confines of *Syria*. Thus far out of *Manethos*. Here, which is very remarkable, we have expressly the name of *Moses*; whereas in the former Relation of *Manethos* there is no mention of him, but of six other Kings, with their peculiar Names. Whereas it is not probable he would have omitted the Name of *Moses* if he had lived in that Age, being a Name so famous, and so well known to them; and by *Josephus* acknowledged, that the Egyptians accounted him to be an admirable and divine Man. The pursuing of them unto the Confines of *Syria*, doth very well intimate the following of the *Israelites* by *Pharaoh* and his Host. For his terming them a leprous and polluted People, we must consider him to have been an *Egyptian*, and therefore not unlikely to throw as many Aspersions as he could upon the *Israelites*; whom they deadly hated, it may be out of memory of their former Plagues. However it were, *Cheremon*

to *Ethiopia*, and his Son *Messenes* drives out the *Jews* into *Syria*, in number about Two hundred thousand, and receives his Father *Amenophis* out of

*Æthiopia. I know" Ly-
symachus affligs another
King, and another time,
in which Moses led the
Israelites out of Ægypt,
and that was when Boc-
choris reigned in Æ-
gypt, the Nation of the
Jews being infected with Leprosies, and
Scabs, and other Diseases, betook them-
selves to the Temples to beg their Living,
many being tainted with the Disease,
there happened a Dearth in Ægypt.
Whereupon Bocchoris consulting with
the Oracle of Ammon, received answer,
That the leprous People were to be
drowned in the Sea in Sheets of Lead,
the scabbed were to be carried into the
Wilderness, who choosing Moses for
their Leader, conquered that Country
which is now called Judea. Out of
which Relation of Lysimachus, and
some others of like cre-*

dit, Tacitus may have borrowed his in the Fifth Book of his Histories. Most Authors agree, that there arising a Contagion in Egypt which defiled their Bodies, King Bocchoris consulting the Oracle of Hammon for Remedy, was bid to purge his Kingdom, and to carry that sort of Men, as hated of the Gods, into other Countries. Thence the vulgar sort being inquired after, and collected together - after

they had been left in the Deserts, the rest being heavy with Tears, Moses, one of the banished Men admonished them, not to expect the help either of Gods or Men, being deserted by both, but that they should trust to him as their Captain sent from Heaven, to whose assistance by their giving credit at the first, they had overcome their present Calamities. They assented unto him, and being ignorant of all, they begin their Journey as Fortune should lead them. Thus much and more hath Tacitus of Moses and the Jews. But to pass by his and *Lasmachus's* Calumnies, we can no more assent to these Testimonies of theirs, that Moses lived in the

¹⁴ Lyfimachus apud Iosep
lib. 1. contra Apionem. Ἰ-
Βοκχρεως ἑ Αἰθιοπίων β-
σιλεως τ λαὸν τ Ἰουδαί-
ας πρὸς οὐτας κ, φερὸς,
ἀλλὰ νοσήματι τινα ἔχει-
τας, εἰς τὰ ἐξω καθαρο-
σύνας μεταβαλὼν τρεῖσι, δις

' Tacit. l. 4. Hist. *Plum*
mi auctores consentiunt, q
ue per Egyptum tabe que corpo
redadere: Regem Bocchoris
adito Hammonis oraculo, rem
dium petentem, purgare ve
num, qd id genus hominum
invium deas altis in terra
averebre jussim. Sic conqui
 tum collectumque vulgus, po
 quam vastis locis relictum si
 ceteris per lacrymas torpen
 bus, Moysen unum exulum n
 uisse, ne quam deorum bon
 numve opem expectarent ab
 trijque deserti, sed sibimet
 duci caelesti crederent, p
 cuius auxilio credentes prae
 tere miserias populi. Ass
 fere atque omnium ignavi si
 tum iter incipiunt.

Τῆτον ὃ
 ἔ' ἀνδρα
 θαυμασὸν
 μὲν Αἰσὺπ-
 τιοι, καὶ θεοὶ
 νομιζέσσι.
 Joseph.
 lib. 1. con-
 tra Apio-
 nem.

Lib. I. contra Apionem.
Χαίρειμ[εν] καὶ γὰρ (καὶ) Λίσυπ-
πικῶν φασκὼν ἰσοείαν συγ-
γρᾶφαι καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ταυτὸ
ὄνομα τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπερ ὁ
Μαρίνης, Ἀμένειον καὶ τῷ
ὑπὸ αὐτῷ Ῥαμίανω, &c.

contra Apionem.
 ἡ δὲ αἰτῆς Αἱγυπτιακοῦ
 ἱστορίας τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς
 Αἰγύπτου, ἐν οἷς ὁ πατριάρχης,
 Πατριάρχης, &c.
 hath almost the same History, as * Josephus confesses. Charemon professing to write the History of Ægypt, says, That under Amenophis, and his Son Rameffes, Two hundred and fifty thousand leproous and polluted Men were cast out of Egypt. Their Leaders were Moses the Scribe, and Iosephus, who was also a sacred Scribe. The Egyptian Name of Moses was Tifthen, of Ioseph Peteseeph. These coming to Pelusium, and finding there Three hundred and eighty thousand Men left by Amenophis, which he would not admit into Egypt, making a League with them, they undertook an Expedition against Egypt. Upon this Amenophis flies in-

time of *Bocchoris*, than we did to *Josephus* that he was coetaneous with *Veibmasis*. For we find *Bocchoris* to be placed by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, both following *Manethos* in the twenty fourth *Dynasty*, and by *Diodorus* long after *Sesoftris* the Great, or *Rameffes*; which *Rameffes*, or *Sesofis*, or *Sibon*, (that is, *Sesoftris*, and *Sesofis* in *Diodorus*), both in *Manethos* and *Charemon*, is the Son of *Amenophis*, who is the last King of the eighteenth *Dynasty*, according to *Africanus* and *Eusebius*. I purposely omit the Opinion of *Apion*, that *Moses* (whom he makes to be of *Helipolis*.) departed with these *Lepers*, and *Blind*, and *Lame*, in the first Year of the seventh Olympiad, in which Year, saith he, the *Phoenicians* built *Carthage*; and that other of *Porphyrius* in his Fourth Book against the *Christians*, that *Moses* was before *Semiramis*. Where he places him as much too high, as *Apion* doth too low.

^m Apud
Jof. lib. 2.
contra A-
pionem.

ⁿ Ex Eth-
niciis vero
impious illi
Porphyrius
in quanto
operti sui
libris, quod
adversum nos casti labore contexuit, post Moysen Semiramim
fuisse affirmat. Euseb. Chron.

Laying therefore aside these vain and uncertain Traditions, we have no more assured way exactly to fix the time of *Moses*, and by *Moses* the time in which the *Pyramids* were built, than to have recourse to the sacred Scriptures, and sometimes to compare such Authors of the Gentiles with these, against whom we have no just Exceptions. For by those, and these conjointly, we may continue his time to the first Olympiad, and thence to the destruction of the Temple, by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*: That of the Olympiads being a most certain and known Epocha with the *Greeks*, as that of the destruction of the Temple with the *Jews*. From *Moses* then, or the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, to the building of *Solomon's Temple*, are CCCCLXXX Years current, or Four hundred seventy nine complete; and so also *Eusebius* computes them. The words of the Text plainly conclude, this Sum: *And it came to pass in the four hundred and fourth-score Year, after the Children of Israel were come out of the Land of Egypt, in the fourth Year of Solomon's Reign over Israel, in the Month Zif, which is the second Month, that he began to build the House of the Lord.* From the building of the Temple to the destru-

ction of it in the Reign of *Zedekias*, by the calculation and confession of the best Chronologers, are betwixt Four hundred and twenty and Four hundred and thirty Years. Which is thus deduced: After the first Foundation of the Temple, *Solomon* reigned thirty seven Years, *Rehoboam* with *Abia* twenty; in whose time we are to place *Shishak*, or *Sesachosis*, the King of *Egypt*. And it came to pass in the fifth Year of King *Rehoboam*, that *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, came up against *Jerusalem*; and he took away the Treasures of the House of the Lord, and the Treasures of the King's House, he even took away all; and he took away all the Shields of Gold which *Solomon* had made. This *Shishak* is named by the *Septuagint* *Σεσακ*, by *St. Hierom* *Sesac*, and is the same whom *Josephus* calls *Σεσακ*, which he imagines to *Ancor*, have been *Sesoftris* the Great, whose Victories and Conquests are described at large by *Herodotus*. But this *Sesoftris*, or *Sesofis*, as *Diodorus* also terms him, must long have preceded *Rehoboam's* time, as in the sequel of this Discourse it will appear. Therefore the more probable Opinion is that of *Scaliger*, that by *Shishak* is meant *Sesachosis*, whom *Manethos* calls *Σεσαχ*, and the *Schoiaft* of *Apollonius* *Σεσαχ*, the time of the Twenty second *Dynasty*, in which we find him placed by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, doth well agree with it, and the radical Letters in *Shishak*, *Sesac*, and *Σεσαχ*, being the same, do very much strengthen our Assertion. After *Rehoboam* and *Abia's* Reign, *Asaph* and *Jobosaphat* reigned LXVI Years, *Joram* and *Abaziah* IX, *Athalia* VII, and *Joas* XLVI, *Amasias* XXIX,

^a For 1 Kings 6. 1. In the fourth Year of his Reign, in the second Month he began to build the House of the Lord: And in 1 Kings 11. 42. The time that *Solomon* reigned in *Jerusalem* over *Israel*, was forty Years. Of which, if we subtract three complete Years, that preceded the foundation of the Temple, there remains thirty seven Years.

^b 1 Kings 14. 21. He reigned seventeen Years in *Jerusalem*.

^c 1 Kings 15. 2. The Years reigned he in *Jerusalem*.

^d 1 Kings 14. 25, 26.

^e *Diodorus* in the print Copies, always names him *Sesofis*, but in one of the M.S. as *Henr. Stephanus* observes, he is sometimes called *Sesofis*, and sometimes *Sesofis*. Vid. *Ea* *Diod.* ab *Henr. Stephan.*

by *Shishak* is meant *Sesachosis*, whom *Manethos* calls *Σεσαχ*, and the *Schoiaft* of *Apollonius* *Σεσαχ*, the time of the Twenty second *Dynasty*, in which we find him placed by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, doth well agree with it, and the radical Letters in *Shishak*, *Sesac*, and *Σεσαχ*, being the same, do very much strengthen our Assertion. After *Rehoboam* and *Abia's* Reign, *Asaph* and *Jobosaphat* reigned LXVI Years, *Joram* and *Abaziah* IX, *Athalia* VII, and *Joas* XLVI, *Amasias* XXIX,

1 Kings 22. 42. He reigned 28 Years in *Jerusalem*.

2 Kings 8. 17. He reigned 8 Years in *Jerusalem*.

2 Kings 8. 26. He reigned 8 Years in *Jerusalem*.

2 Kings 11. 2. And he reigned 6 Years in the fifth Year of the Lord six Years; at

^f 2 Kings 12. 2. Forty 2

^g 2 Kings 14. 2. He reig

^o Euseb.
Chron.

^p 1 Kings
6. 1.

¹ 2 Kings 15. 2. He reigned 52 Years in Jerusalem. ³ *Uzziah* LII, ⁴ *Jotham* XVI, ⁵ *Ahas* XVI, being contemporary with *Heshea* the last King of *Israel*, in whose time we find *So* to reign in *Egypt*, (⁶ 2 Kings 17. 4.) After *Ahas* succeeded, *Heczekiah* reigning ⁷ XXIX Years. ⁸ *He* reigned 16 Years in Jerusalem. ⁹ 2 Kings 16. 2. ¹⁰ *He* reigned 29 Years in Jerusalem. ¹¹ 2 Kings 18. 2. ¹² *He* reigned 29 Years in Jerusalem.

¹³ 2 Kings 18. 13, 16. Now ¹⁴ in the fourteenth Year of King *Heczekiah*, did *Sennacharib* King of *Assyria*, come up against all the fenced Cities of *Judah*, and took them. But afterwards, when he came to besiege *Jerusalem* — ¹⁵ It came to pass that night, that the Angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead Corpses. So *Sennacharib* King of *Assyria*, departed, and went, and returned and dwelt at *Nineveh*. In the time of this *Sennacharib*, *Sethon* succeeding *Anyfis* reigned in *Egypt*, according to ¹⁶ *Herodotus*, who in his *Euterpe* hath plainly the name of *Sannacharib*, styling him King of the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*, and making him to have received a miraculous Defeat, which it may be was that of *Heczekiah*, though he applies it to *Sethon* King of the *Egyptians*. His Story is well worth our observation, which runs thus : ¹⁷ After this (*Anyfis*) the Priest of *Vulcan*, by name *Sethon*, reigned, who abusing the Men of War of the *Egyptians*, and contemning them as not useful to him, besides other Ignominies ¹⁸ he deprived them of their Lands, which had been given to every Company of Twelve by the former Kings. Whence it hapned, that when afterwards *Sannacharib*, the King of the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*, invaded *Egypt*, the *Egyptian* Soldiers refused to assist him. Then the Priest destitute of Counsel, shut himself up, lamenting before the Image how much he was in danger to suffer; in the midst of his Mourning falling asleep, a God appeared to him, encouraging him that he should suffer no distress, if he would march against the Armies of the *Arabians*; for he would send him Succour. He therefore giving credit to this Dream, taking with him such Volunteers of the *Egyptians* as followed him, pitched his Army at *Peisium*; for there *Egypt* is easiest

invaded: Neither did any of the Soldiers follow him, but Tradesmen, and Artificers, and Merchants. Coming thither by Night, an infinite number of *Mice* entering up in his Enemies, gnawed their Quivers and Bows, and the Leathers of their Shields, so that the next day the Enemies destitute of Arms, fled, many of them being slain. And therefore now this King stands in the Temple of *Vulcan*, in a Statue of Marble, holding in his hand a Mouse with this Inscription, He that looks upon me, let him be religious. After *Heczekiah*, ¹⁹ *Manasse* reigned LV Years, ²⁰ *Amon* II, ²¹ *Josiah* XXXI. In his Days *Pharaoh* *Necho* King of *Egypt*, went up against the King of *Assyria* to the River *Euphrates*, and King *Josiah* went against him, and he slew him at *Megiddo* when he had seen him. The same Relation we read in *Herodotus*, if we pardon him the mistake of *Magdolo* for *Megiddo*, who writes, that ²² *Necus* (the King of *Egypt*) fighting a Battle on Land with the *Syrians* in *Magdolo*, obtained the Victory, and after the fight he took *Cadytus*, a great City in *Syria*. ²³ *Herod.* lib. 2. ²⁴ *Herod.* lib. 2.

Next to *Josiah* succeeded ²⁵ *Joachaz*, ²⁶ *Jehoiakim*, and ²⁷ *Jechoniah* or *Jehoiakim*, reigning eleven Years and six Months. And in the eleventh Year of ²⁸ *Zedekiah*, the next King after *Jechoniah*, was the Temple burnt by *Nebuzaradan*, in the nineteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, or the second of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, in the computation of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. This *Zedekia*,

tain of the Guard, a Servant of the King of *Babylon*, unto *Jerusalem*. And he burnt the House of the Lord, and the King's House, and all the Houses of *Jerusalem*, and every great Man's House burnt he with Fire, 2 Kings 25. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9. The same Relation we find in *Jeremiah*, Chap. 52. ver. 5, 6, 7, 12, 13. almost word for word, which is remarkable.

saith ^b Josephus, *having been a confederate of the Babylonians for eight Years, broke his Faith with them, and joining*

^b Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 10. cap. 10. *Τῷ συμμαχίαν ἔχῃ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπὶ ἑπτα ὁκτώ κατὰ χρόνον, διελέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσεις, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσέβητο, καταλύσας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἡλικίας.*

^c Ezek. 17. 15.

^d Jer. 37. 5.

^e Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 10. *Ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς ὤκνη οὐ μύμηκεν αὐτῷ Σεδεκίας ἀναστρέφει πολλὰ δυνάμεις ἵκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰς λῦσιν τῆς πόλεως.*

^f Jer. 37. 6, 8.

League with the Egyptians, hoped to overthrow the Babylonians. This League we find intimated in ^c Ezekiel; and we read in ^d Jeremiah and ^e Josephus of Succours and Assistance sent by the King of Egypt, when Zedekiah and Jerusalem were first distressed by the Chaldeans, or Forces of the King of Babylon. ^f Then Pharaoh's Army was come forth out of Egypt,

and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem, heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem. The same is reiterated by him: Behold Pharaoh's Army which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt to their own Land. And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this City, and take it, and burn it with fire. All which we see was performed by Nebuchadnezzar in the eleventh Year of Zedekiah; and a Judgment also denounced against the King of Egypt. ^g Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh Hophra King of Egypt, into the hands of his Enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his Life; as I gave Zedekiah King of Judah, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, his Enemy, and that sought his Life. The same is

^g Jer. 44. 30.

^h Ezek. 30. 22, 23.

ⁱ Herod. lib. 2. ^k Diodor. lib. 1.

^l *Ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπὶ ἑπτα ὁκτώ κατὰ χρόνον, διελέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσεις, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσέβητο, καταλύσας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἡλικίας.* Herod. l. 2.

often threatened by the Prophet ^h Ezekiel, who lived in the time of Hezekiah, as Jeremiah did: I am against Pharaoh King of Egypt, and I will scatter the Egyptians among the Nations, and will disperse them throughout the Countries: And I will strengthen the Arms of the King of Babylon, and put my Sword in his hand, but I will break Pharaoh's Arms. Which Prophecies we may discover most manifestly to have been fulfilled in the reign of Apries, as ⁱ Herodotus names him, or Apries, as ^k Diodorus calls him, or Vaphres, as the Septuagint and Eusebius render the Name of that King, which here in Jeremiah is called Pharaoh Hophra.

Who, saith ^l Herodotus, next to Psammitichus his Grandfather, was the most fortunate of

all the former Kings for twenty five Years of his reign; which might occasion Zedekiah to fly to him for Succour: But the Egyptians rebelling against him, he was overthrown in Battel, taken Prisoner, and afterward strangled by his own Servant Amasis, whom they had made their King. The whole Story and Manner is at large in ^m Herodotus, neither did divine Vengeance long forbear to pursue the Traitor. ⁿ Herod. lib. 2. For Cambyses the King of the Persians and of Babylon, coming with an Army against him, posses'd himself of Egypt, as the Prophets had foretold. Nor could the Egyptians ever to this day recover the Monarchy. For after the Persians succeeded the Macedonians, after them the Romans, then the Arabians, next the Mamalukes or Circassians, and last of all the Turks or Scythians. So that we may conclude from the Occurrences then happening, (the Relations of Herodotus exactly agreeing with the Threatnings of the Prophets,) as also from the computation of Times, and from the affinity and analogy of Names, that Hophra, and Apries, or Vaphres, must have been the very same Egyptian King coetaneous and concurrent with Zedekiah.

To reassume then what hath been demonstrated by us: From the migration of the Israelites out of Egypt, under the conduct of Moses to the building of Solomon's Temple, are Four hundred seventy nine Years complete; and from the building of the Temple to the destruction of it, are Four hundred and thirty Years and six Months. But because it is not probable, that amongst so many Kings, all of them should have reigned completely so many Years as are expressed in the Text; it being the usual stile of Kings to reckon the Years current of their Reign as complete, I shall limit this uncertainty between CCCCXX and CCCCXXX Years, which is a sufficient Latitude. If any one should desire a more exact Calculation, he may compute them by comparing other places of the Scriptures with these, to be but CCCCXXV Years current, according to the Opinion of the most Reverend and Judicious Primate of Ireland, to which I willingly subscribe; though either computation be sufficient for my purpose.

This destruction of the Temple, by our best Chronographers, is placed in the first Year of the forty eighth Olympiad, and in the hundred and sixtieth

of *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, of *Cephren* or *Greaves*. *Chabrys*; or of *Mycerinus*, the Authors of the three greater Pyramids, mentioned by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; or of *Afychis*, the builder of a fourth, according to *Herodotus*. Wherefore what their Writings have not supplied us with, that Reason must. For since these *Egyptian* Kings, as we have proved, lived between *Amenophis* and *Apries*, and by * *Eusebius* out of *Africanus*, *Amenophis* is the last of the XVIII Dynasty, and *Apries* or *Vapbres*, the VIII of the XXVI Dynasty, we must necessarily place them in one of the intermediate Dynasties. But seeing all the intermediate Dynasties have their peculiar Kings, unless it be the XX, we have no reason to exclude them, and to bring these in their places as Usurpers: But rather, with great probability, (for I must say here with * *Livy*, *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo assermet?*) we may assign to them the XX Dynasty. In which we find not the Name of any one King, but yet the space left vacant of CLXXVIII Years, according to *Eusebius*.

Here therefore we shall place

First, *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, the Founder of the first Pyramid, who began his Reign in the CIO CIO CIO CCOC XLVIII Year of the *Julian* Period, that is CCCCLXXX Years before the first Olympiad, and IO CLXXVII before the first Destruction of the Temple, and CIO CCLXVI before the beginning of the Years of our Lord. He reigned Fifty Years, saith *Herodotus*, and built this Pyramid, as *Diodorus* observes, a thousand Years before his time, or the CLXXX Olympiad, whereas he might have said a thousand two hundred and seven.

Secondly, *Cephren* or *Chabryis*, the Builder of the second, who reigned fifty ' fix Years.

lib. 2. Dio- Thirdly, *Mycerinus*, the Erector of
dor. lib. 1. the third, seven Years.

Fourthly, *Asychis* } How long these
the Author of the } two reigned is no
fourth.

Fifthly, *Anyſis* the { where expreſſed.

Sixthly, *Sabachus* the *Æthiopian*. He
z Herod. conquered *Ægypt*, and reigned * fifty
 lib. 2. Dio- **Years.**

* Herod. conquered *Aegypt*, and reigned * fifty
 lib. 2. Dio- Years.
 dor. lib. 1. The Sum is CLXIII Years, this be-
 ing subducted out of CLXXVIII Years,
 (the whole time allowed by *Eusebius*

to this *Dynasty*,) the remainder is XV Years; which space we may without any inconvenience, divide between *Asychis* and *Anyfis*.

If any shall question why the Names of these Kings are omitted by *Manetho*, an *Egyptian* Priest, in the XX Dynasty, I can give no other reason than what we read in *Hero-*

dotus : • These Kings (speaking of Cheops and Cephren,) the Egyptians out of hatred will not so much as name, but they call them the Pyramids of Philition a

Shepherd, who in those times at that place, fed his Cattel. The which hatred, occasioned by their Oppressions, as ^b Diodorus also mentions, might ^b Diodor. cause him to omit the rest, especially lib. 1. Sabachus an Ethiopian, and an Usurper.

Following this computation, of *Excelsius* of CLXXVIII Years for the XX Dynasty, and not that of *Africanus*, who assigns only an CXXV, of whom *Joseph Scaliger* hath this Censure, *In ista dynastia, aliquid turbasse videtur Africanus, ut consuleret rationibus suis*; it will follow by way of consequence, as the most Reverend and Learned Primate of Ireland, in his *Chronologia Sacra* hath singularly well observed,

First, That the XVIII *Dynasty* ends with the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Aegypt*, and with the death of *Amenophis*; which is clearly signified by *Manethos*, and the Times of *Belus* and *Danaus*, noted by the *Greek* Chronographers, do evidently confirm it. I mean the *Egyptian Belus* or *Amenophis*, the Father of *Egyptus*, or *Setibos* and *Danaus*, for the *Babylonian Belus* the Father of *Ninus*, whom *Mythologists* confound with this, feigning him to have transported Colonies out of *Egypt* to *Babylon*. The time allotted by ^a *Thallus*, an ancient Chronographer, to *Belus* of CCCXX Years before the *Trojan War*, doth exactly agree with this *Egyptian Belus* or *Amenophis*.

Secondly, That the XX Dynasty will receive those six Kings, which out of *Herodotus* we have placed there; the number of whose Years exceed the time limited by *Africanus*.

Thirdly, That the XXII Dynasty will fall upon the latter time of King Solomon.

ἡ Τύττος ὑπὸ μίσησιν
καρπαθέμενοι Αἰγυπτιοὶ ὀνο-
μάζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυρε-
μίδας καλέουσι ποικίλῃσι φι-
λίλων, ὅς τισιν ἔχουσιν
ἐννεμ κλίμα καὶ ταῦτα τα-
χέως. Herodot. lib. 2.

^b Diodor.
lib. I.

^c Scalig.
in Euleb.
Chron.

^d Thallus
apud Eu
Feb.

^a Euseb.
Chron.

* Liv. I. 1.

† Herod.
lib. 2. Dio-
dor. lib. 1.

² Herod.
lib. 2. Dio-
dor. lib. 1.

Groves.

Wm. L. 26.
C. 12.

tion, and partly out of State-policy, by keeping the People in employment, to divert them from Mutinies and Rebellions. ^a *Regum pecunie otiosa, ac stulta ostentatio* Quippe cum faciendi eas causa à plerisque tradatur, ne pecuniam successibus, aut emulis insidiantibus præberent, aut ne plebs esset otiosa.

But the true Reason depends upon higher and more weighty Considerations; though I acknowledge these alledged by *Pliny* might be secondary Motives. And this I sprang from the Theology of the Egyptians, who, as *Servius* shews in his Comment upon these words of ^b *Virgil*, describing the Funeral of *Polydorus*,

— Animamque Sepulchro
Condimus. —

believed, that as long as the Body endured, so long the Soul continued with it, which also was the Opinion of the ^c *Stoicks*. ^d Hence the Egyptians skilful in Wisdom, do keep their Dead embalmed so much the longer, to the end that the Soul may for a long while continue, and be obnoxious to the Body, lest it should quickly pass to another. The Romans did the contrary, burning their Dead, that the Soul might suddenly return into the generality, that is, into its own nature. Wherefore that the Body might not, either by Putrefaction be reduced to Dust, out of which it was first formed, or by Fire be converted into Ashes, (as the manner of the Grecians and Romans was,) they invented curious Compositions, besides the intombing them in stately Reconditories, hereby endeavouring to preserve them from Rottenness, and to make them Eternal. ^e *Nec cremare, aut fodere fas putant, verum arte medicatos intra penetralia collocant*, saith *Pomponius Mela*: And *Herodotus* gives the Reason why they did neither burn nor bury. For discoursing, in his Third Book, of the cruelty of *Cambyses*, and of his commanding that the Body of *Amasis*, an Egyptian King, should be taken out of his Sepulchre, whipt, and used with all contumely, he reports, that after all he bid it to be burnt, ^f *commanding that which was not holy*. For

the Persians imagin the Fire to be a God, and neither of them are accustomed to burn the dead Body. The Persians for the reason before alledged, because they conceive it unfitting for a God to devour the Carcass of a Man; and the Egyptians, because they are persuaded the Fire is a living Creature, devouring all things that it receives, and after it is satisfied with Food, dies with that which it hath devoured. Nor is it their

custom of giving the dead Body ^g to Beasts, but of embalming (or salting) it, not only for this reason, but that it may not be consumed with Worms. The term used by *Herodotus* ταρχιδεω, of salting or embalming the Dead, is also used by ^h *Baruch* and by ⁱ *Plato*, and by ^j *Lucian* in his *Discourse de Lustu*, treating of the several sorts of Burial practised by several Nations. The Grecian doth burn [the Dead] the Persian bury, the Indian doth anoint with the Fat of Swine, the Scythian eats, and the Egyptian ταρχιδεω, embalms, (or powders.) Which manner also is alluded to by *Antoninus* under the word ταρχις, ^k that which the other day was excrementitious Matter, within few days shall

either be ταρχις, an embalmed Body, or meer Ashes: In the one expressing the Custom of the Egyptians, in the other of the Romans; where Doctor ^l *Casaubone*, the Learned Son of a Learned Father, hath rightly corrected the Errors of those who render ταρχις to be a certain sort of Fish. By this means then salting the Body, and embalming it, (the manner of both we shall describe out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*,) the Soul was obliged (according to the belief of the Egyptians) to abide with the Body, and the Body came to be as durable as Marble. Inasmuch as *Plato*, who lived in Egypt with *Eudoxus* no less than XIII Years, as ^m *Strabo* witnesseth, brings it for an Argument in his *Phædon* to prove the Immortality of the Soul. by the

^a This barbarous Custom is still practised in the *Fall-Indies*, as *Texenat* (who from his own Travels, and the Writings of *Emh Cond*, a Persian, hath given us the best Light of those Countries,) truly informs us. Wherefore, we may give credit to that of *Tully*: *Magorum mos est non humane corpora suorum, nisi à feris sint antea lanata*. In *Hyrchanis* Plebs publicis alit canes, optimates domesticos, (Nobile autem genus canum illud scimus esse,) sed pro sua quique facultate parat, à quibus lanctur, eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam. (Tusc. q. l. 1.)

^b Baruch. 6. 71.

^c Plat. *Phædon*.

^d *Lucian de Lustu*.

^e *Οὐ δὲ Ἐλληνιστῶν δὲ Πέρσης θάψεν· ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς τὸ σῶμα φάγει· ὁ δὲ Σκυθὴς καλῶς αὐτὸς, ταρχιδεω δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.*

^f *M. Aurel. Anton.* lib. 4. *Ἐχθρὲς μὲν μὲνδεον, αἰώνιος δὲ ταρχις· ἢ τέρεξ.*

^g *Casaub.* ann. in L. 4. *M. Aurel. Anton.*

¹ *Stoici medium sequentes, tam diu animam durare dicunt, quam diu durat et corpus.* *Serv. Com.* in lib. 3. *Æneid.*

² *Unde Ægypti periti sapientia condita duntius referant cadavera, scilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret, et corpori sit obnoxia, ne cito ad aliud transseat.* *Romani contra faciebant comburentes cadavera, ut statim anima in generalitatem, id est, in suam naturam rediret.* *Serv. Com.* in lib. 3. *Æneid.*

³ *Pompon.* Mel. l. 1. c. 9.

⁴ *Herodot.* lib. 3. *Ἐρ- γασθὲν δὲ ἐκ δόσια. ἢ ὅτι οὐ νομίζουσιν ὅτι τὸ*

long duration of these Bodies. Which surely would have been more conclusive with him, could he have imagined that to these Times, that is, till CLO CLO Years after him, they should have continued so solid and intire, as to this day we find many of them. Wherefore

* *Ægyptii vero soli credunt Resurrectionem, quia diligenter curant cadavera mortuorum, moiem enim habent siccare corpora, & quasi aenea reddere, Gibbaras ea vocant.* Aug. Serm. 120. De Diversis.

fore * St. Augustin truly affirms, that the Ægyptians alone believe the Resurrection, because they carefully preserve their dead Corpses. For they have a custom of drying up the Bodies, and rendering them as durable as Brays; these [in their Language] they call Gabbars. Whence the Glofs of Isidore, Gabares mortuorum, in Vulcanius, his Edition; or as * Spondanus reads Gabares mortuorum condita corpora.

* Spondanus de Cæmet. sacris, lib. 1. par. in c. 5.

The manner how the Ægyptians prepared and imbalmed these Bodies, is very copiously, and by what I observed, very faithfully described by Herodotus and Diodorus, and therefore I shall put down their own words: *Their Mourning, saith * Herodotus, and manner of Burial are in this kind: When any Man of Quality of the Family is dead, all the Women bejewel their Heads and Faces with Dirt, then leaving the Body with their Kindred, they go lamenting up and down the City with their Kinsfolks, their Apparel being girt about them, and their Breasts naked. On the other side, the Men having likewise their Cloaths girt about them, beat themselves. These things being done, they carry it to be imbalmed. For this there are some appointed, that profess the Art; these, when the Body is brought to them,*

* Herodotus, lib. 2. *ἡ δὲ ταράξις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, &c.*

* Amongst these imbalmed Bodies are found Ægyptian Idols, *Omni-genumque Deum monstrat, & Litrator Anubis, to use Virgil's Expression.* (Æn. 8.) Some of these are in great, some in little Portraictures, formed either of Potter's Earth baked, or else of Stone, or Metal, or Wood, or the like, in all which Kinds I have bought some. One of them for the rarity of the Matter, and for the illustration of the Scriptures deserves to be here mentioned; being cut out of a Magnes, in the form and bigness of the *scarabæus*, or *Scarabæus*; which as * Plutarch testifies, was worshipped by the Ægyptians, and was by Military Men, engraven as an Emblem on their Seals. To

* De Hæc & Osir. *τὸν δὲ μακροχρόνιον καὶ τὸν ἀνυπὸ τοῦ Ἰδίου* &c. † Deu. 28. 17. *idolitis abominandos* &c.

shew to the bringers of it certain Patterns of dead Bodies in Wool, that in painting. One of these they have accurately made, (which I think it not lawful to name,) they shew a second inferior to it, and of an other price, and a third cheaper than the former. Which being seen, they ask of them according to what Pattern they will have the dead Body prepared? When they have agreed upon the price, they depart thence; those that remain, carefully imbalm the Body in this manner: First of all they draw out the Brain with a crooked Iron by the Nostrils, which being taken out, they

infuse ^b Medicaments. Then with a sharp Æthiopic Stone they cut it about the Bowels, and take out all the Guts: these purged and washed with Wine made of Palms, they again wash with sweet Odors beaten, next filling up the Belly with pure Myrror beaten, and Cushea, and other Odours, except Frankincense, they sew it up again; having done this, they salt it with Nitre, binding it seventy days, (for longer it is not lawful to salt it;) seventy days being ended, after they have washed the Body, binding it with Fillets (or ^d Ribbands,) and wrapping it in a Shroud of Silk Linnen, they smear it with Gum, which the Ægyptians often use instead of Glue. The Kindred receiving it thence, make

^b Having caused the Mouth of one of the richer but these imbalmed Bodies to be opened in the Jaw of the Skull I found the quantity of two pounds of these Medicaments, which had the consistence, blackness, and smelt of a kind of Bitumen, Pitch, and by the heat of the Sun was dried. This infusion could not well have been made any other way than as *Herodotus* here intimates, by the Nostrils. The Tongue of this imbalmed Body being weighed by was less than seven Grains. So light was it. Member, which *St. Jeron* calls a world of Myrror, Jan 3. 6.

^c Plutarch writes, that they first exposed the Body being opened, to the calling the Bowels into the River (Nileus) *τοῦ ποταμοῦ quantum capiat*. I being done, they filled the Belly, and the hollow of the Breast with these Odours, as it is mentioned which I have seen.

^d These Ribbands by what I observed, were of Linnen which was also the best of the Ægyptian Cloth. *Herodotus* (lib. 2.) writes that it was prophane for Ægyptians either to be

ried in Woollen Garments, or to use them in their Temples: And Plutarch de *Iside & Osiride* expressly tells that the Priests of Isis used Linnen vestments, and *Macrob. Suetonius* in Oribane, (lib. 7.) *Sacra etiam Isis ipse in religiosisque vestibus populim celebravit.* And therefore the Goddess Isis is called in *Ovid* (2 *Amor. Elen. 2.*) *Virgo*

Necti Linigem fieri quid possit ad Idem, Quærens.

Of these Ribbands I have seen some so strong, and perfect, if they had been newly made. With these they bound the dead Body, beginning with the Head, and ending with the Feet: Over these again, they wound others to often one upon another, that there could not much less than a thousand Els upon one Body.

• a Coffin of Wood, in the Similitude of
involves a Man, in which they put the dead Bo-
dy; and being thus inclosed, they place it

• These Coffins are fashion-
 ed in the Similitude of a Man,
 or rather resembling one of
 best imbalmed Bodies, which
 is we described before, and
 wound with Ribbands, and
 wrapped in a Shroud of Li-
 nen. For as in those there is
 the shape of a Head, with a
 kind of painted Vizard, or
 face fastned to it, but no ap-
 pearance without of the Arms
 and Legs: So it is with these
 Coffins, the top of them hath
 the shape of the Head of a
 Man, with a face painted on
 it resembling a Woman, the
 residue being one continued
 Trunk: At the end of this
 Trunk is a Pedestal, some-
 what broad, upon which it
 stands upright in the Recondi-
 tory, as *Herodotus* here men-
 tions. Some of these Coffins
 are handsomely painted
 without, with several Hiero-
 glyphicks. Opening two of
 them, I found within,
 over the Body, divers
 Scroles fastned to the Linen
 Shroud. These were painted
 with sacred Characters,
 for the Colours very lively,
 and fresh, amongst which,
 were in a larger Size the Pi-
 ctures of Men, or Women,
 some headed like Hawks,
 some like Doves, and sometimes
 Dogs in Chards standing
 alone. These Scroles either
 ran down the Belly and
 Sides, or else were placed
 upon the Knees, and Legs.
 On the Feet was a Linen
 Cover, (and so were all the
 Scroles before-mentioned of
 Linen,) painted with Hiero-
 glyphicks, and fashioned
 like to a high Slipper. The
 Breast had a kind of Breast-
 plate covering it, made with
 Folds of Linen cut Scopol-
 wide, richly painted, and
 gilded. In the midst of
 the head at the top of it, was
 the Face of a Woman with
 her Arms expanded, on each
 side of them, at the two out-
 most ends the Head of an
 Hawk fairly gilt, by which
 they represented the Divine
 Nature, according to *Plutarch*
 (in his Book *De Iside & Osiride*),
 as by a Serpent with the
 Tail in his Mouth, the Revo-
 lution of the Year was re-
 sembled; in which kind also
 I have seen fair Sculptures
 in Gems, found at *Alexan-
 dria*: And as by the Sign of
 the Cross they did denote
 eternal *eternity*, in *Rossinius*'s
 expression. Of these Cro-
 sses I have seen several am-
 ongst their Hieroglyphicks;
 some painted, and some en-
 graven in this manner, and
 some amongst their Mummies
 formed of Stone (or baked
 earth) in the figure.

At *Rome*, on the Statue of
Osiris, it is engraven thus. T. Which may serve
 for confirmation of what *So-
 crates*, and *Sezogen*, relate,
 that at *Alexandria*, the Temple
 of *Sarapis* or *Osiris* (for
 * *Plutarch* judges *Sarapis* and
Osiris to be one and the
 same,) being by the com-
 mand of *Theodosius* demolish-
 ed, they found Characters
 resembling Crosses cut in
 Stone; those in the Interpretation
 of the Wise Men of *Egypt*,
 signified *Salus* & *vitam venturam*:
 Which Discovery, as the
 same *Alexandrian* report,
 occasioned the Conversion
 to Christianity of part of the
 Gentiles. *Socr. Hist. Eccles.*
lib. 5. cap. 10. Solomon. Hist. Eccles.
lib. 7. cap. 15.

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lib. 7. cap. 15.

sumes the Flesh, and there is only
 left the Skin and Bones of the
 dead Body. When they have
 done this, they restore the
 Body to the Kindred, doing
 nothing more. The third
 manner of preparing the
 Dead, is of them which
 are of meaner Fortune: With
 Lotions they wash the
 Belly, and dry it with
 Salt seventy Days, then
 they deliver it to be carried
 away.

Diodorus Siculus, as his manner
 is, *Diod. Sic.* more distinctly and
 clearly with some lib. 1.

remarkable Circumstances,
 expresseth the same thing.
 If any one die amongst the
Egyptians, all his Kindred
 and Friends casting dirt upon
 their Heads, go lamenting
 about the City, till such
 time as the Body is buried.
 In the mean time, they
 abstain from Baths and
 Wine, and all delicate Meat;
 neither do they wear costly
 Apparel. The manner of
 their Burial is threefold.
 The one is very costly, the
 second less, the third very
 mean. In the first, they
 say there is spent a Talent
 of Silver, in the second
 twenty minæ, in the last
 there is very little Expen-
 ce. Those who take care to
 dress the Body are Artizans
 receiving this Skill from
 their Ancestors. These
 shewing a Bill to the
 Kindred of the Dead, of
 the Expences upon each
 Kind of Burial, ask them
 in what manner they will
 have the Body to be pre-
 pared. When they have
 agreed upon it, they deliver
 the Body to such as are
 usually appointed to this
 Office. First, he which is
 called the Scribe, laying it
 upon the ground, describes
 about the Bowels on the
 left side, how much is to
 be cut away. Then he
 which is called the Cutter,
 taking an *Ethiopick Stone*,
 and cutting away as much
 of the Flesh as the Law
 commands, presently flies
 away as fast as he can;
 they which are present,
 running after him, and
 casting Stones at him, and
 cursing him, (hereby) turn-
 ing all the Execration upon
 him. For whosoever doth
 offer violence, or wound,
 or do any kind of injury
 to a Body of the same
 nature with himself, they
 think him worthy of
 hatred. But those which
 are called the Imbalmers,
 they esteem them worthy
 of Honour and Respect.
 For they are familiar
 with their Priests, and
 they go into the Temples,
 as holy Men without
 any Prohibition. As soon
 as they meet about the
 dressing of the distilled
 Body, one thrusting his
 hand by the Wound of
 the dead Body into his
 Entrails, takes out all
 the Bowels within, be-
 sides the Heart and Kid-
 neys; another cleanses all

the Entrails, washing them with Wine made of Palms, and with Odours. Lastly, the whole Body being carefully anointed with the Juice of Cedar, and other things for above thirty days, and afterwards with Mirrhe and Cinamon, and such other things, which have power not only to keep it for a long time, but also to give a sweet Smell, they deliver it to the Kindred. This being thus finished, every Member of the Body is kept so intire, that upon the Brows and

I find in the Travels of Monsieur de Breves, Embassador at Constantinople, that at his being in Egypt about forty Years since, they saw one of these imbalmed Bodies, with Hairs remaining on their Heads, and with Beards, which I easily believe. Nous n'avions aucuns la teste & les neds decouvert (à cause que ces dites bandes estoient pourres) qui avoient encore les cheveux, la barbe & les ongles. Les Voyages de M. de Breves.

Eye lids, the Hairs remain, and the whole Shape of the Body (continues) unchanged, and the Image of the Countenance may be known. Hence many of the Egyptians keeping the Bodies of their Ancestors in magnificent Houses, do see so expressly the Faces of them dead many Ages before they were born, that beholding the bigness of each

of them, and the dimensions of their Bodies, and the lineaments of their Faces, it affords them wonderful content of Mind, no otherwise than as if they were now living with them. Thus far Diodorus. By which Description of his, and that of Herodotus, we see the truth of what Tully writes: The Egyptians imbalm their Dead, and keep them at home: Amongst themselves above-ground, saith Sextus Empiricus: And intra penetralia in Pomponius Mela's Expression: And in scitulis, according to Arhanasius in the Life of Antony. Lucian adds farther in his Tract de lulu.

Conditur Aegyptii mortuos, & eis domi servant. Tullius. qu. lib. 1. Lib. 1. cap. 9.

Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ (λέγει δ' ἰδὼν) ἑνεσθ' ἔνεον, σκιδεῖντον & συμπτῶντον ἐ- τοιμασθ' οὐκ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δαυδία χημεῖων ἀνδρῶν ἀνιστῆσθαι ἐλασε & ἀνελαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ δ' ἀδύρως ἡ δ' αὖτε ἡ δ' αὖτε ἐν καὶ τοῖς. Luc. an. &c. &c.

ther or his Father in Pledge. The former custom is intimated by Strabo Italicus, speaking of the several Manners of Burial practised in divers Nations.

*Aegyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus stantia saxo,
Corpora, & a mensis exanguem haud
lebarat umbram.*

The latter is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus. They have a custom of depositing for a Pledge the Bodies of their dead Parents. It is the greatest Ignominy that may be not to redeem them; and if they do it not, they themselves are deprived of Burial. And therefore says he immediately before, Such as for any Crime or Debt, are hindered from being buried, are kept at home without a Coffin; whom afterwards their Posterity growing rich, discharging their Debts, and paying Money in compensation of their Crimes, honourably bury; for the Egyptian's Glory, that their Parents and Ancestors were buried with Honour.

Greeve. Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

This manner of the Egyptians imbalming, we find also practised by Joseph upon his Father Jacob in Egypt: And if we will believe Tacitus, the Hebrews (in general) learned from the Egyptians rather to bury their Dead than to burn them.

Judeos ab Aegyptiis didicisse, condere cadavera, potius quam cremare. Tacit. Histor. lib. 5.

Where Spondanus instead of condere cadavera, reads condire, as if it had been their custom of powdering or imbalming their Dead. Wash them and Anoint them we know they did, by what was done to our Saviour and to the Widow Dorcas, and long before it was in use amongst the Gentiles, as well as Jews, as appears by the Funeral of Patroclus in Homer, and of Missenus the Trojan in Virgil.

Spondan. lib. 1. part 1. cap. 5. de cœmeteriis sacris.

Καὶ τῶν δὲ λυγρῶν ἡ δ' αὖτε ἡ δ' αὖτε

ἐλαίῳ. Iliad. lib. 19. Aeneid. lib. 1.

Corpusque lavant frigentis, & ungunt.

And of Tarquinius the Roman in Ennius:

Tarquini corpus bona femina lavit, & unxit.

But certainly the Egyptian manner of Imbalming, which we have described out of Herodotus and Diodorus, was not received by them; or if it were, Martha the Sister of Lazarus John 11. needed not to have feared, that after four days the Body should have stunk. They which infer out of the Funeral of Ase, King of Judah, that it was the custom of the Jews as well as Egyptians, have very little proba-

Transfulerunt Israeli hunc vivum ex Aegypto soci in Canaanem, quo deinceps sepulcris Principum & regum usi dicuntur in Hist. Ase. 2 Paral. 6. & alibi. Parzi. Com. in Gen. 50. 2

~ Greaves. that they buried him in his own Sepulchre, which he had made for himself in the City of David, and laid him in the Bed, which was filled with sweet Odors, and divers kinds of Spices prepared by the Apothecaries Art; and they made a very great burning for him. This very great burning is so contrary to the practice of the Egyptians, to whom it was an abomination, as appears by the Authorities before cited of Herodotus and Mela, besides the little affinity of filling the Bed with sweet Odors, and the Egyptians filling the Body and the place of the Entrails with sweet Odors, according both to Herodotus and Diodorus, that we shall not need to enlarge our selves in any other Confutation. But as for that of Jacob and Joseph, the Father and the Son both living and dying in Egypt, the Text is clear, they were embalmed after the fashion of the Egyptians. And Joseph commanded his Servants the Physicians to embalm his Father, and the Physicians embalmed Israel, and forty days were fulfilled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed;) and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days. In the same Chapter we read, So Joseph died being an hundred and ten Tears old, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a Coffin in Egypt. Both which places are very consonant to the Traditions of Herodotus and Diodorus, and may serve to shew what necessity there is of having oft times recourse to the Learning of the Heathen, for the illustration of the Scriptures. Forty days were fulfilled for the embalming of Jacob: This Diodorus tells us was their custom, They anointed the dead Body with the Juice of Cedar, and other things for above thirty days, and after-

" Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Καθάλου δ' ὅταν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐν πρῶτον κειμένη ἐν τισὶν ἄλλοις ἐπιμαχέας ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἡμέραις πλείους τῶν τεσσαρτάων, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἐκινώμενη, &c.

ward with Myrrhe and Cinamon, and the like; which might make up the residue of the forty Days: And the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten Days. This time out of Herodotus may be collected to have been from the first Day of the Death of the Person, till the Body was returned by the Physicians after seventy Days perfectly embalmed. The Text says, And Joseph was put in a Coffin; which is very lively represented by Herodotus.

" Herod. lib. 2.

The Kindred receiving the dead Body from the Imbalmers, make a Coffin of Wood in the similitude of a Man, in which they put it. This Coffin then, as it is probable, of Joseph, was of Wood, and not marmorea theca, as Cajetane imagines, the former being the custom of the Egyptians. Besides, that this was much easier, and fitter to be carried by the Israelites into Canaan, marching on foot, and for ought we read destitute of Waggon and other Carriages.

The Tradition of the ancient Hebrews in their Commentaries, is very probable and consonant to it. They carried in the Desert two Arks, the one of God, the other of Joseph; that the Ark of the Covenant, this the Ark (or Coffin) in which they carried Joseph's Bones out of Egypt. This Coffin (if it be lawful for me to conjecture after the Revolution of Three thousand Years,) I conceive to have been of Sycomore, (a great Tree very plentifully growing in Egypt,) of which sort there are many found in the Mummies, very fair, intire, and free from Corruption to this day. Though I know the Arabians and Persians have a different Tradition, that his Coffin was of Glafs. They put his blessed Body, after they had washed it, into a Coffin of Glafs, and buried it in the Channel of the River Nilus, saith Emir Cond, a Persian.

" Veteres Hebraei commentati sunt duos fuisse arcos, unum incedentes in deserto, alteram Divinitatis, alteram Josephi, illam scilicet arcam fœderis, hanc vero loculos quibus Josephi ossa ex Aegypto asportabantur in Regionem Chanaan. Perer Com. in 50 cap. Genes.

* Note. In Mr. Greave Edition of this Work, printed at London, Anno 164 the Arabick is cited at large to which the curious Reader may have recourse.

That Phrase of Joseph, where he takes an Oath of the Children of Israel, Ye shall carry up my Bones from hence, surely is a Synecdoche, or figurative Speech. And so is that in Exodus: And Moses took the Bones of Joseph with him; for he had straightly sworn to the Children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my Bones away hence with you: For his Body being boweled, and then embalmed, after the manner of the Egyptians, not only the Bones, but the Skin, the Flesh, and all besides the Entrails, (which according to Plutarch, were thrown into the River,) would have continued perfect and intire, a much longer

of things, and that informed Substance receives all Forms. Because as a Pyramid having its beginning from a point at the top, is by degrees dilated on all parts; so the nature of all things proceeding from one Fountain and Beginning, which is indivisible, namely from God, the chief Work-master; afterwards receives several Forms, and is diffused into various Kinds and Species, all which is conjoins to that Beginning and Point, from whence every thing issues and flows. There may also be given another Reason for this, taken from Astronomy: For the Egyptians were excellent Astronomers, yea, the first inventors of it; these [dividing the Zodiac, and all things under it, into twelve Signs,] will have each Sign to be a kind of Pyramid, the Basis of which shall be in the Heaven; (for the Heaven is the Foundation of Astronomy,) and the Point of it shall be in the Centre of the Earth; seeing therefore in these Pyramids all things are made, and that the coming of the Sun, which is as it were a Point in respect of those Signs, is the cause of the production of natural Things, and its Departure the cause of their Corruption, it seems very just that by a Pyramid, Nature the Parent of all Things, may be expressed. Also the same Egyptians under the Form of a Pyramid, shadowed out the Soul of Man, making under huge Pyramids the magnificent Sepulchres of their Kings and Heroes, to testify that the Soul was still existent, notwithstanding the Body were dissolved and corrupted, the which should generate and produce another Body for it self, when it should seem good to the first Agent, (that is, the Circle of thirty six thousand Years being transfused :) Like as a Pyramid (as it is known to Geometricians,) the top of it standing fix'd, and the Base being moved about, describes a Circle, and the whole Body of it is a Cone; so that the Circle expresses that space of Years, and the Cone that Body which in that space is produced. For it was the Opinion of the Egyptians, that in the Revolution of thirty six thousand Years, all things should be restored to their former State, Plato witnesseth, that he received it from them; who seems also to me in his *Timæus*, to attest this thing, that is, that our Soul hath the Form of a Pyramid, which (Soul) according to the same Plato, is of a fiery Nature, and adhereth to the Body as a Pyramid doth to

the Basis, or as Fire doth to the Fuel. Thus far the Anonymous Author in *Pierius*: Most of which Reasons of his are but pretty Fancies, without any solid Proof from good Authors. For he might as well say, that the Egyptians were excellent Geometricians, as well as Astronomers, (as they were very skilful in both,) and that they made these Pyramids, to express the first and most simple of Mathematical Bodies; or else being excellent Arithmeticians, to represent the Mysteries of Pyramidal Numbers; or being well seen in the Opticks, to shadow out the manner of Vision, and the emission of Rays from luminous Bodies, as also the effluvia of the species intentionales from the Object, all which are supposed to be Pyramidal. But this were to play with Truth, and to indulge too much to Fancy. Wherefore I conceive the Reason why they made these Sepulchres in the Figure of a Pyramid, was, either as apprehending this to be the most permanent Form of Structure, as in truth it is; (for by reason of the contracting and lessening of it at the top, it is neither overpressed with its own weight; nor is so subject to the sinking in of Rain as other Buildings;) or hereby they intended to represent some of their Gods. For anciently the Gentiles expressed them, either by Columns fashioned like Cones, or else by quadrilateral Obelisks, the Egyptian manner; in which latter Kind, I have seen many standing very intire, some of them plain, and some with Hieroglyphicks inscribed. Now such Obelisks are but lesser Models of the Pyramids, as the Pyramids are but greater Kinds of Obelisks. The first Institution of them, as *Pliny* informs us, was by *Mitres* an Egyptian King, whom *Isidore* terms *Mesphres*; both of them affirming him to have consecrated them *Solis numini*, to the Deity of the Sun. Which Deity *Diodorus* relates the Egyptians to have worshipped under the Name of *Osiris*, as they did the Moon by the Goddess *Isis*, (whom the Libyans bordering on the Egyptians, termed *Urania*, and the Phœnicians *Astræarches*, according

i Trabes ex eo fecere R
quodam certamine, obeliscos
cantes Solis numini sacri.
Radiorum ejus argumentum
effugit qd; & ita significat
nuncius Egyptia. Primus
nuncius id instituit Mitres,
in Solis urbe regnabat, Jo
ninus. *Phil. lib. 36. cap.*
i Obeliscum Mesphres
Egypti primus fecisse fi
— qui post cunctis vi
cepit, duas obeliscos Soli
erexit. *Ibid. lib. 18. cap.*
i Τραχάλην δὲ Νό
νισ δίδωκε τῇ
Τότῃ ἑστῶν, ὅς τ' ὄψε
το ἢ τ' Ὀρίων τ' ὅ
ἰστανται. *Diod. Sic. lib.*

ing Columns, [Pyramidal or Conical Greaves. Columns.] worshipped these as the Images of God.

This Practice of the Egyptians, I mean of erecting Pyramids for Sepulchres, was but rarely imitated by other Nations; though Servius seems to make it frequent in his Comment upon these Verses of Virgil²

— Fuit ingens monte sub alto
Regis Dercenni, terreno exaggere
bustum
Antiqui Laurentis, opacaque ilice
tectum.

² With the Ancients

¹ Apud majores, Nobiles (saith Servius,) Noble Men were buried, either under Mountains, or in Mountains; whence the custom came, that over the Dead, either Pyramids were made or

² 2 Sam. c. 18. v. 18.

huge Columns erected. In imitation of the latter custom, it may be Abalom erected his Pillar; and Pausanias describing the manner of Burial amongst the ancient Nation of the Sicyonians,

³ Pausanias Corinth. five lib. 2. Αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυώνιοι τὰ σώματα ἐκκβῶσι τέτρως ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ σῶμα γὰρ κρύπτουσιν λίθου δὲ ἐτοιμοδοτοῦντος κρηπίδα, κίονας ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς.

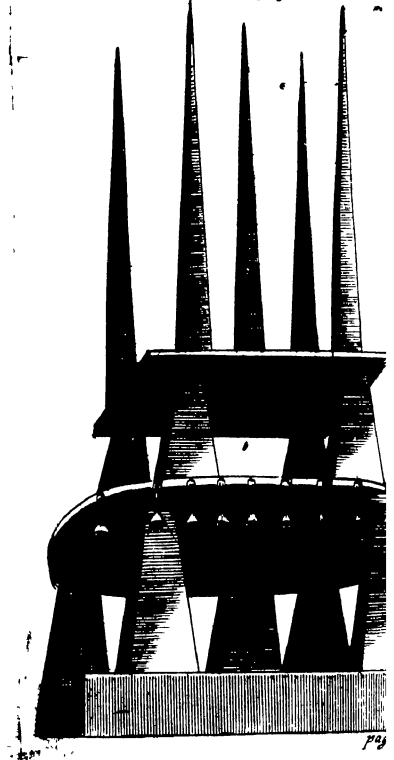
tells us, that they covered the Body with Earth, and raised Pillars over it. But for the former of the Pyramids, I find none out of Egypt accounted miraculous, unless it be

the Sepulchre of Porfena King of Hetruria, (with which I shall conclude,) described by Pliny out of Varro; being more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the Pyramids, than for any excessive Magnitude. We shall

⁴ Plin. l. 36. c. 13. Use M. Varro's own words in the Description of it.

positione ejus verbis. Sepultus est, inquit, sub Urbe Clusio, in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato, singula latera pedum lata tricemin, alta quinquaginta: Inque hact quadrata intus labyrinthum inextricabilem: Quo si quis improperet sine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum Pyramides sunt quinque, quatuor in angulis, et in medio una; in uno lato pedum septuaginta quinum, alta centum quinquaginta: Ita fastigiata, ut in summo orbis anem, et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus, ex quo pendeant excepta eatenis tinnimabula, qua vento agitata longe sonitus referant, ut Dodona olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor Pyramides insuper singula extant alta pedum centum. Supra quas uno solo quinque Pyramides, quarum altitudinem Varro nem potuit adficere. Fabule Hetrusce traant eandem fuisse quam totius operis: Adde verum dementia quassisse gloriam, impendio nalli profuturam. Ex te, ea fuisse regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis. Plin. l. 36. c. 13.

Porfena's Tomb at Clusiu
in Italy Consisting of many Pyra.



He was buried, saith he, without the City Clusium, in which place he left a Monument of Square Stone. Each side of it is three hundred Feet broad, and fifty Feet high. Within the Square Basis there is an inextricable Labyrinth, whither whose adventures without a Clue can find no passage out. Upon this Square there stand five Pyramids, in the Angles, and one in the middle. In the bottom they are broad five Feet, and high an hundred and twenty. They are pointed in such a manner, that at the top there is an Circle, and Covering for them all, which there hang Bells, fastened to Chains: These being moved by the Wind, give a Sound a-far off, as at Do-

Gras.
pigram.
4. Fran-
furti
500 cdm
Anst. Bro-
xi.

And the *Greek Epigrammatist* in a transcendent Expression, is no way short of him :

Πυραμίδος δ' ἔστιν ἡμῶν Νειλῶνδος ἄσπερος
ἡρώεα.
Κυβερὶς Ἐλευθερίας ἀσπερος πεδίαδων.

What excessive Heights these fancied to themselves, or borrowed from the Relations of others, I shall not now examine: This I am certain of, that the Shaft or Spire of *Paul's* in *London*, before it was casually burnt, being as much, or somewhat more than the Altitude of the Tower now standing, did exceed the height of this Pyramid. For *Camden* describes it in his *Elizabetha*, to be in a perpendicular Five hundred and twenty Feet from the Ground: And in his *Britannia*, to have been somewhat more, *LDXXXIV* Feet; whereof the Tower *CCLX*, and the Pyramid on the top *CCLXXIV*. See *Godw. de Presul. 229*.

Pyramis
ultrerrima
streda-
Ecclēsia
Pauli,
in singu-
lari Orbis
namento
suspici-
dam edi-
s altitudi-
nem DXX
scilicet pedes à solo & CCLX à turri quadratā,
si imposita erat à materia lignea plumbo vestita, de celo
repe solstitium taeta desigravit. Camdeni Elizabetha.
Camd. Britan. in Middlesex.

If we imagine upon the sides of the Basis, which is perfectly square, four equilateral Triangles mutually inclining, till they all meet on high as it were in a point, (for so the top seems to them which stand below,) then shall we have a true Notion, of the just dimension and figure of this Pyramid; the Perimeter of each Triangle comprehending Two thousand seventy nine Feet, (besides the Latitude of a little Plain or Flat on the top,) and the Perimeter of the Basis Two thousand seven hundred seventy two Feet. Whereby the whole Area of the Basis (to proportion it to our Measures,) contains Four hundred eighty thousand two hundred forty nine square Feet, or eleven English Acres of Ground, and 1089 of 43560 parts of an Acre. A proportion so monstrous, that if the Ancients did not attest as much, and some of them describe it to be more, this Age would hardly be induced to give credit to it. But *Herodotus* describing each side to contain eight hundred Feet, the Area must of necessity be greater than that by me assigned, the Sum amounting to Six hundred and forty thousand; or computing it as *Dionysius Siculus* doth, the Area will comprehend Four hundred and ninety

of *Pliny*, if we shall square Eight hundred eighty three, (which is the number allotted by him to the measure of each side,) the product Seven hundred seventy nine thousand six hundred eighty nine, will much exceed both that of *Herodotus* and this of *Diodorus*. Tho' certainly, *Pliny* is much mistaken in assigning the measure of the side to be Eight hundred eighty three Feet, and the Basis of the Pyramid to be but eight *Jugera*, or Roman Acres. For if we take the Roman *Jugera* to contain in length Two hundred and forty Feet, and in breadth One hundred and twenty, as may be evidently proved but of *Varro*, and is expressly affirmed by *Quintilian*, then will the Superficies or whole Extension of the *Jugera* be equal to Twenty eight thousand eight hundred Roman Feet; with which, if we divide Seven hundred seventy nine thousand six hundred eighty nine, the result will be twenty seven Roman *Jugera*, and 2089 of 28800 Parts of an Acre. Wherefore, if we take those Numbers Eight hundred eighty three of *Pliny* to be true, then I suppose he writ twenty eight *Jugera* instead of eight, or else in his proportion of the Side to the Area of the Basis, he hath erred.

Greaves

* *Jugera quadratis duos
aënis habet. Aënis quadratis
qui & latius est pedes CXX,
& longus totidem. Is modus
ac mina appellatur. Varro de
Re. R. l. 1. c. 10.
† *Jugeri mensuram CCLX
longitudinis pedes esse dimidi-
que in latitudinem patet: non
ferè quisquam est qui ignoret.
Quintil. l. 1. c. 10.**

The Ascent to the top of the Pyramid is contrived in this manner: Front all the Sides without we ascend by degrees; the lowermost degree is near four Feet in height, and three in breadth; this runs about the Pyramid in a Level; and at the first, when the Stones were intire, which are now somewhat decayed, made on every side of it a long, but narrow Walk. The second degree is like the first, each Stone amounting to almost four Feet in height, and three in breadth; it retires inward from the first near three Feet, and thus runs about the Pyramid in a Level, as the former. In the same manner is the third row placed upon the second, and so in order the rest, like so many Stairs rising one above another to the top. Which ends not in a Point, as Mathematical Pyramids do, but in a little Flat or Square. Of this, *Herodotus* hath no where left us the Dimensions: But *Henricus Stephanus*,^a *Hen.* *Stepht. in*
an able and deserving Man, in his *Comment.* hath supplied it for him.
^a lib. *Herodoti.*
For

For he makes it to be eight *Orgyia*.
Greaves. Where, if we take the *Orgyia* as both
Hefychius and *Suidas* do, for the

*Ἄργυα ἡ τῆ ἀποδείξεως
 χειρὶν ὀκτάσσις.* Hefych.
*Ἄργυα τὰ μὲν τὰ τῆ
 ἰδίων χειρῶν.* Suid.

distance between the
 Hands extended at
 length, that is, for the
 Fathom or six Feet,
 then should it be forty
 eight Feet in breadth at the top.
 But the truth is, *Stephanus* in this particular, whilst he corrects the Errours of *Valla's* Interpretation, is to be corrected himself. For that Latitude which *Herodotus* assigns to the admirable Bridge below, (of which there is nothing now remaining,) he hath carried up, by a mistake, to the top of the Pyramid.

Diodor. *Diodorus Siculus* comes nearer to the truth, who describes it to be
 l. 1. but nine Feet. *Pliny* makes the
 c. 12. breadth at the top to be twenty five Feet. *Altitudo* (I would rather read it *Latitudo*.) *à cacumine pedes XXV.*

By my measure it is XIII Feet, and 280 of 1000 parts of the English Foot. Upon this Flat, if we assent to the Opinion of *Proclus*, it may be supposed that the Egyptian Priests made their Observations in Astronomy; and that from hence, or near this place, they first discovered, by the rising of *Sirius*, their *annus κοινός*, or *Canicularis*, as also their *periodus Sothiaca*, or *annus magnus κοινός*, or *annus Heliacus*, or *annus Dei*, as it is termed

Centorin. de die Natali.
Quem Græci κοινόν, Latine canicularem vocantur. Hic annus etiam heliacus à quibusdam dicitur, et ab aliis, ὁ τοῦ ἑλισίου.

by *Centorinus*, consisting of 1460 sidereal Years; in which space their *Thoth Vagum*, and *Fixum*, came to have the same beginning:

That the Priests might near these Pyramids, make their Observations I no way question; this rising of the Hill being, in my judgment, as fit a place as any in *Ægypt* for such a design; and so much the fitter by the vicinity of *Memphis*. But that these Pyramids were designed for Observatories, (whereas by the Testimonies of the Ancients I have proved before, that they were intended for Sepulchres.) is no way to be credited upon the single Authority of *Proclus*. Neither can I apprehend to what purpose the Priests with so much difficulty should ascend so high, when below with more ease, and as much certainty, they might from their own Lodgings hewn in the Rocks, upon which the Pyramids are erected, make the same Observations. For seeing all *Ægypt* is but as it were one

continued Plain, they might from these Cliffs have, over the Plains of *Ægypt*, as free and open a Prospect of the Heavens, as from the tops of the Pyramids themselves. And therefore *Tully* writes more truly: *Ægyptii, aut Babylonii, in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cum ex terrâ nihil emineret, quod contemplationi cæli officere posset, omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt.* The top of this Pyramid is covered not with ^a one or ^b three maffy Stones, as some have imagined, but with nine, besides two which are wanting at the Angles: The degrees by which we ascend up, (as I observed in measuring many of them,) are not all of an equal depth, for some are near four Feet, others want of three, and these the higher we ascend, do so much the more diminish: Neither is the breadth of them alike; the difference in this kind being, as far as I could conjecture, proportionable to their depth. And therefore a right Line extended from any part of the Basis without to the top, will equally touch the outward Angle of every degree. Of these it was impossible for me to take an exact Measure, since in such a Revolution of time, if the inner Parts of the Pyramid have not lost any thing of their first Perfection, as being not exposed to the injury of the ^c Air and ^d The fall of Rains; yet the outward Parts, is consumed by that is, these degrees or rows of Stone, fed by have been much wasted and impaired

Alter. d. Divin. l. 1.

Les Voy ges de Seign. Vi lamont. Sand's Travels.

The f of Æg is consumed by the Ancient be ofte full of Vapours

Which appears both by the great Dews, that happen at the Deluge of *Nilus* for several Months; as also in th have discovered at *Alexandria*, in the Winter time, few obscure Stars in the Constellation of *Ursa major*, not visible *England*; the which could not be discerned, were there a greater Refraction at that place than with us, and consequently a greater condensation of the *Medium*, or *Air*, as *Opticks* demonstrate. But I cannot sufficiently wonder at Ancients, who generally deny the fall of Rain in *Ægypt* *Plato* in his *Timæus*, speaking of *Ægypt*, where he had ved many Years, writes thus: *Κατὰ τὸ ἥλιον ποταμὸν ἔστι ἀλλοίωσις, ἀνθεν ἐστὶ τὰς ἀέρας ὕδατος ἐν Pomponius Mela* in express terms, relates, that *Ægypt* is *exempt imbrum, mirè tamen fertilis.* Whereas for two Months namely December and January, I have not known it Rain constantly and with so much violence at *London*, as I found at *Alexandria*, the Winds continuing North North-^e which caused me to keep a Diary as well of the We as I did of my Observations in Astronomy: And not there, but also at Grand Cairo, my very noble and Friend, Sir William Pallus, at the same time observed, there fell much Rain. And so likewise about the ^e March following, being at the *Mummies*, somewhat to the Pyramids, to the South, there fell a gentle Rain for an whole day: But it may be the Ancients mean the Parts of *Ægypt* beyond *Thebes*, about *Siena*, and not *Casadya*, or *Casadya* of *Nilus*, and not the lower where I have been told by the *Ægyptians*, that it is rains. And therefore *Seneca* (*lib. 4. Natur. Quæst.*)

of them an hundred Feet high. Above which, upon one Plain, there are five Pyramids, the altitude of which Varro was ashamed to add. The Hetruscan Fables report that it was as much as that of the whole Work. With so vain

a madnefs he fought Glory by an Expence useful to no Man; waſting beſides the Wealth of his Kingdom, that in the end the commendation of the Artificer ſhould be the greateſt.

Greaves.

A Description of the PYRAMIDS in ÆGYPT, as I found them in the cl^o xl viii Year of the Hegira, or in the Years cl^o l^o cxxxviii, and cl^o l^o cxxxix of our Lord, after the Dionysian Account.

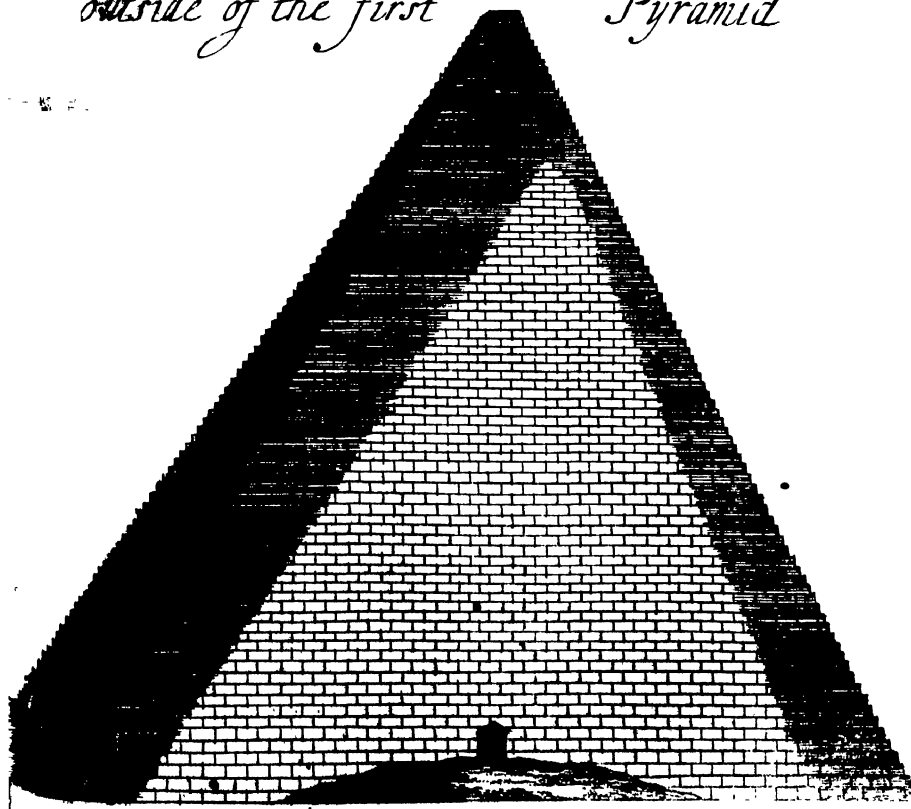
HAVING discovered the Founders of theſe Pyramids, and the time in which they were erected, and laſtly, the End for which theſe Monuments were built: Next, in the Method we propoſed, the Scenography of

them is to be ſet down: Where, we ſhall begin with the Dimensions of their Figure without, and then we ſhall examine their ſeveral Spaces and Partitions within.

A Description of the Firſt and Faireſt PYRAMID.

outside of the firſt

Pyramid



Grecaves.

THE first and fairest of the three greater Pyramids, is situated on the top of a rocky Hill, in the sandy Desert of *Libya*, about a quarter of a Mile distant to the West, from the Plains of *Egypt*: Above which, the Rock riseth an hundred Feet or better, with a gentle and easie Ascent. Upon this advantageous Rise, and upon this solid Foundation the Pyramid is erected; the height of the Situation adding to the Beauty of the Work, and the Solidity of the Rock giving the Superstructure a permanent and stable Support. Each side of the Pyramid, computing it according to

¹ Herodot. l. 2.

² Diod. l. 1. Ἡ μὲν δὲ μέγιστη τέλει πλάτος ἔσται πρὸς ῥημάδι, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει πεντήκοντα ἑκατὼν ἔχει πλάτος ἑπτά.

³ Strabo. l. 17.

⁴ Plin. l. 36. c. 12. *Amplissima cetero jugera obtinet soli, quatuor angulorum pariter intervallis, per octingentos octoginta tres pedes, singulorum latum.*

may serve in some Kind to confirm those Proportions, which in another Discourse I have assigned to the *Grecian* Measures. For measuring the North-side of it, at the *Basiss*, by an exquisite *Radius* of ten Feet in length, taking two several Stations, as Mathematicians use to do, when any Obstacle hinders their approach, I found it to be Six hundred ninety three Feet, according to the *English* Standard; which quantity is somewhat less than that of *Diodorus*. The rest of the Sides were examined by a Line, for want of an even Level, and a convenient Distance to place my Instruments, both which the *Area* on the former side afforded.

The Altitude of this Pyramid was long since measured by *Thales Milesius*, who according to ⁵ *Tatianus Afrius* lived about the fiftieth Olympiad: But his Observation is now where

⁶ Plin. 36. c. 12. *Mensuram altitudinis eorum, omniumque similium deprehendere invenit Thales Milesius, umbram metiendo, quæ barâ per esse corpori solet.*

⁷ Herodotus contains in length 10 CCC *Grecian* Feet; and in ⁸ *Diodorus Siculus*, account 10 CC; ⁹ *Strabo* reckons it less than a *Furlong*, that is, less than 100 *Grecian* Feet, or fix hundred twenty five *Roman*; and ¹⁰ *Pliny* equals it to 10 CCC LXXXIII. That of *Diodorus Siculus* in my judgment comes nearest to the truth, and

equal to its height: A way at the best, by reason of the Faintness, and scattering of the Extremity of the Shadow, in so great an Altitude, uncertain and subject unto Error. And yet ¹¹ *Diogenes Laertius* in the Life of *Thales*, hath the same Story from the Authority of *Hieronimus*.

Hieronimus reports, that he measured the Pyramids by their Shadow, marking when they are of an equal Quantity. Wherefore I shall pass by his, and give my own Observations. The Altitude is something defective of the Latitude; tho' in ¹² *Strabo's* Computation it exceeds; but ¹³ *Diodorus* rightly acknowledges it to be less; which, if we measure by its Perpendicular, is 499 Feet; but if we take it as the Pyramid ascends inclining (as all such Figures do,) then is it equal, in respect of the Lines subtending the several Angles, to the Latitude of the *Basiss*, that is, to Six hundred ninety three Feet. With reference to this great Altitude ¹⁴ *Statius* calls them,

¹⁵ *Diog. Laert. in vitâ Thaletis, l. 1. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ἐμετρήσατο, φησὶν αὐτὸ τὰς πυραμίδας, ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς ἑσπέρης, ὅτε ἡμὶς ἰσομεγέθεις εἰσι.*

¹⁶ *Strabo, lib. 17. Εἰσι, ὡς εἶναι αὐτὸ ὅσον.* When as the breadth he reckons less than a *Stadion*.

¹⁷ *Diodor. lib. 1. τὸ ὅσον ἔχει πλάτος ἑπτά ἑκατὼν.* But to the breadth I assigns VII *Places*.

¹⁸ *Stat. l. Sylv. 3.*

— audacia saxa
Pyramidum —

And ¹⁹ *Tacitus*, *Instar montium* ²⁰ *Tacit. Annal. l. cedula Pyramides.*

²¹ *Julius Solinus* goes farther yet: The Pyramids are sharp pointed Towers in *Egypt*, exceeding all height, which may be made by hand.

²² *Pyramides sunt turres Ægypto, fastigiatae ultis celsitatem omnem, quæ fieri potest. Jul. Solin. Pol. c. 45.*

²³ *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his Expression ascends as high: The Pyramids are Towers erected altogether, exceeding the height which may be made by Man; in the bottom they are broadest, ending in sharp Points at-top, which Figure is therefore by *Geometricians* called *Pyramidal*, because in the similitude of Fire it is sharpened into a Cone, as we speak. ²⁴ *Propertius* with a Propriety of a Poet, in an Hyperbole, flies higher yet:

Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera
ducti.

And

to have writ true, *In ea parte qua in Æthiopia vergit* (speaking of Ægypt) *aut nulli imbres sunt, aut i. r. i.* But where he after says, *Alexandria nives non cadunt*, it is false: For at my being there in January, at Night it snowed. However, farther to the South than Ægypt, between the Tropicks, and near the Line, in *Habassia*, or *Æthiopia*, every Year, for many Weeks, there falls store of Rain, as the *Habassines* themselves at *Grand Cano* relate. Which may be confirmed by *Josephus Acella*. Lib. 2. de *Natwâ Orbis novi*, where he observes in *Peru*, and some other places (lying in the same Parallel with those of *Æthiopia*) that they have abundance of Rains. This then is the true Cause of the Inundation of *Nilus* in the Summer time, being then highest, when other Rivers are lowest, and not those which are alleged by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Aristides*, *Heliodorus*, and others. Who are extremely troubled to give a Reason of the Inundation, imputing it either to the peculiar Nature of the River, or to the Obstruction of the Mouth of it by the *Etesia*; or to the melting of Snows in *Æthiopia*, (which I believe seldom fall in those hot Countries, where the Natives, by reason of the extrem Heat, are all black, and where, if we credit *Seneca*, *Argentum replumbatur*, *Silver is melted*, by the scorching Heats) or to some such other Reasons of little weight. In *Diodorus* I find *Agatharchides Cnidius*, to give almost the same Reason assigned by me: But those Times gave little Credit to his Assertion. Yet *Diodorus* seems to assent to it, (*Prod. Lib. 1.*) *Agatharchides Cnidius* hath come nearest to the Truth, for he saith: Every Year in the Mountains about *Æthiopia*, there are continual Rains from the Summer Solstice, to the autumnal Equinox, which cause the Inundation. The time of this is accounted generally to certain, that I have seen the *Ægyptian* Astronomers to put it down many Years before, in their Ephemerides. That such a Day, at such a Month, the *Nilus* begins to rise.

by both. And therefore they cannot conveniently now be ascended, but either at the South-side, or at the East-angle, on the North: They are well tiled by *Herodotus*, *Bouquies*, that is, little Altars: For in the form of Altars they rise one above another to the top. And these are all made of massy, and polished Stones, hewn according to *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, out of the Arabian Mountains, which bound the upper part of *Ægypt*, or that above the *Delta*, on the East, as the *Libyan* Mountains terminate it on the West, being so vast, that the breadth and depth of every Step,

* Ουδεις τ' λιθων τεύχοντα ποδῶν ἐλάων. Herod. l. 2.

† Pyramides tricenarum pedum lapideis, exstructa. Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 9.

is one single and entire Stone. The Relation of *Herodotus*, and *Pompomius Mela*, is more admirable, who make the least Stone in this Pyramid to be thirty

Feet. And this I can grant in some, yet surely* it cannot be admitted in all, unless we interpret their words, that the least Stone is thirty Square, or to speak more properly, thirty Cubical Feet; which Dimension, or a much greater, in the exterior ones, I can without any difficulty admit. The number of these Steps is not mentioned by the Ancients, and that caused me, and two that were with me, to be the more diligent in computing them, because by modern

Writers, and some of those too of Reputation, they are described with much diversity and contrariety. The Degrees, saith *Bellonius*, are about two hundred and fifty, each of them single contains in lib. 2. of height forty five Digits, at the top it is two Paces broad. For this I take to be the meaning of what *Clusius* renders thus: *A basi autem ad cucumen ipsius supputationem facientes, comperimus cuncter CCL gradus, singuli altitudinem habent V solcaram calcei IX pollicum longitudines, in fastigio duos passus habet.* Where I conceive his *passus* is in the same sense to be understood here above, as not long before he explains himself in describing the *basis* below, which in his Account is CCCXXIV *passus paululum extensis cruribus.* *Albertus*

Leuonstadius reckons the Steps to be two hundred and sixty, each of them a Foot and a half in depth. *Johannes Helfricus* counts them to be two hundred and thirty. *Scaftius Serlius*, upon a Relation of *Grimano*, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and afterwards Cardinal, (who in his Travels in *Ægypt* measur'd these Degrees)

computes them to be two hundred and ten; and the height of every Step to be equally three Palms and an half. It would be but lost Labour, to mention the different and repugnant Relations of several others: That which by Experience, and by a diligent Calculation, I, and two others found, is this, that the Number of Degrees from the bottom to the top, is two hundred and seven; tho' one of them in descending reckoned two hundred and eight.

Such as please, may give Credit to those fabulous Traditions of some, That a Turkish Archer standing at the top, cannot shoot beyond the bottom, but that the Arrow will necessarily fall upon these Steps. If the Turkish Bow (which by those Figures that I have seen in ancient

Monuments, is the same with that of the *Partians*, so dreadful to the *Romans*) be but as swift, and strong, as the *English*: As surely it is much more, if we consider with what incredible

Greuv

Bellon

lrv. c. 4

† Albertus Lewenstadius gradus ad cucumen numerat CCL singulos sesquipedali altitudin Johanne Helfricus CCXX. Raderus in Martial. Epig Barbara Pyramidum sileat in sacula Memphis, &c.

* Il numero di pezzedali basa fino alla sommità sono i CCX, è sono tutti d'una altezza, talmente che l'altezza di tutta la massa è quanto la sua base. Scaft. Serl. lib. 3. delle Aneh.

† Bellon. Observ. lib. 1. cap. 42. & alit. Peritissimu atque Validissimu Sagittarum in ejus fastigio exillens, atque sagittam in aerem emittentem tam valide eam ejaculari non poterit, ut extra molis basin decedat, sed in ipsos gradus cadet, adeo vaste magnitudinis uti diximus, est hac moles. Bellon.

Grecaves. force some of them will pierce a Plank of six Inches in thickness, (I speak what I have seen) it will not seem strange, that they should carry twelve Score in length; which distance is beyond the Basis of this Pyramid.

The same Credit is to be given to those Reports of the Ancients, that this Pyramid, and the rest, cast no Shadows.

* Jul. Solin. *Solinus* writes expressly, *Mensuram umbrarum egressæ nullas habent umbras.*

c. 45. And *Ausonius* :

Edylio 3.

— *Quadro cui in fastigia cono
Surgit & ipsa suas consumit Pyramis
umbras.*

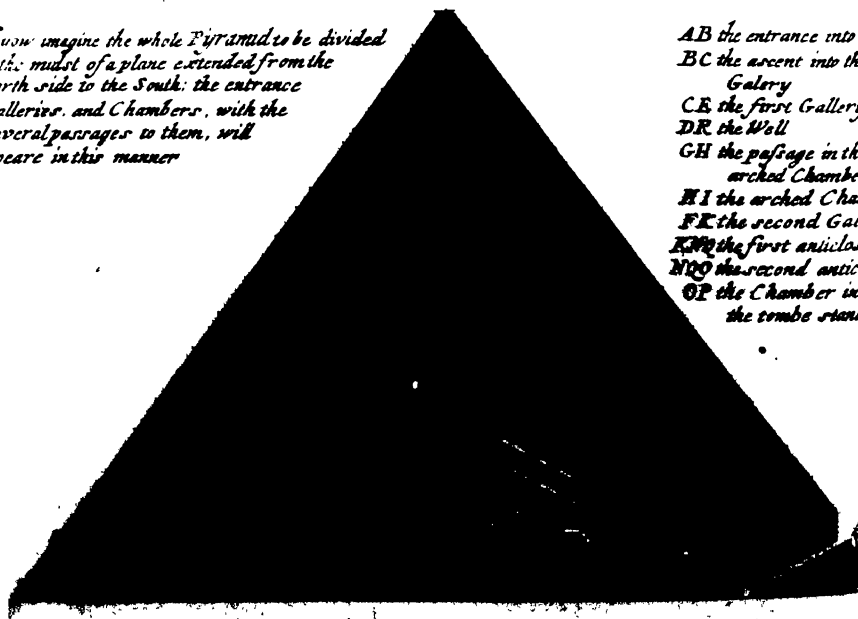
* *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath almost the same Relation, *Umbras quoque mechanicè ratione consumit.* Lastly, *Cassiodorus* confirms the same, *Pyramides in Ægypto, quarum in suo statu se umbra consumens, ultra constructionis spa-*

cia nullà parte respicitur. All which in the Winter Season I can in no sort admit to be true: For at that time I have seen them cast a Shadow at Noon. And if I had not seen it, yet Reason and the Art of measuring Altitudes, Shadows, and on the contrary, of knowing the length of Shadows by Altitudes, doth necessarily infer as much. Besides, how could *Thales Milesius*, above two thousand Years since, have taken their height by Shadows, according to *Pliny*, and *Laertius*, as we mentioned before, if so be these Pyramids have no Shadows at all? To reconcile the Difference, we may imagine, *Solinus*, *Ausonius*, *Marcellinus*, and *Cassiodorus*, mean in the Summer-time; or which is nearest the Truth, that almost for three Quarters of the Year, they have no Shadows: And this I grant to be true at Mid day.

A Description of the Inside of the First PYRAMID.

the inside of the first and fairest Pyramid Pag. 72

If you imagine the whole Pyramid to be divided in the midst of a plane extended from the North side to the South: the entrance Galleries, and Chambers, with the several passages to them, will appear in this manner



AB the entrance into
BC the ascent into the
Gallery
CE the first Gallery
DE the Well
GH the passage in the
arched Chamber
HI the arched Chamber
FK the second Gallery
LM the first antichamber
NO the second antichamber
OP the Chamber in the tomb

~~~~~  
Graves.  
~~~~~

HAVING finished the Description of the greater Pyramid, with the Figure, and Dimensions of it, as they present themselves to the View without : I shall now look inwards, and lead the Reader into the several Spaces, and Partitions within : Of which, if the Ancients have been silent, we must chiefly impute it to a reverend and awful Regard, mixed with Superstition, in not presuming to enter those Chambers of Death, which Religion, and Devotion, had consecrated to the Rest, and Quiet of the Dead. Wherefore *Herodotus* mentions no more, but only in general, that some secret Vaults are hewn in the Rock under the Pyramid. *Diodorus Siculus* is silent ; tho' both enlarge themselves in other Particulars less necessary. *Strabo* also is very concise, whose whole Description both of this, and of the Second Pyramid, is included in this short Expression : Forty Stadia from the City (Memphis,) there is a certain Brow of an Hill, in which are many Pyramids, the Sepulchres of Kings : Three of them are memorable, Two of these are accounted amongst the Seven Miracles of the World ; each of these are a Furlong in height : The Figure is Quadrilateral, the Altitude somewhat exceeds each side, and the one is somewhat bigger than the other. On high, as it were, in the midst between the sides, there is a Stone that may be removed, which being taken out, there is an oblique (or shelving) Entrance (for so I render that which by him is termed *οὐρανοειδὲς ὀρύζιον*) leading to the Tomb. *Pliny* expresses nothing within, but only a Well (which is still extant) of eighty Cubits in depth ; to which he probably imagines, by some secret Aperture, the Water of the River Nilus to be conveyed. *Aristides*, in his Oration, mentions a Vault upon a Hill, which the Egyptian Priests call the

Reverence of Antiquity, than out of any special Satisfaction. The Arabian Writers, especially such as have purposely treated of the Wonders of Egypt, have given us a more full Description of what is within this Pyramid : But that hath been mixed with so many Fictions of their own, that the Truth hath been darkned, and almost quite extinguished by them. I shall put down that which is confessed by them, to be the most probable Relation, as it is reported by *Ibn Abd Albokm*, whose Words out of the Arabick are these : The greatest part of Chronologers agree, that he which built the Pyramids, was, Saurid Ibn Salhouk, King of Egypt, who lived three hundred Years before the Flood. The occasion of this was, because he saw in his Sleep, that the whole Earth was turned over with the Inhabitants of it, the Men lying upon their Faces, and the Stars falling down, and striking one another, with a terrible Noise ; and being troubled, he concealed it. After this he saw the Fix'd Stars falling to the Earth, in the similitude of white Fowl, and they snatched up Men, carrying them between two great Mountains ; and these Mountains closed upon them, and the shining Stars were made dark. Awaking with great Fear, he assembled the chief Priests of all the Provinces of Egypt, an hundred and thirty Priests, the chief of them was called Aclimun : Relating the whole Matter to them, they took the Altitude of the Stars, and making their Prognostication, foretold of a Deluge. The King said, Will it come to our Country ? They answered, Yea, and will deluge it. And there remained a certain number of Years for to come, and he commanded the mean space to build the Pyramid, and a Vault to be made, into which the River Nilus entering, should carry the Bodies of the Dead, and

100.

101.

in. l. 36.

12.

and the like. He engraved in them all Greaves. Things that were told him by wise Men, as also all profound Sciences, the Names

* Alakakir] Amongst other significations, is the name of a precious Stone; and therefore in *Abulfeda* it is joyned with *Tacut*, a Ruby. I imagine it here to signifie some Magical Spell, which it may be was engraven in this Stone.

of * Alakakirs, the Uses and Hurts of them. The Science of Astrology, and of Arithmetick, and of Geometry, and of Physick. All this may be interpreted by him that knows their Characters, and Language. After he had given Order for this Building, they cut out vast Columns, and wonderful Stones. They fetch massy Sones from the Ethiopians, and made with these the Foundations of the three Pyramids, fastning them together with Lead and Iron. They built the Gates of them forty Cubits under Ground, and they made the height of the Pyramids one hundred Royal Cubits, which are fifty of ours in these times; he also made each side of them an hundred Royal Cubits. The beginning of this Building was in a fortunate Horoscope. After that he had finished it, he covered it with coloured Satten, from the top to the bottom; and he appointed a Solemn Festival, at which were present all the Inhabitants of his Kingdom. Then he built in the Western Pyramid thirty Treasuries, filled with store of Riches, and Uicnsils, and with Signatures made of precious Stones, and with Instruments of Iron, and Vessels of Earth, and with Arms which rust not, and with Glasse which might be bended, and yet not broken, and with strange Spells, and with several kinds of Alakakirs, single and double, and with deadly Poisons, and with other things besides. He made also in the East Pyramid, divers Celestial Spheres and Stars, and what they severally operate, in their Aspects, and the Perfumes which are to be used to them, and the Books which treat of these Matters. He put also in the Coloured Pyramid, the Commentaries of the Priests, in Chests of black Marble, and with every Priest a Book, in which were the Wonders of his Profession, and of his Actions, and of his Nature, and what was done in his Time, and what is, and what shall be, from the beginning of Time, to the end of it. He placed in every Pyramid a Treasurer: The Treasurer of the Westerly Pyramid was a Statue of Marble-stone, standing upright with a Lance, and upon his Head a Serpent wreathed. He that came near it, and stood still, the Serpent bit him of one side, and wreathing round about his Throat, and killing him, returned to his

place. He made the Treasurer of the East Pyramid, an Idol of black Agate, his Eyes open and shining, sitting upon a Throne with a Lance; when any look'd upon him, he heard of one side of him a Voice, which took away his Sense, so that he fell prostrate upon his Face, and ceased not till he died. He made the Treasurer of the Coloured Pyramid a Statue of Stone, (called) Albut, sitting: He which looked towards it was drawn by the Statue, till he stuck to it, and could not be separated from it, till such time as he died. The Coptites write in their Booke, that there is an Inscription engraven upon them, the Exposition of which in Arabicke is this: I King Saurid, built the Pyramids in such and such a time, and finished them in six Tears: He that comes after me, and says that he is equal to me, let him destroy them in six hundred Tears; and yet it is known, that it is easier to pluck down, than to build up. I also covered them, when I had finished them, with Satten; and let him cover them with Mats. After that, Almamom the Calif, entered Egypt, and saw the Pyramids: He desired to know what was within, and therefore would have them opened: They told him, it could not possibly be done: He replied, I will have it certainly done. And that Hole was opened for him, which stands open to this Day, with Fire and Vinegar. Two Smiths prepared and sharpened the Iron, and Engines, which they forced in, and there was a great Expence in the opening of it: The Thickness of the Wall was found to be twenty Cubits; and when they came to the end of the Wall, behind the place they had digged, there was an Ewer (or Pot) of green Emrauld; in it were a thousand Dinars very weighty, every Dinar was an Ounce of our Ounces: They wondred at it, but knew not the meaning of it. Then Almamom said, Cast up the Account, how much hath been spent in making the Entrance: They cast it up, and lo it was the same Sum which they found, it neither exceeded, nor was defective. Within they found a square Well, in the Square of it there were Doors, every Door opened into an House (or Vault), in which there were dead Bodies wrapped up in Linnen. They found towards the top of the Pyramid, a Chamber, in which there was a hollow Stone: In it was a Statue of Stone like a Man, and within it a Man, upon whom was a Breast-plate of Gold, set with Jewels, upon his Breast was a Sword of unvaluable Price, and at his Head

Here a Carbuncle of the bigness of an Egg, shining like the Light of the Day, and upon him were Characters written with a Pen, no Man knows what they signifie. After Almamon had open'd it, Men entred into it for many Years, and descended by the slippery passage, which is in it; and some of them came out safe, and others died. Thus far the Arabians; which Traditions of theirs, are little better than a Romance, and therefore leaving these, I shall give a more true and particular Description, out of mine own Experience, and Observations.

On the North-side ascending thirty eight Feet, upon an artificial Bank of Earth, there is a square and narrow passage leading into the Pyramid, thorough the Mouth of which (being equi-distant from the two sides of the Pyramid) we enter, as it were; down the Steep of an Hill, declining with an Angle of twenty six Degrees. The breadth of this Entrance is exactly three Feet, and 462 Parts of 1000 of the *English* Foot: The length of it beginning from the first declivity, which is some ten Palms without, to the utmost extremity of the Neck, or straight within, where it contracts it self almost nine Feet continued, with scarce half the depth it had at the first entrance (tho' it keep still the same breadth) is ninety two Feet and an half. The Structure of it hath been the Labour of an exquisite hand, as appears by the smoothness and evenness of the Work, and by the close knitting of the Joints. A Property long since observed, and commended by *Diodorus*, to have run thorough the Fabrick of the whole Body of this Pyramid. Having passed with Tapors in our Hands this narrow Straight, tho' with some difficulty, (for at the farther end of it we must creep upon our Bellies) we land in a place somewhat larger, and of a pretty height, but lying incompas'd; having been dug away, either by the Curiosity, or Avarice of some, in hope to discover an hidden Treasure; or rather by the Command of *Almamon*, the deservedly Renowned Calif of *Babylon*. By whomsoever it were, it is not worth the enquiry, nor doth the place merit describing, but that I was unwilling to pretermitt any thing: Being only an Habitation for Bats, and those so ugly, and of so large a size, (exceeding a Foot in length) that I have not elsewhere seen the like. The length of this obscure and broken Space, containeth eightv nine

*Diodor. Sic.
lib. 8.*

Feet, the breadth and height is various, and not worth consideration. On the left hand of this, adjoining to that narrow Entrance thorough which we passed, we climb up a steep and massy Stone, eight or nine Feet in height, where we immediately enter upon the lower-end of the first Gallery. The Pavement of this rises with a gentle acclivity, consisting of smooth and polished Marble, and where not smetted with filth, appearing of a White and Alabaster Colour: The Sides and Roof, as *Titus Livius Burretinus*, a *Venetian*, an ingenious young Man, who accompanied me thither, observed, was of impolished Stone, not so hard and compact as that on the Pavement, but more soft and tender: The breadth almost five Feet, and about the same quantity the height, if he have not mistaken. He likewise discovered some irregularity in the breadth, it opening a little wider in some places than in others; but this inequality could not be discerned by the Eye, but only by measuring it with a careful Hand: By my Observation with a Line, this Gallery contained in length an hundred and ten Feet. At the end of this begins the Second Gallery; a very stately Piece of Work, and not inferior, either in respect of the Curiosity of Art, or Richness of Materials, to the most sumptuous and magnificent Buildings. It is divided from the former by a Wall, through which stooping, we passed in a square Hole, much about the same bigness, as that by which we entred into the Pyramid, but of no considerable length. This narrow passage lieth level, not rising with an acclivity, as doth the Pavement below, and Roof above, of both these Galleries. At the end of it, on the right hand, is the Well mentioned by *Pliny*; the which is circular, and not square, as the *Arabian* Writers describe: The Diameter of it exceeds three Feet, the Sides are lined with white Marble, and the Descent into it is by fastning the Hands and Feet in little open spaces cut in the sides within, opposite, and answerable to one another in a perpendicular. In the same manner are almost all the



Wells and Passages into the Cisterns at *Alexandria* contrived, without Stairs or Windings, but only with Inlets, and square Holes on each side within, by which, using the Feet and Hands, one may with ease descend. Many of these Cisterns are with open and double Arches, the lowermost Arch being supported by a Row of Speckled and Thebaick Marble Pillars, upon the top of which stands a second Row, bearing the upper and higher Arch: The Walls within are covered with a sort of Plaster, for the Colour white; but of so durable a substance, that neither by Time, nor by the Water, is it yet corrupted and impaired. But I return from the Cisterns and

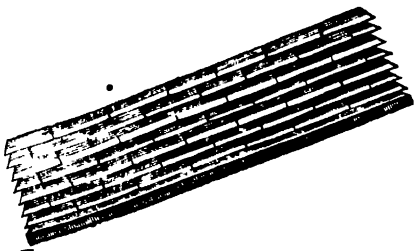
In Pyramide maxima est
tus puteus LXXXVI cubito-
rum, flumen illo admissum arbi-
trantur. Plin. 36. cap. 12.

Wells there, to this in the Pyramid, which in Pliny's Calculation, is eighty six Cubits in depth; and it may be was the passage to those secret Vaults mentioned, but not described by *Herodotus*, that were hewn out of the Rock, over which this Pyramid is erected. By my Measure, sounding it with a Line, it contains twenty Feet in depth. The Reason of the difference between *Pliny's* Observation and mine, I suppose to be this, that since his time it hath almost been dummed up, and choaked with Rubbish, which I plainly discovered at the bottom, by throwing down some combustible Matter set on fire. Leaving the Well, and going on straight upon a Level, the distance of fifteen Feet, we entered another square passage, opening against the former, and of the same big- nels. The Stones are very maffy, and exquisitely jointed, I know not whether of that glittering and speckled Marble, I mentioned in the Columns of the Cisterns at *Alexandria*. This leadeth (running in length upon a Level an hundred and ten Feet) into an arched Vault, or little Chamber; which by reason it was of a Grave-like Smell, and half full of Rubbish, occasioned my lesser stay. This Chamber stands East and West, the length of it is less than twenty Feet, the breadth about seven teen, and the height less than fifteen. The Walls are entire, and plastered over with Lime, the Roof is covered with large smooth Stones, not lying flat but shelving, and meeting above in a kind of Arch, or rather an Angle. On the East side of this Room, in the middle of it, there seems to have been a passage leading to some other place. Whither this way the Priests went into

the hollow of that huge *Sphinx*, as *Strabo* and *Pliny* term it, or *Andro- Pli sphinx*, as *Herodotus* calls such kinds (being by *Pliny's* Calculation CII Feet in compass about the Head, in height LXII, in length CXLIII: And by my Observation made of one entire Stone) which stands not far distant without the Pyramid, South-East of it, or into any other private Retirement, I cannot determine; and it may be too this served for no such purpose, but rather as a *Theca* or *Nichio*, as the *Italians* speak, wherein some Idol might be placed; or else for a Piece of Ornament (for it is made of polished Stone) in the Architecture of those Times, which ours may no more understand, than they do the Reason of the rest of those strange Proportions, that appear in the Passages and Inner rooms of this Pyramid. Returning back the same way we came, as soon as we are out of this narrow and square Passage, we climb over it, and going straight on, in the trace of the second Gallery, upon a shelving Pavement (like that of the first) rising with an Angle of twenty six Degrees, we at length came to another Partition. The length of the Gallery, from the Well below to this Partition above, is an hundred fifty and four Feet; but if we measure the Pavement of the Floor, it is somewhat less, by reason of a little vacuity (some fifteen Feet in length) as we described before, between the Well and the square Hole we climbed over. And here to re-assume some part of that which hath been spoken, if we consider the narrow entrance at the Mouth of the Pyramid by which we descend; and the length of the first and second Galleries by which we ascend, all of them lying as it were in the same continued Line, and leading to the middle of the Pyramid, we may easily apprehend a Reason of that strange Echoe within, of four or five Voices, mentioned by *Plutarch* in his Fourth Book, De placitis Philosophorum: Or rather of a long continued Sound; as I found by Experience, cap. 20. discharging a Musket at the entrance. For the Sound being shut in, and carried in those close and smooth passages, like as in so many Pipes or Trunks, finding no issue out, reflects upon it self, and causes a confused Noise and Circulation of the Air, which by degrees vanishes, as the Motion of it ceases. This Gallery, or Corridore,

Ἐν γὰρ τῇ 21ῃ Αἰτῇ
τοῦ αὐγουστίνου ἱεροῦ
μία περὶ τὴν ἑξήκοντα
καὶ ὀκτώ ἀνθρώπων
Πλ. lib. 4. de Philo. I

(or whatsoever else I may call it) is built of white and polished Marble, the which is very evenly cut in spacious Squares, or Tables. Of such Materials as is the Pavement, such is the Roof, and such are the Side walls, that flank it: The coagmentation, or knitting of Joints, is so close, that they are scarce discernable to the Eye; and that which adds a Grace to the whole Structure, tho' it makes the passage the more slippery and difficult, is the acclivity and rising of the Ascent. The height of this Gallery is 26 Feet, the breadth is 6 Feet, and 870 parts of the Foot divided into a 1000, of which three Feet, and 436 of 1000 parts of a Foot, are to be allowed for the way in the midst; which is set and bounded on both sides with two Banks (like Benches) of black and polished Stone; each of these hath one Foot 717 of 1000 parts of a Foot in breadth, and as much in depth. Upon the top of these Benches near the Angle, where they close, and joyn with the Wall, are little Spaces cut in right angled parallel Figures, set on each side opposite to one another; intended, no question, for some other end than Ornament. In the casting and ranging of the Marbles in both the Side-walls, there is one Piece of Architecture, in my Judgment, very graceful; and that is, that all the Courses, or Ranges, which are but seven (so great are those Stones) do set and flag over one another about three Inches; the bottom of the uppermost Course over-setting the higher part of the second, and the lower part of this overflagging the top of the third, and so in order the rest, as they descend. Which will better be conceived by the representation of it to the Eye in this Figure, than by any other Description.



Having passed this Gallery, we enter another square Hole, of the same Dimensions with the former, which brings us into two *Anticamerette*, as the *Italians* would call them, or *Anticlosets* (give me leave in so unusual a Structure to frame some* unusual

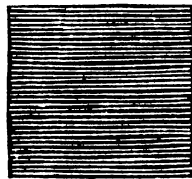
Terms) lined with a rich and speckled kind of Thebaick Marble. The first of these hath the

* Sunt enim rebus novis, nova ponenda nomina. Cicero lib. 1. de Naturâ Deorum.

Graves.

Dimensions almost equal to the second: The second is thus proportioned, the *Area* is level, the Figure of it is oblong, the one side containing seven Feet, the other three and an half, the height is ten Feet. On the East and West sides, within two Feet and an half of the top, which is somewhat larger than the bottom, are three Cavities, or little Seats, in this manner:

This inner *Anticloset* is separated from the former, by a Stone of red speckled Marble, which hangs in two Mortices (like the Leaf of a Sluce) between two Walls, more than three Feet above the Pavement, and wanting two of the Roof. Out of this Closet we enter another square Hole, over which are five Lines cut parallel, and perpendicular in this manner:



Besides these, I have not observed any other Sculptures, or Engravings, in the whole Pyramid: And therefore it may justly be wondred, whence the *Arabians* borrowed those Traditions I before related, that all Sciences are inscribed within in Hieroglyphicks: And as justly it may be questioned, upon what Authority *Dio*, or his Epitomizer *Xiphilinus*, reports that *Cornelius Gallus* (whom * *Strabo* more truly names *Ælius Gallus*, with whom he travelled into *Ægypt*, as a Friend and Companion) *Strabo*, lib. 17.

panion) * *engraved in the Pyramids his*
Victories, unless we understand some
 other Pyramids not now existent. This
 square Passage is of the same wideness
 and dimensions as the rest, and is in
 length near nine Feet, (being all of The-
 baick Marble, most exquisitely cut)
 which lands us at the North-end, of a
 very sumptuous and well-proportioned
 Room. The distance from the end of
 the second Gallery to this Entry, run-
 ning upon the same Level, is twenty
 four feet. This rich and spacious Cham-
 ber, in which Art may seem to have
 contended with Nature, the curious
 Work being not inferior to the rich
 Materials, stands as it were in the Heart
 and Centre of the Pyramid, equi-distant
 from all the Sides, and almost in the
 midst between the *Basis* and the top.
 The Floor, the Sides, the Roof of it,
 are all made of vast and exquisite Tables
 of Thebaick Marble, which if they were
 not veiled and obscured by the Steam of
 Tapers, would appear glistering and
 shining. From the top of it descending
 to the bottom, there are but six Ranges
 of Stone, all which being respectively
 fized to an equal height, very graciously
 in one and the same Altitude, run round
 the room. The Stones which cover this
 place, are of a strange and stupendous
 length, like so many huge Beams lying
 flat, and traversing the Room, and withal
 supporting that infinite Mass and Weight
 of the Pyramid above. Of these there
 are nine, which cover the Roof; two
 of them are less by half in breadth than
 the rest; the one at the East-end, the
 other at the West. The length of this
 * Chamber on the South-side, most accu-
 rately taken at the Joint, or Line, where

† These
 Proporti-
 ons of the
 Chamber,

and those which follow, of the length and breadth of the
 hollow part of the Tomb, were taken by me with as much
 exactness as it was possible to do: Which I did so much the
 more diligently, as judging this to be the fittest place for the
 fixing of Measures for Posterity. A thing which hath been
 much desired by Learned Men, but the manner how it might
 be exactly done, hath been thought of by none. I am of
 Opinion, that as this Pyramid hath stood three thousand Years
 almost, and is no whit decayed within, so it may continue
 many thousand Years longer: And therefore that After-times
 measuring these Places by me assigned, may hereby not only
 find out the just Dimensions of the English Foot, but also the
 Feet of several Nations in these Times; which in my Travels
 abroad I have taken from the Originals, and have compared
 them at home with the English Standard. Had some of the
 ancient Mathematicians thought of this way, these Times
 would not have been so much perplexed, in discovering the
 Measures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and
 other Nations. Such Parts as the English Foot contains a 1000.
 The Roman Foot, on *Cassius* Monument (commonly called by
 Writers, *Jes Colatiana*) contains 967. The Paris Foot 1068.
 The Spanish Foot 920. The Venetian Foot 1062. The Rhinland
 Foot, of that of *Smellius*, 1033. The Braccio at Florence 1913.
 The Braccio at Naples 2100. The Derab at Cairo 1824. The greater
 Turkish Pike at Constantinople 2200.

the first and second Row of Stones meet,
 is thirty four English Feet, and 380
 parts of the Foot divided into a thou-
 sand (that is 34 Feet, and 380 of 1000
 parts of a Foot.) The breadth of the
 West side at the Joint, or Line, where
 the first and second Row of Stones meet,
 is seventeen Feet, and an hundred and
 ninety parts of the Foot divided into a
 thousand (that is 17 Feet, and 190 of
 1000 parts of a Foot.) The height is
 nineteen Feet and an half.

Within this glorious Room (for so I
 may justly call it) as within some con-
 secrated Oratory, stands the Monument
 of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, of one piece of
 Marble, hollow within, and uncovered
 at the top, and sounding like a Bell.
 Which I mention not as any Rarity,
 either in Nature, or in Art (for I
 have observed the like
 Sound, in other Tombs
 of * Marble cut hollow
 like this) but because I
 find modern Authors to
 take notice of it as a
 wonder. Some write,

* As appears by a fair an-
 cient Monument brought
 from *Smirna*, to my very wo-
 thy friend, *Edward Rolt*, Esq;
 which stands in his Park.
Woolwich.

that the Body hath been
 removed hence; where-
 as † *Diodorus* hath left
 above sixteen hundred
 Years since, a memora-
 ble passage concerning *Chemmis*, the
 Builder of this Pyramid, and *Cephren*,
 the Founder of the next adjoining. *Altho*
 (saith he) these Kings intended these
 for their Sepulchres, yet it hapned that
 neither of them were buried there:
 For the People being exasperated against
 them, by reason of the Idleness of
 these Works, and for their Cruelty and
 Oppression, threatened to tear in pieces
 their dead Bodies, and with Ignominy to
 throw them out of their Sepulchres:
 Wherefore both of them dying commanded
 their Friends privately to bury them, in
 an obscure place. This Monument, in re-
 spect of the nature and quality of the
 Stone, is the same with which the
 whole Room is lined; as by breaking a
 little fragment of it, I plainly disco-
 vered, being a speckled kind of Marble,
 with black, and white, and red Spots,
 as it were equally mix'd, which some
 Writers call Thebaick Marble: Tho' I
 conceive it to be that sort of Porphyry
 which *Pliny* calls *Leucostictos*, and de-
 scribes thus: *Rubet Porphyrites in ea-*
dem Egypto, ex eo candidis interveni-
entibus punctis Leucostictos appellatur.
Quantislibet multis cadendis sufficiens
lapideina. Of this kind of Marble there
 was,

† *Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Τῶν*
βασίλειων ἡ αὐτὴ συνάσσαντι
αὐτὰς ταῖς οἰκίαις τὰς αὐτῶν, οὐκ
ἐμνήστεον αὐτῶν ἢ συγγε-
νῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, &c.

Plin. lib.
cap. 7.

was, and still is, an infinite quantity of Columns in *Ægypt*. But a *Venetian*, a Man very curious, who accompanied me thither, imagined that this sort of Marble came from Mount

^a which may also be confirmed by *Bellonius's* Observations; who describing the Rock, out of which, upon *Stofes* striking it, there gushed out Waters, makes it to be such a speckled kind of Thebaick Marble: *Est une grosse pierre massive droite de même grain &c de la couleur, qu'est la pierre Thebaïque.*

left imperfect
molt as big as

^c The Compass of the *Scala* of this Column at *Alexandria*, near the *Torus*, is XXIV *English Feet*: The Compass of the *Scopus* of those at *Rome*, is XV *English Feet*, and three Inches. By these Proportions, and by those Rules which are prescribed in *Vetruvius*, and in other Books of Architecture, the ingenious Reader may compute the true Dimensions of those before the *Pantheon*, and of this at *Alexandria*; becoming, in my Calculation, the most magnificent Column that ever was made, of one entire Stone.

the Tradition of *Aristides*, who reports, that in Arabia there is a Quarry of excellent Porphyry. The Figure of this Tomb without, is like an Altar, or more nearly to express it, like two Cubes finely set together, and hollowed within; it is cut smooth and plain, without any Sculpture and Engraving, or any Relief and Embossment. The exterior Superficies of it contains in length seven

Feet, three Inches, and an half. *Bellonius* makes it twelve Feet, and ^b Monsieur de Breves nine; but both of them have exceeded. In depth it is three Feet, three Inches, and three Quarters, and is the same in breadth. The hollow part within, is in length on the West-side, fix

^a *Pervenitur in elegans cubulum quadrangulum sex passuum longum, & quatuor latum, quatuor vel VI orgyis altum, in quo marmor nigrum solidum in cille formam excisam invenimus XII pedes longum, & altum, & totidem latum, sine operculo.* *Bellon. Obser. Lib. 2. Cap. 42.*
^b *Les Voyages de Monsieur de Breves.*

Feet, and four hundred eight parts of the *English Foot* divided into a thousand parts (that is 6 Feet, and 488 of 1000 parts of a Foot) in breadth, at the North-end, two Feet, and two hundred and eighteen parts of the Foot di-

vided into a thousand parts (that is 2 Feet, and 218 of 1000 parts of a Foot.) The depth is 2 Feet, and 86 of 1000 parts of the *English Foot*. A narrow space, yet large enough to contain a molt potent and dreadful Monarch, being dead, to whom living, all *Ægypt* was too freight and narrow a Circuit. By these Dimensions, and by such other Observations as have been taken by me from several embalmed Bodies in *Ægypt*, we may conclude, that there is no Decay in Nature; (tho' the Question is as old as *Homér*) but that the Men of this Age are of the same stature they were near three thousand Years ago; notwithstanding St. ^a *Augustine*, and others, are of a different Opinion.

Quis jam exo isto non minor juvis Parentibus nascitur? Is the Complaint of *Solinus* above fifteen hundred Years since. And yet in those *Cryptæ Sepulchrales*, at *Rome*, of the Primitive Christians, resembling Cities under Ground: Admired anciently by St. *Hierom*, and very faithfully of late described by *Bosius*, in his *Roma Subterranea*, (for I took so much Pains for my own Satisfaction, as to enter those wonderful Grots, and compare his Descriptions) I find the Bodies entombed, some of them

being as ancient as *Solinus* himself, no way to exceed the Proportions of our Times.

It may be justly questioned how this Monument of *Cheops* could be brought hither, seeing it is an impossibility that by those narrow passages, before described, it should have entred. Wherefore we must imagine, that by some *Machina* it was raised and conveyed up without, before this Oratory or Chamber was finished, and the Roof closed. The

^d 2 Feet $\frac{218}{1000}$

In the Reiteration of the Numbers, it may shall be extended, either with the novelty or tediousness of expressing them to often, I must confine my self by the Example of *Ulug Beg*, Nephew to *T. marline* the Great, (for so his Name, and not *Tamerlan* and Emperor of the *Mogul* or *Tatars*, (whom we term amiss the *Tartars*.) For find in his Astronomical Tables (the most accurate of any in the East) made about 6 Years since, the same Court observed by him, when he writes of the *Grecian*, *Arabian*, *Persian*, and *Celalean Epochs* as also of those of *Cæsar* and *Turkishan*. He expresseth the Numbers at large, as I have done, then in Figures, such as we call *Arabian*, because we first learned these from them but the *Arabians* themselves fetch them higher, acknowledging that they received this useful Invention from the *Indians*; and therefore, from their Authors, they name them *Indian Figures*. Lastly He renders them again in particular Tables: Which manner I judge worthy the imitation, in all such Numbers as are radical, and of more than ordinary use. For if they be only twice expressed, if any difference shall happen by the neglect of Scribes, or Printers it may often so fall out, that we shall not know which to make choice of; whereas if they be thrice expressed, it will be a rare chance but that two of them will agree, which two we may generally presume to be the truth.

^e *Jam vero ante annos prope mille, vates ille Homerus non cessavit minor corpora mortalium quam præcipua conqueri. Phn.*

Nam genus hoc vivo jam de crecebat Homero. Terra malos homines nunc educat atque passillos. *Juven. Sat. 15.*

^f *Augusti. de Civ. Dei. L. 15. cap. 9.*

^g 6 Feet $\frac{488}{1000}$

Graves. Position of it is thus : It stands exactly in the Meridian, North and South, and is, as it were, equidistant from all sides of the Chamber, except the East, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the West. Under it I found a little hollow space to have been dug away, and a large Stone in the Pavement removed, at the Angle next adjoining to it : Which *Sands* erroneously imagines to be a passage into some other Compartment : Dug away, no doubt, by the Avarice of some, who might not improbably conjecture an hidden Treasure to be repositied there. An expenceful Prodigality, out of Superstition used by the Ancients, and with the same blind Devotion taken up, and *continued to this Day* in the East Indies. And yet it seems by *Josephus's* Relation, that by the wisest King, in a time as clear and unclouded as any, it was put in practice, who thus describes the Funeral of

☞ Jos. Lib. 7. Ant. Judaic. cap. 12. Ἐθαπτε δ' αὖτ' ὁ παῖς Σολομῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλμοῖς διαπρεπῶς, τοῖς ἀλλοῖς οἷς περ κηδεῖαν νομίζετο βασιλικῶ ἀπασι, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῷ πολλῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὅσων σωματικῶν δόσεων, &c.

the multitude of which we may easily collect by that which shall be spoken. For, thirteen hundred Years after, *Hyrcanus* the High-Priest being besieged by *Antiochus*, surnamed *Pius*, the Son of *Pemetrus*, and being willing to give Money to raise the Siege, and to lead away his Army, not knowing where to procure it, he opened one of the Vaults of the Sepulchre of *David*, and took thence three thousand Talents ; part whereof being given to *Antiochus*, he freed himself from the danger of the Siege, as we have elsewhere declared. And again, after many Years, King *Herod* opening another Vault, took out a great quantity of Money ; yet neither of them came to the Coffins of the Kings, for they were with much Art hid under Ground, that they might not be found by such as entred into the Sepulchre.

The ingenious Reader will excuse my Curiosity, if before I conclude my Description of this Pyramid, I permit not any thing within, of how light a consequence it over. This made me take Notice of two Inlets, or Spaces, in the South, and North-sides of this Chamber, just opposite to one another ; that on the North was in breadth 700 of 1000 parts of the English Foot, in depth 400 of 1000 parts, evenly cut, and run-

ning in a straight Line six Feet, and farther, into the thickness of the Wall. That on the South is larger, and somewhat round, not so long as the former ; by the blackness within, it seems to have been a Receptacle for the burning of Lamps. *T. Livius Barretinus*, would gladly have believed, that it had been an Hearth for one of those Eternal Lamps, such as have been found in *Tulliola's* Tomb in *Italy* ; and, if *Camden* be not misinformed, in *England*, in the *Cryptoporicus* of *M. Valerius Constantinus*, Father to *Constantine* the Great, dedicated to the Urns and Ashes of the Dead ; but I imagine the Invention not to be so ancient as this Pyramid. However, certainly a Noble Invention ; and therefore pity it is it should have been smothered by the negligence of Writers, as with a Damp. How much better might *Pliny*, if he knew the Composition of it, have described it, than he hath done the *Linum Asbestinum*, a sort of Linen spun out of the Veins, as some suppose, of the *Carystian*, or *Cyprian* Stone ? (Which in my Travels I have often seen :) Tho' *Salmasius*, with more probability, contends the true *Asbestinum* to be the *Linum Vroom*, or *Linum Indicum* ; in the Folds and Wreaths of which, they inclosed the dead Body of the Prince ; (for saith *Pliny*, *Regum inde funebres tunicae* : And no wonder, seeing not long after he adds, *Æquæ pretia excellentium margaritarum*) committing it to the Fire and Flames till it were consumed to Ashes : While in the same Flames this Shroud of Linen, as if it had only been bathed and washed (to allude to his Expression) by the Fire, became more white and refined. Surely a rare and commendable Piece of Skill, which *Pancirollus* justly reckons amongst the *Deperdita* ; but infinitely inferior either in respect of Art, or Use, unto the former. And thus I have finished my Description of all the Inner Parts of this Pyramid : In which I could neither borrow Light to conduct me from the Ancients ; nor receive any Man's direction from the uncertain Informations of modern Travellers, in those dark and hidden Places. We are now come whereof I intend to say, and shall, I think, find my Journey not unprofitable, though I find it impossible to describe the same, without Hopes without in expectation of my return.

It was much wondered at by Dr. Har-

Camden
Brit. ubi
agit de Eg-
gantibus.

Salmasius
erect. Phi-
man.

Plin lib 1
cap. 1.

Panciroll
Titul. 4.
rum dep
dicatum.

his Majesty's learned Physician: For said he, seeing we never breathe the same Air twice, but fill new Air is requisite to a new Respiration, (the *Succus Alibilis* of it being spent in every Expiration) it could not be but by long Breathing we should have spent the Aliment of that small Stock of Air within, and have been stifled: Unless there were some secret Tunnels conveying it to the top of the Pyramid, whereby it might pass out, and make way for fresh Air to come in, at the entrance below. To which I returned him this Answer: That it might be doubted whether the same numerical Air could not be breathed more than once; and whether the *Succus*, and Aliment of it, could be spent in one single Respiration: Seeing these *Urinatines*, or Divers under Water, for Spunges in the *Mediterranean Sea*, and those for Pearls in the *Sinus Arabicus*, and *Persicus*, continuing above half an Hour under Water, must needs often breathe in and out the same Air. He gave me an ingenious Answer, That they did it by help of Pipes filled with Oil, which still corrected and led this

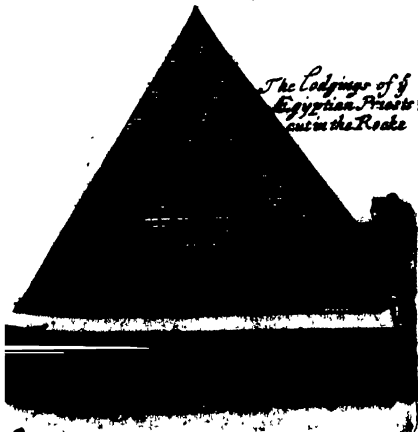
the which Oil being once evaporated, they were able to continue no longer, but must ascend up, or die. An Experiment most certain and true. Wherefore I gave him this Second Answer: That the fuliginous Air we breathed out in the Pyramid, might pass thorough these Galleries we came up, and so thorough the straight Neck, or Entrance, leading into the Pyramid, and by the same fresh Air might enter in, and come up to us. Which I illustrated with this Similitude: As at the Straights of *Gibraltar*, the Sea is reported by some to enter in on *Europe* side, and to pass out on *Africa* side, so in this straight passage, being not much above three Feet broad, on the one side Air might pass out, and at the other side fresh Air might enter in. And this might no more mix with the former Air, than the *Rhodanus*, as *Pomponius Mela*, and some others report, passing through the *Lacus Lemanus*, or Lake of *Geneva*, doth mix and incorporate with the Water of the Lake. For as for any *Tubuli*, to let out the fuliginous Air at the top of the Pyramid, none could be discovered within, or without. He replied, They might be so small, as that they could not easily be discerned, and yet might be sufficient to make way for the Air, being a thin and subtile Body. To which I answered, That the less they were, the sooner they would be obstructed with those Tempests of Sands, to which these Decurs are frequently exposed: And therefore the narrow Entrance into the Pyramid, is often so choked up with Drifts of Sand, that there is no entrance into it: Wherefore we hire

Moss to remove them, and open the passage, before we enter into the Pyramid: With which he rested satisfied. I could not so easily be satisfied with that received Opinion That at the Straights of *Gibraltar*, the Sea enters in at the one side, and at the same time passes out at the other. For I consider, that in twice passing those Straights I could obtain no such thing, but only an Inlet, without any Outlet of the Sea: I enquired of a Captain of a Ship, being Captain of one of the six that I was then in Company with, and an understanding Man, who had often passed that way with the *Pirate of Algier*, whether ever he observed any Outlet of the Sea of *Africa* side? He answered, No. Being asked, Why then the Pirates went out into the *Atlantic* Sea on *Africa* side, it were not, as the Opinion is, to make use of the Current? I answered, It was rather to secure themselves from being surprised by the Christians, who had near the Mouth of the Straights the Port of *Gibraltar*, on the other side, to harle in. Wherefore, when I consider with my self the great Dragg of Waters that enter at this straight, and the swift Current of Waters which pass out of the *Pontus Euxinus*, by the *Bosphorus Thracicus*, into the *Mediterranean Sea*, (both which I have seen besides the many Rivers that fall into it, and have no visible passage out: I cannot conceive, but that the *Mediterranean Sea*, or *Orindal* (as the *Aulians* call it, from its figure) must long since have been filled up, and swelling higher, had destroyed the Plains of *Egypt*; which it hath never done. Wherefore I imagine it to be no Absurdity in Philosophy, to say that the Earth is tubulous, and that there is a true passage and Ground, from one Sea to another. Which being granted, we may easily thence apprehend the Reason why the *Mediterranean Sea* rises no higher, notwithstanding the Fall into it of many Waters: And also know the Reason why the *Caspian Sea*, tho' it hath not, in appearance, any Commerce with other Seas, continues salt. (For so it is, whatsoever *Philetus*, *Strabo*, says to the contrary) and swells not over its Banks, notwithstanding the Fall of the great River *Volga*, and of other into it. That which gave me occasion of entering into the Speculation was this: In the Longitude of eleven Degrees, and Latitude of forty one Degrees, having borrowed the Tackling of six Ships, and in a calm Day sounded with a Plummet almost twenty Pounds weight, carefully steering the Boat, and keeping the Plummet in a just perpendicular, at a thousand forty five English Fathoms; that is, at above an English Mile and a quarter in depth, I could find no Land, or Bottom.

A Description of the Second PYRAMID.

pag: 729

The second Pyramid.



FROM the First Pyramid we went to the Second, being scarce distant the Height of an Arrow. By the way I observed, on the West side of the First, the Ruines of a Pile of Building, all of square and polished Stone; such as *Pliny* calls *Basilates*, and *Philostratus* describes to be, *Ferret coloris, & duritie: cap. 7*. Of an Iron colour and hardness. Formerly, it may be, some Habitation of the Priests, or some Monument of the Dead. To the Right Hand of this, tending to the South, stands this Second Pyramid; of which, besides the Miracle, the Ancient and Modern Writers have delivered little. *Herodotus* relates, that *Cephren*, in imitation of his brother *Cheops*, built this; but that he fell short in respect of the Magnitude. For (saith he) we have measured them. It were to be wished for fuller Satisfaction of the Reader, he had expressed the quantity, and also the manner how

whom *Bellonius* served as an *Amanu-*

* *Bellon.* Observ. l. 2. c. 44. *tertia Pyramis duabus superioribus longior minor, tertia est autem parte major, ea quæ apud ælæceum montem est Romæ, ut ad D. Pauli exandrum it, itinere Ostiensi. Adhuc ingrua est, nec magis rimis corrupta, quam si jam recens ex-ructa esset. Marmoris enim cinere constat, quod Balautes unepatur, vel lapis Æthiopicus, ipso serio duriore.*

*sis. The third * Pyra- mid is much less than the former two, but is a third part greater than that which is at Rome, near the Mons Testaceus, as you pass to St. Paul's in the Ostian way. It is still perfect, and no more corrupted than as if it had been newly built: For it is*

made of a kind of Marble, called Balautes, or Æthiopic Marble, harder than Iron it self.

It will be in vain to repeat the Traditions and Descriptions of several others: All which, by a kind of Confederacy, agree in the same Tale for the Substance, only differing in some Circumstances. So that I shrewdly suspect, that *Diodorus* hath borrowed most of his Relation from *Herodotus*; and *Strabo* and *Pliny* from *Diodorus*, or from them both; and the more learned Moderns from them all: For else how can it be imagined, they should so constantly

* I have since conferred with an English Captain, who having been four times at *Alexandria*, and as often at the Pyramids, assures me that I am not mistaken.

agree in that, which if my Eyes, and * Memory, extremely fail me not, is most evidently false? And therefore I have a strong Jealousie, that they never came near this Third Pyramid;

but that they did, as I have observed all Travellers, in my time, in *Ægypt* to do, fill themselves so full, and as it were so surfeit with the sight of the greater and fairer Pyramid, that they had no Appetite to be Spectators of the rest; where they should only see the same Miracle (for the Pyramids are all of the same Figure) the farther they went, decreasing and presented in a less Form: Or if they did view this, it was *Quasi per transennam*; very perfunctorily, and slightly; and that through a false and coloured Glass: For they have mistaken both in the Quality of the Stone, and Colour of the Pyramid. I begin with *Herodotus*, who by a notable piece of Forgetfulness, if it be not a *σφάλμα* in the Copies, makes the Dimensions of each of the sides, in the *Basis* of this, to be three hundred Feet, and yet to want but twenty of the first Pyramid, to which he assigned before eight hundred Feet, an impossibility in Arithmetic: And therefore it will be no presumption to correct the place, and in-

stead of *ἰσχυροὶ ποδῶν καλὰ δέκασαι*, to write *πενήκοντα ποδῶν καλὰ δέκασαι*. I know not how to palliate or excuse his other Error, where he makes this Pyramid to be built as far as to the middle of it, with *Æthiopic* Marble. If this sort of Marble be *ferrei coloris*, as it is described by *Pliny*, and granted by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*, both of these expressing the Colour to be black, and the latter bringing it from the remotest Mountains of *Æthiopia*, where the Marble hath the same Tincture and Colour with the Inhabitants; then can this Relation of *Herodotus* no way be admitted: For the whole Pyramid seems to be of clear and white Stone, somewhat choicer and brighter, than that in either of the two other Pyramids. And therefore I wonder that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*; and amongst latter Authors, *Bellonius*, *Gillius*, and several others, should have all followed *Herodotus*; when with a little Pains and Circumspection, they might have reformed his and their own Error. It may perhaps be alledged in their Defence, that they mean, the Buildings within are erected with Black and *Æthiopic* Marble: And yet if this be granted, since there is no Entrance leading into this, no more than is into the Second Pyramid, what may be within, depends upon the Incertainty of Tradition or Conjecture, both which are very fallible. Tho' it cannot be denied, but close by, on the East side of it, there are the Ruins of a Pile of Building, with a sad and dusky Colour, much like that we described in passing to the Second Pyramid, which might be the ground and occasion of this Error. I cannot excuse the Ancients, but *Bellonius*, or *Gillius*, (for it is no matter which of them owns the Relation, when both of them have erred) are far more inexcusable: Because it might have been expected from them, what *Livy* supposes, *Novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid alienuros se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt*. Whereas these on the contrary, have depraved what hath been in this particular, with truth delivered by the Ancients. For whereas *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, equal the side of the *Basis* to three hundred Feet, and *Pliny* extends it to three hundred sixty three, they only make it a third part greater than the Pyramid at *Rome*, of *Cæsius*, near the *Mons Testaceus*: So that either they have much enlarged that at *Rome*, or shrunk and contracted this.

Plin. l. 7. Diodor. l. 7. Strabo, l. 7. Geog.

T. Liv. lib. 4.

Herodot. lib. 2.

For the Pyramid at *Rome*, exactly measured on that side which stands within the City, is completely seventy eight Feet *English* in breadth; to which if we add a third part of it, the result will be an hundred and four; which should be equal to this *Aegyptian* Pyramid, in the notion and acceptance of *Belonius*. An unpardonable Oversight, no less than two hundred Feet, in a very little more than three hundred. For to much, besides the Authority of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, before cited, I take the side of this Pyramid to be, and the Altitude to have much the same proportion.

I would gladly have seen in this, the Name of *Mycrinus*, the Founder of it, engraven, as *Prodonus* mentions: Or that other Inscription in the first, whereof *Hierobitus* procured the Interpretation: But both have been defaced by

in Meat and in Cloaths for the Lechaurens?

Hereby I might have known what to determine of the ancient *Egyptian* Letters. I mean not the Sacred Ones (for those were all symbolical, expressing the ab-

quissima monumenta memoriae humanae impressis taxis et
Et literarum semet inventores prohibent. Inde Phoenicia, qui
maior prepollebant, italissi Cassi et glori in pu adpato, non
repererunt, quae acceperant. Tacit. 2 Lib. Annal.

mi, fam-
larium
ne figu-
re. Me of
N. 1000,
ere, a fe-
vahan' i
guis. Luc

Primi per
figuras a
maalum
gyptu sen
mentis
fingebant
Et

Of the rest of the PYRAMIDS in the Libyan Desert.

Have done with these Three Pyramids, each of them being very remarkable, and the two first reckoned amongst the Miracles of the World. The rest in the *Libyan Desert* lying scattered here and there, are (excepting one of them) but lesser Copies, and as it were Models of these : And therefore I shall neither much trouble my self, nor the Reader, with the Description of them. Tho' to speak the truth, did not the three first standing so near together, obscure the lustre of the rest, which lie far scattered, some of them were very considerable. And therefore I cannot but tax the omission of the Ancients, and the inadvertency of all Modern Writers and Travellers, who with too much supineness have neglected the Description of one of them ; which in

my Judgment is as worthy of Memory, and as near a Miracle, as any of those three which I have mentioned. And this stands from these South and by West, at twenty Miles distance, more within the Sandy Desert, upon a Rocky Level like these, and not far from the Village whence we enter the *Mummies*. This, as the *Venetian* Doctor assured me, and as I could judge by Conjecture at a distance, hath the same Dimensions that the first and fairest of these, hath Graduations, or Ascents without, and of the same Colour like that, (but more decayed, especially at the top) and an Entrance into it on the North-side, which is barred up within; and therefore whatsoever is spoken of the first, in respect of the exterior Figure, is applicable to this

tered by the Winds, or buried with those Tempests of Sand, to which the Deserts are perpetually exposed : But *Diodorus*, who not long preceded him, was not so curious as to deliver this Relation. And were not *Strabo* a Writer of much Gravity and Judgment, I should suspect that these petrified Grains (tho' I know such Petrefactions to be no impossibility in Nature : For I have seen, at *Venice*, the Bones and Flesh of a Man, and the whole Head, except the Teeth, entirely transmuted into Stone : And at *Rome*, clear Conduit-Water, by long standing in Aquæducts, hath been turned into perfect Alabaster) are like those Loaves of Bread, which are reported to be found by the Red Sea, converted into Stone, and by the Inhabitants supposed to be some of the Bread the *Israelites* left behind them, when they passed over for fear of *Pharaoh*. They are sold at *Grand Cairo*, handsomely made up, in the manner of the Bread of these Times ; which is enough to discover the Imposture. For the Scripture makes them to have been unleavened Cakes : * *They baked unleavened Cakes of the Dough which they brought forth out of Ægypt*. Or else *Strabo's* Relation may be like the Tradition of the rising of dead Mens Bones every * Year,

* Exod.
12. 39.

* *Sands* in his Travels writes, that they are

seen to rise on Good-Friday. A *French-man*, at *Grand Cairo*, who had been present at the Resurrection, shewed me an Arm which he brought from thence ; the Flesh shrivelled,

and dried like that of the Mummies. He observed the cle to have been always behind him ; once casually to back, he discovered some Bones carried privately by an *Arab*, under his Vest, whereby he understood the Myste

in *Ægypt* : A thing superstitiously believed by the Christians ; and by the Priests, either out of Ignorance, or Policy, maintained, as an Argument of the Resurrection. The possibility and truth of it, *Metrophanes*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, thought (but very illogically) might be proved out of the Prophet Esay, * *And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me, for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched ; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh*.

But I have digressed too far. The Confutation of these, and the Description of the Mummies, or of the rest of the *Ægyptian* Sepulchres (for from thence comes the matter of this their supposed Resurrection) and that infinite Mass, and variety of Hieroglyphicks, which I have either seen there, or bought, or transcribed elsewhere, may be the * *Argument* of another Discourse.

* An Argument intended by me, and fit

which I made a Collection of several Antiquities in my Travels abroad ; but these (and would only these !) have unfortunately perished at home, amidst the sad Distractions of the Time.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
ROMAN FOOT
AND
DENARIUS:

From whence, as from two Principles, the
MEASURES and WEIGHTS

Used by the ANCIENTS, may be deduced.

By JOHN GREAVES, *Professor of Astro-*
nomy in the University of OXFORD.

Σπουδασίον ὅπως ὀρθοῦσι καλῶς αἱ ἀρχαί, μέγαλλ' ἂν ἔχουσι βολὴν πρὸς
ἐπὶ νόμῳ.

*Una fides, pondus, mensura, moneta sit una,
Et status illæsus totius Orbis erit.*

• Budelius de monetis.

To his truly Noble and Learned FRIEND,
J O H N S E L D E N, Esq;
 Burgess of the University of OXFORD,
 In the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.

S I R,
THAT I should present you, who have so honourably deserved of Antiquity, and of your Country; and, if I may add mine own Obligations, in particular of me, with so small a Retribution as a Roman Foot, and Denarius, may seem more proportionable to mine Abilities, than to the Eminency of your Place and Worth. But you, who, to the Honour of your Profession, have joined the Wisdom of the Ancients, and justly have merited this Elogy,

—Anglorum gloria gentis

Seldenus.

An Elogy long since given you by a Man, who is deservedly esteemed, πολλῶν ἀν-
 τιστῶν ἁλλων, the learned Hugo Gro-
 tius; you are best able to judge of what
 Importance these two are, in the Discov-
 ery of the Weights and Measures used
 by the Ancients.

And first, for Measures, the **סאה** or
 Cubit of the Sanctuary, in the Scrip-
 tures, Josephus, and the Rabbins: The
 Ἀλφύριον, and Βαβυλωνίος πήχυς, in
 Herodotus (the former equal to that of
 Samos: The latter misrendred by Pliny
 and Solinus, Pes Babylonius): The Πλαγ.
 στήλην Περσικὴν, in Herodotus, containing
 XXX. σάδια: in Strabo, sometimes LX.
 sometimes XL. and sometimes XXX. (but
 in Hesychius, ὁ ἀρσάκης ἔχει μίλια τέτ-
 ταρα; and in Abulfeda, three Miles:
 With whom, and with the Persians, to
 this Day it is called the Farsach) the
 αἰνὴν Αἰθιοπικὴν in Herodotus, Arre-
 midorus, and Strabo: The πῶς βασι-
 λικὸς, κὶ Φιλισταῖον, in Hero: The
 Pes Ptolemaicus, and Drusianus, in Hy-
 ginus: Besides infinite others depending
 upon the Proportions of some of these:
 I say, these cannot, after the Destruction
 of those ancient Monarchies and Repub-
 licks, any other way be restored, than
 from such Monuments, as, by Divine
 Providence, have escaped the Hands of
 Ruine, and continued to these later Ages.
 For were it not that the Pes Romanus,
 or Monetalis, as Hyginus terms it, were
 still extant in Rome, on the Monuments
 of Cossutius, and of Tit. Statilius Vol-

Aper (for those two Columns, the one
 with the Inscription ΠΟΔ. Θ. mentioned
 by Marlianus, and Philander: The other
 with ΠΟΔ. ΙΒ. seen by the same Philan-
 der, are both lost) we might utterly de-
 spair of knowing the Measures of the
 Hebrews, Babylonians, Persians, Egyp-
 tians, Grecians, Romans, and of all
 others described in Classical Authors;
 who could not transmit to Posterity the
 individual Measures themselves, but only
 the Proportions they respectively had to
 one another: Which Proportions being
 pure Habitues, cannot, as Mathematicians
 observe, be reduced to the Mea-
 sures of these Times, unless either some
 of the ἀπομνημονεύματα themselves were ex-
 istent; or else exact Copies taken from
 the Originals were derived to us.

In like manner it is for Weights, the **סאה**
 the ככר the שקל, or σίκλη of the Hebrews,
 or סלע of the Chaldeans, which Aruck
 renders by four זוזים Zuzim; that is, 4
 Denarii (from whence the Persian σίκλη,
 in Xenophon, and Hesychius, may have
 received its denomination): The Τάλαν-
 τον Βαβυλωνίον, containing 7000 Attick
 Drachms; the Τάλαντον Ἀργιναιον 10000;
 the Τάλαντον Σύρον 1500; the Τάλαν-
 τον Ἀρδικόν 6000, all mentioned by Julius
 Pollux; the Talentum Aegyptium, in
 Varro, containing 80 Pondo, or Pounds;
 the Talentum Euboicum in Festus 4000
 Denarii: These, with infinite others,
 both Mensuræ and Pondera, whether con-
 sidered as Medica, or Georgica, or Vete-
 rinaria, cannot in our times be restored,
 but only by such Weights of the Ancients
 as are still extant; that is, either by
 the Denarius of the Romans, or Δραχμή
 of the Grecians, or by the Congrus of
 Vespasian, or by the Libra, and Uncia
 Romanæ, and the like, that have been
 preserved by Antiquaries.

Seeing therefore the Denarius is of as
 great moment for the discovery of Weights,
 as the Roman Foot for the knowledge of
 Measures, I have taken these two, as two
 irrefragable Principles, from whence the
 rest used by the Ancients may be dedu-
 ced. And because the Denarius may be
 considered as a double respect, either as
 Num-

The Far-
 sach, with
 the Anci-
 ents and
 Moderns,
 contains
 three Miles.
 Abulf. Geog.
 MS.

Nummus, or as Pondus : The first Acception conducing to the Valuation of Coins, the second to the Certainty of Weights : It was therefore necessary that both the Weight, and Valuation of the Denarius, should be exactly known. To which purpose, in Italy, I examined with a Balance (the Scale of which the eighth part of a Grain would sensibly turn) many hundred fair Denarii, both Confularis and Cæsareï, as also Quinarii, or Victoriati in Silver; several Aurei of the former and later Emperors; besides the Original Standard of the Congius, placed by Vespasian in the Capitol; and many Unciæ, and Libræ, in Brass. From whence I collected the Weight of the Denarius Confularis, and Cæsareus; that to be the seventh part of the Roman Ounce, as Celsus, Scribonius Largus, and Pliny, rightly describe; and this to be sometimes the eighth part, and sometimes the seventh, but most frequently in a middle proportion betwixt eight and seven, till Severus's and Gordianus's Times; under whom, and the succeeding Emperors, it recovered the Weight of the Denarius Confularis; but lost much of its fineness by the mixture of Alloy.

With these Denarii, for the greater certainty, I compared such Grecian Coins (especially Athenian) as I had either seen in choice Cabinets, or bought of mine own; and those were the χρυσοί, or sáine-s, absolutely taken; which, as Julius Pollux, and Helychius, out of Polemarchus testify, weighed two Drachms : The τετραδραχμα, or τετραδραχμα, or τετραδραχμα, the τετραδραχμα, or as Pollux names them, the τετραδραχμα, with several others.

By which Comparison I first discover'd, that howsoever the Romans, as Pliny, and A. Gellius expressly; Valerius, and Suetonius, by way of consequence, equal the Denarius to the Drachma : And tho' the Greeks, as Strabo, Cleopatra, Plutarch, Galen, Dio, and many more, equal the Drachma to the Denarius, speaking in a popular estimation, and as they vulgarly passed in way of Commerce; yet if we shall put on the Resolution of him in the Comedy,

Oculatæ nostræ sunt manus, credunt quod vident :

We may evidently discern in the Scale, the Drachma Attica to be heavier than the Denarius : And therefore all such Writers of the Ancients, as equal them, if we speak strictly of Weight, and not of Estimation, have been deceived; and con-

sequently, all Modern Writers following their Traditions, in Discourses de ponderibus, & de re nummaria, have erred.

But because it is not probable, that the Ancients, both Greeks and Romans, should be deceived in their own Coins, and in their own Times; it occasioned me by observing the Practice abroad of the νομισμα in Exchanges, with whom the same specific Coins, in different States, pass with different Estimations, to think of some means how I might reconcile the Traditions of the Greeks and Romans, concerning the Weight and Valuation of the Drachma Attica and Denarius; notwithstanding the difference in the Balance, of such as are now found at Athens, and at Rome.

And this drew from me that Discourse which I have inserted at the end of this Book. Of some Directions to be observed in comparing the Valuations of Coins : Which may serve, not only to reconcile the Greek and Roman Writers, but especially the Traditions of Philo, Josephus, Epiphanius, St. Hierom, and Helychius; who make the Hebrew שקל Shekel, equal to the Attick Tetradrachm; whereas in the Scale, which is the best Judge of this Controversie, I find them manifestly unequal; the Hebrew, or Samaritan Shekel, being much less than the Attick Tetradrachm.

But it may be questioned, Why after the Labours of Portius, Budæus, Alciatus, Agricola, Montanus, Mariana, Budelius, Alcasar, Villalpandus, Jo. Scaliger, Capellus, Snellius, and of many other eminent Men who have writ, either dedit operâ, or de ponderibus & mensuris, I should undertake any thing of this nature? My Answer is, that observing in them so great a variety, and contradiction of Opinions, I was willing to use mine own Judgment, how mean soever, in giving my self private Satisfaction. And tho' I intended this Work, as a wages for to other Employments; yet having, by the advantage of travelling in Foreign Parts, perused in Italy, Greece, and Egypt, more Antiquities than I think any of them above-named single, I thought it would not be unacceptable, if I did, as it is the manner of Travellers, publish at home, such Observations and Discoveries as I made abroad. The which I humbly Dedicate to you, as out of a Desire to express my Gratitude for many Noble Favours : So out of an assurance, that if they receive your Approbation, I need not to fear the Censure of others.

Your most obliged Friend, and humble Servant,

JOHN GREAVES.

Of the Roman F O O T.

Græves.

THAT the Foot was the most received and usual Measure amongst the Romans, as the Cubit amongst the Jews, is a thing not controverted by any : For

^a Polyb. l. 6. ^a Polybius describing their Scutum, makes it *in breadth over the bend, two [Roman] Feet and an half, and in length four Feet* : Or, if it be of a greater sort, a Palm more is to be added to this Measure. And not long after, expressing the manner of their Caltrameration, or Encamping, he ^{*} writes : That

^{*} Polyb. *Ibid.* Τη δὲ σκηνήν ὅτι σημαίας, ἢ μέλλουσι σκηνοῦν αὐτὰς ταύτων, σημαίας τε ἑξήκοντα πέντε. ὅς τε πάσας τὰς περὶ αὐτὰς ἐκείνων ἀπὸ χιτῶν σὺ δ' αὖς ἢ σημαίας, &c.

as often as a place is designed for the Camp, the Prætorium (or General's Lodging) takes up that part, which is first for Prospect and Direction. Setting therefore up the Standard, where they intend to fix the Prætorium, they so measure out a Square about the Standard, that each side may be distant from it an hundred Feet, and the whole Area contain

^b Cæf. Com. l. 4. ^b Caesar, in the Description of his Bridge over the Rhine, makes the Binders, or Transversary Beams, to be Bipedales.

^c Cicero, l. 2. Acad. quæst. ^c Tully also judges the quantity of the apparent Diameter of the Sun to be Pedalis.

And not to produce more Authorities,

^d Suetonius in Augusto. Adolescentulum Lucium bonellè natum exhibuit, tantum ut ostenderet, quid erat bipedali minor, librum xvii. ac vocis immensa.

^a Suetonius relates, That Augustus presented before the People of Rome, Lucius, a young Gentleman, well descended, only for to shew that he was less than two Feet

in height, seventeen Pounds in weight, and of an immense Voice. But concerning the precise quantity of this Foot, there is not any one thing after which learned Men have more enquired, or in which they do less agree : For Budeus equals it to the Paris Foot ; Latinus Latinus, Massius, Ursinus, and others, deduce it from an ancient Monument in the Vatican of T. Statilius Vol. Aper. Portius Vicentinus, Philander, Georgius Agricola, Ghetaldus, Donatus, and several others, contend the Foot on Cossutius Monument in Rome, to be the true Roman Foot : Marlianus describes it out of a Porphyry Column, with this Inscription, ΠΟΔ. Θ. : Lucas Patrus defines it from some Brass Feet found amongst

the Rudera in Rome : Villalpandus derives it from the Measure of the Congius, placed by Vespasian in the Capitol (the Original Standard being still extant) . Willebrordus Snellius equals it to the Pes Rbinlandicus ; and several others have had several Fancies and Conjectures. In such a variety and uncertainty of Opinions, we have no more solid Foundation of our Enquiry, than either to have recourse to the Writings of the Ancients ; or else to such other Monuments of Antiquity, as having escaped the Injury and Calamity of Time, have continued entire to this present Age.

And first for the Ancients : ^{*} Vitruvius in his Third Book of Architecture, l. 3. gives this Description of the Roman Foot : *E cubito cum dempti sunt, palmi duo, relinquuntur pes quatuor palmorum. Palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur utri pes habeat XVI digitos, et totidem asses æreos denarius.* [†] Columella shews, that it was the Basis and Foundation to all their other Measures : *Modus omnis aræ pedali mensurâ comprehenditur, qui digitorum est XVI. Pes multiplicatus in passus, et alius, et climatus, et jugera, et stadia, centuriasque, mox etiam in majora spatia procedit. Passus pedes habet V.* [‡] Frontinus more

clearly and distinctly expresseth the several Parts and Divisions of it. *Pes habet palmos IV. uncias XII. digitos XVI. Palmus habet digitos IV. uncias III. Sextans, quæ eadem dodrans appellatur, habet palmos III. uncias IX. digitos XII.* From which Authority of Frontinus, and the place before cited of Vitruvius, we may collect some analogy to have been observed in the Proportions of the Roman Foot, and of the Roman Coins : For as the Denarius contained XVI asses, so the Foot contained XVI digitos : And as the assis was divided in XII uncias, so likewise the Foot was divided in XII uncias ; and therefore the dodrans is used by Frontinus, and the semuncia and sicilicus by Pliny, for proportionable parts of the Roman Foot ; as the same are used by other Classical Authors for proportionable parts of the Roman assis, and uncia.

From which analogy, the Pes Romanus, I suppose, is termed by ^{*} Hyginus, [†] *Pes Monetalis*. Likewise in the ancient Laws of the XII Tables (which Tully calls

[†] Columella, l. 5. de R. Rust.

[‡] Frontinus, de limitibus agro- rum.

^{*} F. Jim. tit

calls the Fountains of the Civil Law) the *Sestertius Pes* hath the same proportion with the *Sestertius* in Coins.

For as the *Sestertius*, according to * *Arruntius*, was *Olim dupondius* & *semis*, anciently two Pounds of Brass and an half; so the *Sestertius Pes* was

* *Arruntius* editione Gottfredi.

+ Vol. Mat. de affis distrib.

two Feet and an half. * *Volusius Matianus*, "*Sestertius duos asses & semissem*, "*quasi semis tertius*; *Græca figura* "

" *ἑξομοιον ἡμιστάλιον*. *Nam sex talenta & semitalentum eo verbo significantur*. *Lex etiam XII Tabularum argumento est, in qua duo pedes & semis, sestertius pes vocatur*. But to

return to *Frontinus*, who farther discourfing of the Roman Foot, gives a Distinction of three sorts of Feet: And thofe were firft, *pes porcellus*; next, *pes conftratus*, or as ^b *Agricola* reads it, *contra-*

^b *Agricola* de menfuris quibus intervalla metimur.

* *Frontinus* de limitibus agrorum.

tilus; and laftly, *pes quadratus*. The firft was the Measure of Longitudes, the other two of Superficies. There were,

writes * *Frontinus*, *In pede porcello semipedes duo, in pede conftrato semipedes quatuor, in pede quadrato semipedes octo*.

Which words of his are to be thus explicated; the *pes porcellus* was the Roman Foot extended in length, and therefore there were in it *semipedes duo*: The

pes conftratus, was the fquare of the *semipes*, and therefore the perimeter of it contained *semipedes quatuor*; or,

which is all one, two entire Roman Feet: The *pes quadratus*, was the fquare of the Roman Foot; wherefore of neceffity there muft be four Feet in the perimeter, or in *Frontinus*'s Expreflion, eight

semipedes. The fame Author likewife

^c *Frontinus* de aqueductibus.

in his Book de *Aquæduclibus*, defcribing the Digit and *uncia* of this, (*Eft autem digitus*, fays he) *ut convenit, sexta decima pars pedis, uncia duodecima*) ufeth

a diftinction of Digits, as he did of Feet before, not mentioned by any other Author, "*Quemadmodum autem inter unciam, & digitum diverfitas, ita & ipfius digiti simplex observatio non est, nam alius vocatur quadratus, alius rotundus*.

Quadratus tribus quartis decimis fuis rotundo major: Rotundus tribus undecimis fuis quadrato minor est. The proportions here affigned by him to the

digitus quadratus, and *rotundus*, are the fame which ^d *Archimedes* long before

^d *Archimedes* de circ. dimenf. prop. 2.

ufed: And thofe are, that a Circle hath the fame proportion to the Square of the Diameter, that XI. hath to XIV.

Hero alfo, discourfing of feveral forts of Measures, informs us thus concerning the Foot: "*Ὁ μὲν δακτύλιος, μέτρον ἐστὶ σμικρότατον, ἢ δὲ δόχημ' ἐστὶ δακτύλιον δ',*

ἢ δὲ μέτρον ἢ δακτύλιον δόχημ' παλαιότερον καλεῖται. "*ἢ δὲ δόχημ' ἢ δακτύλιον*"

Græc.

ἢ δὲ δόχημ' ἢ δακτύλιον" "*ἢ δὲ δόχημ' ἢ δακτύλιον*" "*ἢ δὲ δόχημ' ἢ δακτύλιον*"

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^e *Hyginus* de limit. confit.

^f *Salmasius* Exercit. Plinianæ p. 684.

^g *Jos. Scaliger* de re nummaria

Junus, and *Romanus*, who thus writes : *Greeks. Pes igitur ille Drusianus major est Romano seſcuncia, ſui enim XXII digitorum, quantorum XVI eſt pes Romanus.* If it were but a *ſeſcuncia*, greater than the *Roman Foot*, as *Hyginus*, and he alſo make it, how can it poſſibly be XXII digitorum ? Or how can he excuſe his words, which immediately follow ? *Ex quo colligimus pedem Drufianum omnino eſſe eum, qui hodie in Gallia, & Belgio in uſu eſt, qui profeſſi major eſt VI digitis, quantorum XVI eſt pes, qui Romæ in hortis Angeli Colotii ſculptus in ſaxo viſitus. Eum enim nos cum pede Galliano comparantes, id veriſimum eſſe deprehendimus.* Neither is the Error of ſome others much leſs, in making the *Pes Monetalis*, or *Romanus*, and *Pes Regius Philætaris*, to be equal. Be- cauſe the *Roman Foot* conſiſted of XVI Digits, as *Froninus* writes, and the *Pes Philætaris* of as many, as *Hero* ſhews : 'Ο πρὸς δὲ βασιλικός, καὶ Φιλεταίριος ὡς ἑκατὼς αὐτῶς ἐστί, ὁ ἀντιτύπος ἐστί. Therefore both theſe are equal. The Error is in ſuppoſing all Digits to be alike ; and therefore the ſame number of Digits being in both, that both are equal. By the ſame Argument we may conclude the *Roman Foot*, and *Arabian Foot*, and the *Derah*, or *Cubit* of theſe, to be equal to the *Cubit*, or *Seſquipies* of the *Romans* ; ſeeing *Abulfeda*, an *Arabian Geographer*, defines the *Derah* to conſiſt of XXIV Digits, and ſo many alſo did the *Roman Seſquipies* contain. But the Obſervation of *Rhemnius Fannius* in this particular, is much better ; which he applies to Weights, and we may by analogy aſſign to Meaſures.

*Semina ſex alii ſiliquis latitantia curvis
Attribuunt ſcripulo, lentes veraciter
oſto,
Aut totidem ſpeltas, numerant, tri-
ſteſve lupinos
Bis duo ; ſed ſi par generatim his pon-
dus ineſſet,
Servarent eadem diverſe pondera
gentes :
Nunc variant. Etenim cuncta non
ſedere certo
Naturæ, ſed lege valent, hominumque
reperitis.*

But to return to the *Roman Foot* : Laſtly, We may alledge, *Iſidorus Hiſpal. l. 13. ſpalenſis. Palmus autem, quatuor habet digitos, pes XVI digitos, Paſſus pedes quinque, Pertica paſſus duos, id eſt de-*

cem pedes. And this is that which I find delivered by ſuch of the Ancients as are extant. Out of which bare and naked Deſcriptions, it is as impoſſible to recover the *Roman Foot*, as it is for Mathematicians, to take either the Diſtance, or Altitude of Places, by the Proportions of Triangles alone, or by Tables of Signs and Tangents, without having ſome certain and poſitive Meaſure given, which muſt be the Foundation of their Enquiry. All that can be collected by theſe Deſcriptions, is this, that we may know into how many parts the *Romans* uſually divided their Feet ; and all theſe Diviſions I have ſeen in ſome ancient ones. But ſuppoſe there were no *Roman Foot* extant ; how by XVI Digits, or by IV Palms, or by XII Unciæ, (which is the moſt uncertain of all, ſeeing whatſoever hath Quantity, how great or ſmall ſoever it is, may be divided in XII Unciæ) could it be pre- ciſely reſtored ? For if that of *Protagoras* be true, as well in Meaſures, as in Intellectual Notions, that Man is

*Protagoras apud Aristo-
l. 13. cap. 5. Metaphyſ. Πάν-
των ἰδὲ χρεμάτων μέτρον ὁ
ἀνθρώπος.*

*Nec minus menſuratur
rationes, quæ in omnibus u-
dentur neceſſaria eſſe, ex co-
poris membris collegerunt : Vi-
digitum, palmum, pedem, ci-
bium. Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.*

Whence *Vitruvius* ob- ſerves, that the *Latines* denominated moſt of their Meaſures, as *their Cubit, Palm, Foot, and Cubit*, from the Parts and Members of a Man : Who ſhall be that perfect and ſquare Man, from whom we may take a Pattern of theſe Meaſures ? Or if there be any ſuch, how ſhall we know him ? Or how ſhall we be certain the Ancients ever made choice of any ſuch ? Unleſs, as ſome fancy, that the *Cubit* of the Sanctuary was taken from the *Cubit* of *Adam*, he being created in an excellent State of Perfection : So we ſhall ima- gin theſe Digits, and Palms, to have been taken from ſome particular Man of completer Lineaments than others. On the other ſide, if this Foot may be re- ſtored by the Digits, and Palms of any Man at pleaſure, ſince there is ſuch a difference in the Proportions of Men, that it is as difficult to find two of the ſame Dimenſions, as two that have the ſame likenefs of Faces ; how will it be poſſible, out of ſuch a diverſity, to pro- duce a certain and poſitive Meaſure, con- ſiſting in an indiviſibility, not as a Point doth in reſpect of Parts, but in an indi- viſibility of application, as all Originals and Standards ſhould do ? The *Arabians*,

to avoid this difficulty, shew us a more certain way, as they suppose, how to make this commensural Digit, and consequently the Foot: And that is by the breadth of six Barly-corns laid one contiguous to another: For thus ^a *Mubammed Ibn Mejsoud*, in his Book, entituled in *Persian*, *Gebandanish*, relates: That in the time of Almamon (the learned Calif of Babylon) by the Elevation of the Pole of the *Aequator*, they measured the Quantity of a Degree upon the Globe of the Earth, and found it to be fifty six Miles, and two thirds of a Mile: Every Mile containing four thousand Cubits, and each Cubit twenty four Digits, and every Digit six Barly-corns. The same Proportions are assigned in the *Geographia Nubiensis*, printed in *Arabick* at Rome: The Cubit is twenty four Digits, and every Digit is six Barly-corns. But this is as uncertain as the former, and is built upon a supposition, that all such are of the same Dimension: Whereas those of one Country differ much from those of another; and those of the same Country (as I have made trial in *Ægypt*, more out of Curiosity, than as hoping this way to give my self Satisfaction) are not all of the same bigness. And not only so, but in the self-same Ear, there is a sensible difference, as Experience doth shew. And yet *Snellius*, a Man much to be commended for his Abilities in the Mathematicks, and to be blamed for his supine Negligence, both in his Measure of the Magnitude of the Earth, and in his Dimensions of the Roman Foot, upon these slight and weak Principles, deduces the *Arabian* Foot, ^a This containing ninety six Grains, such as his Roman Foot (for none besides himself will own it) contains ninety. Wherefore some other *Arabi-*ans to mend the matter, limit the breadth of one of them,

^a *Mubammed Ibn Mejsoud's Gebandanish.*

^a *Snellius in Erasmoth. Batav. l. 2. cap. 2.*

^a *Aly Kufsey, who assisted Uing Beg in compiling his Astronomical Tables in Persian (Tables the most exact of any in the East) limits their breadth by six Hairs of an Horse. Every Digit is six Barly-corns laid evenly together, and the breadth of every Barly-corn is six Hairs of an Horse's Tail. Instit. Astron. Aly Cuthrey. MS.*

Camel. So that in conclusion the Hair of a Camel shall be the *Minimum* in respect of Measures. By this Invention, however at the first it may seem somewhat subtle (for we are come now

almost as low as Atomes) is least of all to be approved. For tho' the supposition were true, that all Hairs are of a like bigness in all Camels, whereas they are different in one and the same, yet this Objection is unanswerable, that such Hairs are not perfectly round, tho' the Sense judges them so, but angular, and that with some inequality, as Magnifying glasses plainly demonstrate, it will be very difficult so to fize them together, that they shall always take up the same breadth: And if they do not, little Errors committed in such small Bodies, tho' at the first insensible, will infinitely increase and multiply, in the measuring of great distances, to which these are supposed the Foundation. And therefore I cannot but approve the Council of

^b *Villalpandus de appar Urbis ac Templi, par 2. l. c. 25. Atque in unum cum illi montes velim eis omni qui mentiarum ac pondusum gnoscentium desiderio tenentur à omnibus tripartit exanade majora: Nam vel minus quique error sapientie multiplicatus in magnum adducit totum cumulum.*

ly in Weights, to such as shall make an Experiment. For admit there were a Standard of ten thousand Grains, and another of one Grain, it will be easie, by a continued subdivision of the former, with a good Balance, to produce a Weight equal to the Standard of one Grain: Yea, tho' at the beginning some little Error had been committed, which after many divisions will vanish, and become imperceptible. Whereas on the contrary, the most curious Man alive, with the exactest Scale that the Industry of the most skilful Artizan can invent, shall never be able out of the Standard of one Grain, to produce a Weight equal to the Weight of ten thousand Grains, but that there shall be a sensible and apparent difference; yea, tho' he had that excellent Scale mentioned by *Capellus* at *Sedan*, which would sensibly be turned with the four hundredth part of a Grain. The like difference as we find in Weights, we may conceive by analogy to be in Measures, when they shall be made out of such little parts as Hairs, Barly-corns, Digits, and the like. And therefore I cannot but disapprove the ordinary Course of most Geographers, whether *Greeks*, *Latines*, or *Arabiens*, that from such nice beginnings measure out a Degree upon Earth, and consequently the

Great

^c *Capelli de Pond. nummis Pl. l.*

Greaves.

^a Snell. in
Eratosth.
Bar. lib. 2.
^c Wright of
the Errors
of Navi-
gation.

Magnitude of this Globe. On the contrary, the Enterprize of ^a *Snellius*, in his *Eratosthenes Batavus*, and of our Country-man ^c *M. Wright*, hath been more commendable: Who by the space of a Degree on Earth, (or which were better of many Degrees) have endeavoured to fix Measures with more Exactness and Certainty for Posterity. But of this Argument I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. And therefore to return to the Business in hand.

Since the *Roman Foot* cannot be recovered by Hairs, Grains, Digits, Palms, and such-like Physical Bodies, which being of a various and indeterminate Magnitude, cannot give, unless by accident, the Commensuration of that which ought to be precisely limited and determined; some relinquishing the former way as erroneous, have endeavoured, with much Ingeniousness, by Weights, to find out the *Roman Foot*: For there is the same analogy between Measures and Weights, as between continued and discrete Quantities: And as Mathematicians by Numbers demonstrate, or rather illustrate the Affections of Lines, Superficies, and Geometrical Bodies: So by Weights, measuring some Physical Bodies, especially such as are liquid, in Cubical Vessels, (which are easiest commensurable) we may render the exact Quantity of the *Roman Foot*, and by consequence of all their other Measures. And therefore ^f *Lucas Petus*, and ^g *Villalpandus*, have attempted with probable Reasons to discover the *Roman Foot*, the one by the *Sextarius*, the other by the *Roman Congius*. For the *Sextarius* being the sixth part of the *Congius*, and the *Congius* containing X *Librae*, or Pounds, as it is manifest by that exquisite Standard in *Rome*, with this Inscription:

IMP. CAESARE

VESPAS. VI

cos

T. CAES. AVG. F. IIII

MENSURÆ

EXACTÆ IN

CAPITOLIO

P X

P X signi-
fies Pondo
decem.

Again, the *Congius* being the eighth part of the *Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*,

filled with Water or Wine, as by the Testimonies of ^b *Dioscorides*, ^c *Sext. Pompeius*, and of an ancient Anonymus Greek Author, translated by *Aleiat*, it doth appear: If therefore a Vessel be made of a Cubical Figure, which may receive VIII *Congii*, or XLVIII *Sextarii*, or LXXXIV Pounds of Water or of Wine, out of the sides of this Cube, by ^d *Rhemnius Fannius* his Description, or rather by *Sextus Pompeius*, who is ^e *Rhem Fann. l. i.* ^f *ancient*, will the *Roman Foot* be deduced. For both these write (neither is it as yet contradicted by any Man) that the Longitude of one of the sides of the *Amphora* (being a Cube) is answerable to the *Roman Foot*. And here our Enquiry would be at an end (supposing the Authorities of *Festus* and *Fannius* to be unquestionable) were there not farther some Objections, which cannot easily be removed. And those are first, a supposition that we have the true *Roman Libra* (for by this we are to find the *Congius*, admitting there were none extant, as by the *Congius*, the *Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*) a thing of as great difficulty as the Foot it self. And besides, if this were obtained, yet we cannot have an absolute certainty, that Water, or Wine, shall in all places alike ponderate; by reason of the different Gravity which is observed in natural Bodies, tho' they be homogeneous, and of a like substance. Wherefore laying aside all such Speculations, as being far from that Accuratness which is required, there is no other possible means left for this discovery, but to have recourse to such Monuments of Antiquity, as have escaped the Injury and Calamity of Time; which is our next, and second Enquiry.

And here it will not be amiss to see what Learned Men, who not long preceded our Age, have observed out of ancient Monuments, concerning the *Roman Foot*: And then to relate what Course I took to give my self private Satisfaction; which, I hope, will be also satisfactory to others. *Philander* in his Commentaries upon *Vitruvius*, being one of the first that had seen, and diligently perused many ancient Measures in *Rome* (whereas *Portius*, *Agri-cola*, *Glareanus*, and some others, received them upon trust) gives us so much the more certain Information. His words are these: *Verumtamen quoniam non statim ex cuiuscunque pollicibus, aut digitis, quis fuerit apud antiquos Romanus pes sciri potest, salutarum*

^g *Fragm. in Diosc.*
^h *Scor. l. i.*
ⁱ *Verb. l. i.*

^k *Rhem Fann. l. i.*
^l *ancient*

^m *Philander in hb. 3. c. Vitruvii.*

me studiosis rem gratam putavi, si ad marginem libri semipedem apponerem, dimensum ex antiquo pede, in marmore, quod est in borbis Angeli Colatui Romæ sculpto, cuius etiam, nisi me fallit memoria, meminit Leonardus Porcius lib. de Seferio. Eum enim pedem, nos cæteris qui circumferuntur, prætulimus, quod conveniret cum eo, quem sculptum invenimus in alio marmoreo epitaphio T. Statilii Vol. Apri mensoris edificiorum, quod operâ Jacobi Meteghini summi Pont. Architecti ex Janiculo non ita pridem refoßum, in Vaticanum hortum translatum est. Quamvis jacentem in Basilicâ Apostolorum columnam ex porphyrite, cum his Græcis in calce literis ΠΟΔ. Θ. id est pedum novem, nos cum dimensi essemus, deprehenderimus non respondere nostro eum, quo usus fuerat ejus columnæ artifex, sed nostro esse majorem duobus scrupulis & besse, id est uncie parte nonâ. Ut argumentum aliquod esse possit pedis Græci fuisse modulo scapum columnæ factum; quod facilius conjicere potuissem, si integra esset alia ex eodem lapide columna, quam in vasa latâ est conspiciere jacentem, his in calce literis ΠΟΔ. ΙΒ. insignitam. Verum quando studium Herodoto, l. 2. Heroni, Suida, cæteris Græcis sit sexcentorum pedum; Plinio, Columelle, cæteris Latinis sexcentorum viginti quinque nostrorum, necesse est Romanum à Græco semuncia superari. Thus far Philander. Not long after him, Lucas Patius, having examined the Foot on T. Statilii Tomb, and that other of Cossutius, together with several ancient ones in Brals, found amongst the Rudera at Rome, concludes, that the true Roman Foot, Distus duobus marmoris comparatus, septima uncia parte, sive uncia scriptulis tribus, & duobus scrupulis sextulis, & sextule semisse brevior est. Much about the same time I find in Ciaconius, out of Latinus Latinus, another Experiment to have been made, by many eminent Men together at Rome. Superioribus autem annis (saith * he) Ant. Augustinus, qui postmodum fuit Archiepiscopus Tarracensis, Jo. Baptista Sigbicellus Episcopus Faventinus, P. Odavius, Pacatus, Achilles Massæus, Achilles Statius, Benedictus Agius, Fulvius Ursinus, Latinus Latinus, cum veram pedis Romanæ quantitatem statuere vellent, plures ejusmodi pedis mensuras simul contulerunt, & cerum oßo eum antiquissima dicti pedis forma, quæ in basi quadam in borbis Vaticanis erat, adamussim convenire videntes, ex hoc pede quadrato vasa confe-

cerunt, quod etiam nunc octoginta aqua, vel vini libras, quibus publice signatis civitas utitur, omnino capere invenerunt, & cum oßo congruis antiquis ita congruere, ut neque minus quidquam, neque amplius inter utraq; esset. Quo experimento evidentissime cognoverunt, & libras nostri temporis cum antiquis Romanis esse easdem, cum congrui antiqui vasa sub Vespasiano Imp. signatum decem libras contineret, quot etiam nostri temporis libras, caput; & hunc esse justum pedem Romanum, cum ex ejus modulo perfectum Quadrantal octoginta libras contineat, quæ cum congrui antiqui libris ad momentum respondent. Notwithstanding these Observations, Villalpandus, knowing how necessary it was to have the true Dimensions of the Roman Foot, to find out the Proportions of the Hebrew Cubit, made new Experiments: And after examination of the Measures and Weights at Rome, he thus concludes: * Sed us omnibus tam variis, aliisque multis sententis prætermisiss, in hac una conquesimus, ut arbitremur unum Farnesianum Congium posse omnes antiquas Romanorum, atque aliarum gentium mensuras, omniæque pondera pristina integritati restituere. And in another place, Quapropter alius omnibus conjecturis, argumentationibus, ereis pedibus, marmoris dimensionibus, aut sculpturis, quasi maris fluidibus prætermisiss, in hac una pedis longitudine, quasi in portu conquescere jam tandem decrevimus. Yet Snellius in his Eratosthenes Batavius could not rest satisfied with this Foot of Villalpandus; how exquisite soever he imagines it: For he had a mind to discover it nearer home; making the Rhinland Foot equal to the Roman. The Proof of his Assertion is taken from an ancient Roman Armamentarium, or Fort, near the Sea, not far from Leiden, which by the Natives is called, *Het huys te Briten*: And is supposed by Ortelius to have been built by Claudius Caesar, in his intended Voyage for Britain, of which * Suetonius, and Dio, make mention: Sive in commodorem legionum, cohortiumque transvectionem, sive quo milites hibernarent (saith Ortelius). Arcis ipsius fundamenta, (according to * Snellius) quadrata sunt forma, & quaquaversum ducentis quadraginta Rhinlandicis pedibus patent. Ut vel hinc Romana mensura vestigia quàm planissimè agnoscat. Nam ipsius podium duorum Romanorum jegerum magnitudinem complectitur. Jegeri enim mensuram ducentis & quadraginta longitu-

creant.

* Luc. Patius, l. 1. de Antiq. Rom. & Græc. intervall. mensuris.

* Ciaconius & Luc. Latinus Observationibus de pede Rom.

* Suetonius in Claud. Dio Hist. Rom. l. 6. * Snell. in Eratosth. Bat. l. 2. c.

dimis pedes esse, non est ferè quisquam Greaves. qui ignoret, inquit Quintilianus, l. 1. cap. 10. Furro de re rustica libro 1. cap. 10. Furro quod quadratos duos altus habet. Altus quadratus, qui & latus est pedes 120 & longus totidem. Is modius, ac mina Latina appellatur, ut mihi planè dubium non videatur, eos hic Romane mensuræ modum secutos, hujus structure podismum ita comprehendisse secundum jugeri mensuram, ut duo jugera, vel altus quatuor contineret. Frontinus de limitibus. Hi duo fundi juncti jugerum definiunt, deinde hæc duo jugera juncta in unum quadratum agrum efficiunt, quod sint omnes altus bini : Ut singula idèd latera ducentos & quadraginta pedes in longum patere necesse sit. Atqui totidem pedibus Rhinlandicis singula latera exporrigi Geodetarum experientia confirmat. Unde efficitur Romanum antiquum pedem nostro Rhinlandico planè æquari.

After these Experiments of so many able and learned Men, and those too taken from ancient Monuments, it may seem strange, that we should not be able as yet to define the true Quantity of the Roman Foot. For this I can assign no other Reasons than these : First, That those which have described it, have either not exactly, and with such diligence as was requisite, performed it ; or else, if they have been circumspect in this kind, they have omitted to compare it with the Standards for Measures of other Nations. On the contrary, those which have compared it with the present Standards, never took it from the ancient Monuments, and Originals, which are at Rome, but only from some Draughts, or Schemes, delineated in Books. Now how uncertain a way this

is, doth appear by *Villalpandus*, who thus writes : *Ego dum hæc scriberem, hunc Colotianum pedem circino expendi, & in annotationibus Guil. Philandri solertissimi viri, & apud Georgium Agricolam, & apud Lucam Patum, & Stanislaum Græpsium, & nullum potui reperire alteri æqualem, imo verò neque ejusdem pedis assignatas similes partes.* The same have I observed in those Roman Feet described by *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Philander*, *Patus*, *Ciaconius*, and *Villalpandus* himself, that they differ one from another. And not only so, but those of the same Author, in the same Impression, are likewise different. Which last must arise, either by the diverse extension of the Paper in the Press, when it is moist, or by the unequal contraction of it, when

it grows dry, or by some other accident, in the beating and binding. So that tho' it were granted, that so many learned Men had found out what we enquire after, the Roman Foot ; yet it is impossible out of those Schemes and Draughts delivered in their Books, for the Reasons before specified, to attain an absolute certainty. But *Snellius* shews us a Remedy of this Difficulty, which, in my Opinion, is as vain as his Roman Foot, (seeing by his supposition all Paper must shrink alike, be it thick or thin) and that is, to allow one part in sixty for the shrinking of the Paper. For so much (saith he) do *Typographers* observe, that *Letters* contract themselves, when they are taken off wet from the Types.

Wherefore having received satisfaction from the Writings of the Ancients, and not much better from the imperfect Designations of the Roman Foot, by modern Authors, I proposed to my self in my Travels abroad, these ways, which no reasonable Man but must approve of. And those were, First, To examine as many ancient Measures and Monuments, in Italy, and other parts, as it was possible. And, Secondly, To compare these with as many Standards, and Originals, as I could procure the sight of. And last of all, to transmit both these, and them, to Posterity, I exactly measured some of the most lasting Monuments of the Ancients. To this purpose, in the Year 1639, I went into Italy, to view, as the other Antiquities of the Romans, so especially those of Weights and Measures ; and to take them with as much exactness as it was possible, I carried Instruments with me made by the best Artizans.

Where my first enquiry was after that Monument of *T. Strevius Vol. Aper*, in the Vatican Gardens, from whence *Philander* took the Dimensions of the Roman Foot, as others have since borrowed it from him. In the Copying out of this upon an English Foot in Bricks, divided into 2000 parts, I spent at least two Hours, (which I mention, to shew with what diligence I proceeded in this, and the rest) so often comparing the several Divisions, and Digits of it, respectively one with another, that I think more Circumspection could not have been used ;* by which I plainly discovered the rudeness and insufficiency of

* Pars sexagesima typorum formarum longitudini exacte decedit, quemadmodum à a gentibus de peritis typographis seiscitando elodius sum. See in Erastot. Batavo. l. 2. c. 1.

* Villalpandus de apparatus Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

* Philander in l. 9. Vitruvi.

that Foot. For besides that the length of it is somewhat too much, (whatsoever * *Latinus* out of an Observation made by *Ant. Augustinus*, *Sigbicellus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statius*, *Ægius*, and *Eutolius Ursinus*, pretends to the contrary) there is never a Digit that is precisely answerable to one another. Howsoever it contains 1944 such parts, as the *English Foot* contains 2000.

My next search was for the Foot on the Monument of *Cossutius*, in *borsis Colotianis*, from whence it hath since received its denomination, (tho' it be now removed) being termed by Writers, *Pes Colotianus*. This Foot I took with great care, as it did well deserve, being very fair and perfect: Afterwards collating it with that *Roman Foot*, which *Lucas Petrus* caused to be engraven in the Capitol, in a white Marble Stone, I found them exactly to agree; and therefore I did wonder, why he should condemn this with his Pen (for he makes some * Objections against it) which notwithstanding he hath erected with his Hands (as appears by the Inscription in the Capitol, CURANTE LU: PAETO). It may be, upon second Thoughts, he afterward privately retracted his Error, which he was not willing to publish to the World. Now this of *Cossutius* is 1934 such parts, as the *English Foot* contains 2000.

Next I sought after that Porphyry Column mentioned by * *Marianus*, as also by * *Philander*, and others, with this Inscription, ΠΟΔ. Θ. For if the length of that Column were assigned according to the proportion of the *Greek Foot*, then would the *Roman Foot* be thence deduced: This (as I shall elsewhere shew) containing 24 such parts, as that contained 25: Or if it were made according to the *Roman Foot*, as the *Grecians*, after their Subjection to the *Roman Empire*, often used the same Measures that the *Romans* did, then had I my desire. But the Column being defaced, or lost, my Labour was in vain: And it seems * *Petrus* about LXX Years before, made the same enquiry with as little satisfaction.

I should be too tedious in describing the several Feet which I have perused in Brass, found amongst the *Rudera* at *Rome*, and carefully preserved by Antiquaries: Of most of which *Peireskius* hath given a good Character, in some Letters of his, which I have seen in the hands of *Buchardus*, a learned Man, not yet printed: who thus writes: *I can*

not sufficiently wonder at the inequality which I have found in the divisions by Digits, and Inches, of the ancient Roman Feet; which seem to me to have been made for Fashion-sake, & dicis causa (as Lamps that are found in Tombs incapable of Oil) more to express the Mystery and Profession of those that were to use them, than for to regulate the measure of any thing besides them.

Besides these, I examined the ancient Structures of the Romans, hoping by collating one with another, to deduce the Dimension of their Foot. For I presumed, that those excellent Architects, before they began their Work, must necessarily propose some Models to themselves, according to the Proportions of which, they meant to raise their Fabricks: Which Proportions could not be assigned, but in the parts of some common and received Quantity; and this in probability was the *Roman Foot*, being a Measure generally used, and by Publick Authority prescribed. Upon which grounds I measured the Stones in the Foundation of the Capitol, Domitian's, or rather Vespasian's Amphitheatre, the Triumphal Arks of Titus, and Severus, together with that of Constantine the Great, and above all that exquisite Temple of the Pantheon, built by Agrippa, I know not whether with more Cost or Art: Concerning which * *Sebastianus Serlius* is of Opinion, That if all Rules of Architecture were lost, they might be revived out of this Monument alone. And in truth, this place gave me more Satisfaction than any other: For most of the White Marble Stones on the Pavement, contained exactly three of those *Roman Feet* on *Cossutius's* Monument, and the lesser Stones in Porphyry contained one and an half.

But yet I thought this not sufficient, unless I went to *Tarracina*, which is the ancient *Anxur*, and LIII Miles distant from *Rome*: Having read in * *Andreas Schottus*, out of *Pighius's Hercules Prodicus*, that near the Sea by the *Via Appia*, in the height of a White Rock, whence that of * *Horace*,

Impositum saxis latè candentibus Anxur,

There are described the *Roman Decempeda*. And indeed the place is very memorable, for the whiteness, altitude, and hardness of the Rock, which notwithstanding is cut away perpendicularly, on the side towards the *Tyrrhene Sea* above an hundred and seventy Roman

* *Cicconius*
de Latino
Latino.

* *Luc. Petrus*
d. i. de An-
tiq. Rom.
& Græc.
intervall.
mensuris.

* *Marianus*
de Anci-
q. Urbis.
* *Philander*
in lib. 3. c. 3.
Vitruvii.

* *Luc. Petrus*
l. i. de An-
tiq. Rom. &
Græc. in-
tervall. men-
suris.

* *Ex Epi-
stolis Peire-
skii MSS.*

* *Horat. l.*
Serm. Sat.

depth, to make passage for the *Appian way*; and at the space of every *Decem-peds*, these Characters X XX XXX &c. (being almost *Cubitales*) are fairly engraven, in a continued Order, descending to CXX. Measuring below the distance between CXX and CX, it amounted to IX *English Feet*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Foot, computing it

* See at the end of this Book the Figure of these Characters, as they are cut in the Rock at *Anagnin*, with Lines encompassing them.

from the * Line engraven above CXX, to the Line next under CX. The rest I examined with my Eyes, by often comparing the distance between CXX and CX, whether it were equal to that between CX and C, and this again (ascending upwards) to that between C and XC, which manner tho' it be uncertain, and conjectural, and far from that exactness I used in all others, yet it was the best means I could then put in practice; and I am confident, that whosoever shall measure those Spaces, shall find a manifest inequality.

To which Opinion I am rather induced, because measuring there, in several places, the breadth of the *Appian Way*, cut out of the same Rock, I found a difference sometimes of one or two Inches, or more. It being in one place XIII *English Feet*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Foot; in another, XIII Feet and $\frac{1}{8}$; in a third XIII and $\frac{3}{8}$. Whereby I concluded, that the Ancients in making that Way, had not respect to a Mathematical Point (as it was not necessary) but only that if any difference were, it should not be sensible. And such Differences have I observed in the White *Corinthian Pillars*, in the *Pantheon* before-mentioned, of above an Inch or two, in the Circuit of the *Scapus* near the *Torus*: Which inequality, seeing no Eye could discover, the Masters of that exquisite Work did justly condemn. Whereas the Porphyry Stones, and those of White Marble, on the Pavement, are sized so even, and so exactly to the Proportions of the Roman Foot, that nothing can be more accurate. And this the Nature of the Work required: For the Temple being round, (which hath occasioned the *Italians* vulgarly to call it the *Rotundo*) the Circle within could not so exquisitely have been filled up, if there had not been a special care taken in observing the true Dimensions in every particular Stone. But to return to the Rock at *Anagnin*. The Spaces between those Characters, to an Eye that shall be in-

tentively fix'd upon them, will be apparently different. So that I concur in Opinion with * *Schottus*, That those * *Schottus* Figures were placed there, to give Notice to Posterity, how much of the Rock had been removed, to make passage for the *Appian Way*; and not for any Memorial of the Roman Measures.

Having measured those Places in the *Appian Way* at *Tarracina*, I made trial of at least XX others between *Tarracina* and *Naples*, without any great satisfaction; and therefore partly the Incertainty that I found there, and partly the Danger of Thieves, discouraged me from measuring the *Roman Milliari*; a Work conceived to be of great use, for the discovery of the Roman Foot: Seeing the *Milliare* consisting of five *Passus*, as the very Name imports, and every *Passus* consisting of five Feet, as * *Columella*, and * *Strabo* say, and

us; here therefore would be too great a help us to one, could we be but furnished out a perfect *Roman Mile*. And this I imagined might probably be discovered amongst those many *Vestigia of Roman Ways*, which to this Day are frequently seen in *Italy*. Wherefore conferring with *Gasparo Berti*, a Man Curious and Judicious, (as appears by his *Ichnography of Roma Subterranea* in *Bosius*) as also with *Lucas Holstenius*, a learned Companion of *Cluverius*, in those honourable Travels of his, for the Restauration of the ancient Geography: They both informed me, that there are still in the *Appian Way*, where it passes over the *Pomptine Paludes*, several Columns or *Lapides Milliarii*, standing; whereby the Romans divided and distinguished their Miles; and which occasioned those Phrases, *ad primum, ad quartum, ad centesimum lapidem*, and the like. And these, it may be, at the first were ordinary Stones, till C. *Gracchus* caused Columns to be erected in their places: Διαμετρήσας τε μίλιον ὅσον πᾶσι (τὸ μίλιον ἔκλεω σάδιον ὀλίγον ἀποδείξαι) κίονας λίθινους σημεῖα τε μίλιον κατέστησεν. He measured out, saith * *Plutarch*, by Miles all the Ways, the Mile containing little less than eight Stadia, and placed Columns of Stone to design the Measure. The thing was of that Ornament and Use, as that it was afterwards taken up, and continued by the Roman Emperors; as appears by these Inscriptions, which are fairly engraven on the first Column found amongst the Ruines in the *Appian Way*, and from thence

* *Plutarch*
in *Gracch*

thence lately removed into the Capitol,
by Order of the * Senate and People of
Rome.

* S. P. Q. R.

COLUMNAM MILIARIAM
PRIMI AB. VRBE LAPIDIS. INDICEM
AB. IMP. VESPASIANO. ET. NERVA
RESTITUTAM
DE. RVINIS. SVBVRBANIS. VIAE. APPIAE
IN. CAPITOLIVM. TRANSTVLIT

I

IMP. CAESAR
VESPASIANVS. AVG
PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTESTAT. VII
IMP. XVII P. P. CENSOR
COS. VII DESIGN. VIII

Below this, on the end of the Scapus.

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR
AVGVSTVS. PONTIFEX
MAXIMVS. TRIBVNICIA
POTESTATE. COS. IMPATER
PATRIAE REFECIT

*Below this, on the Basis of the
same Pillar.*

IMP. CAESARI. DIVI
TRAIANI. PARTHICI. F
DIVI. NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANO. HADRIANO
AVG. PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTEST. II COS. II
VIATORES. QVI. IPSI. ET. COS. ET
PR. CETERISQVE. MAGISTRATIB
APPARENT. ET. H. V.

To these I shall also add the Insc^{ri}ption of another *Columna Millaria*, not extant in *Gruterus*, or any other, that I know, which I have seen at *Tarracina*; the Column being exactly of the same magnitude with the former, but wanting by the Injury of Time, a Basis below, and a Globe of nigh three Feet Diameter on the top, serving in stead of a Capital, both which the former hath,

X.

IMP. CAESAR
DIVI. NERVAE
FILIVS. NERVA
TRAIANVS. AVG
GERMANICVS
DACICVS
PONTIF. MAX
TRIB. POT. XIII
IMP. VI COS. V P. P
XVIII SILICE. SVA. PECVNIA
STRAVIT

LIII

*des, or else because it was in the Mid-way almost betw
Tarracina, and Appii Forum: For it was X Miles from Tar
cina, and IX from Appii Forum; as appears by the Itinerary
Hierosolymitanum in Bertius.*

Appii Forum
Ad Medias IX.
Tarracina X.

The Figure LIII below, signifies the distance of *Tarrac* from *Rome*: Which distance may be further proved out *Appian*, in his Third Book of the Civil Wars, speaking *Augustus*: "Ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Ταρακίνας ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Πάσης σταδίων" Being about *Tarracina*, which is distant CC Stadia from *Rome*. These Stadia reduced to Miles, if we low VII Greek Stadia and an half, to a Roman Mile, as *Sdas* doth, will make up LIII Miles, and one third part of Mile; that is, two Stadia and a half over and above. Whi Fraction *Appian* neglects, and therefore uses the round Number CCCC Stadia, for LIII Miles.

The Figure XVIII signifies the *Decennovium*, or Way p^{ro}ving over the Fens, between *Appii Forum*, and *Terracina*: denominated, because it contained nineteen Miles in length: Which may also be proved out of *Procopius*, where he speaks of the *Δεκαπόλις*. This Way was paved by *Trajan*, as the Inscription shews, and I think first of all by him. Long after it was repaired by *Theodoricus*, according to another Inscription that I have seen at *Tarracina*, of which *Gruterus*, at *Cluverius*, also make mention, where, omitting the Titles *Theodoricus*, in the Marble we find these words engraven.

DECENNOVII. VIAE. APPIAE. ID. EST. A. TRIP
USQVE. TERRACENAM. ITER. ET. LOCA. QVAE
CONFLVENTIBVS. AB. VTRAQUE. PARTE. PALVDIV
PER. OMNES. RETRO. PRINCIPVM. INVNDATERAN
VSVI. PVBLICO. ET. SECVRITATI. VIANIVM
RESTITVIT. PER
PLVRIMOS. QVI. ANTE. NON. ERANT. ALBEOS
DEDVCTA. IN. MARE. AQVA

By this Number XVIII signifying the *Decennovium*, and the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, we may safely correct the *Itinerarium Antonini*, in which *Tarracina* is placed but XVII Miles distant from *Appii Forum*. And from hence likewise we may certainly know, how far the Christians went to meet *St. Paul*, and that was XXXIV Miles. For so much we *Appii Forum* distant from *Rome*, if we subduct XVIII out of LIII; whereas the *Itineraries* of *Bertius* Edition make more.

If therefore two such Columns were found entire, (as I am informed there
are some in *Spain* and *Italy*.)

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depth, to make passage for the *Appian* way; and at the space of every *Decempeda*, these Characters X XX XXX &c. (being almost *Cubitales*) are fairly engraven, in a continued Order, descending to CXX. Measuring below the distance between CXX and CX, it amounted to IX *English* Feet, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Foot, computing it

* See at the end of this Book the Figure of these Characters, as they are cut in the Rock at *Anzur*, with Lines encompassing them.

from the * Line engraven above CXX, to the Line next under CX. The rest I examined with my Eyes, by often comparing the distance between CXX and CX, whether it were equal to that between CX and C, and this again (ascending upwards) to that between C and XC, which manner tho' it be uncertain, and conjectural, and far from that exactness I used in all others, yet it was the best means I could then put in practice; and I am confident, that whosoever shall measure those Spaces, shall find a manifest inequality. To which Opinion I am rather induced, because measuring there, in several places, the breadth of the *Appian* Way, cut out of the same Rock, I found a difference sometimes of one or two Inches, or more. It being in one place XIII *English* Feet, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Foot; in another, XIII Feet and $\frac{1}{8}$; in a third XIII and $\frac{1}{2}$. Whereby I concluded, that the Ancients in making that Way, had not respect to a Mathematical Point (as it was not necessary) but only that if any difference were, it should not be sensible. And such Differences have I observed in the White *Corinthian* Pillars, in the *Pantheon* before-mentioned, of above an Inch or two, in the Circuit of the *Scapus* near the *Torus*: Which inequality, seeing no Eye could discover, the Masters of that exquisite Work did justly condemn. Whereas the Porphyry Stones, and those of White Marble, on the Pavement, are sized so even, and so exactly to the Proportions of the Roman Foot, that nothing can be more accurate. And this the Nature of the Work required: For the Temple being round, (which hath occasioned the *Italians* vulgarly to call it the *Rotundo*) the Circle within could not so exquisitely have been filled up, if there had not been a special care taken in observing the true Dimensions in every particular Stone. But to return to the Rock at *Anzur*: The Spaces between those Characters, to an Eye that shall be in-

tentively fix'd upon them, will be apparently different. So that I concur in Opinion with * *Schottus*, That those * *Schottus* Figures were placed there, to give Notice to Posterity, how much of the Rock had been removed, to make passage for the *Appian* Way; and not for any Memorial of the Roman Measures.

Having measured those Places in the *Appian* Way at *Tarracina*, I made trial of at least XX others between *Tarracina* and *Naples*, without any great satisfaction; and therefore partly the Incertainty that I found there, and partly the Danger of Thieves, discouraged me from measuring the *Roman Milliare*; a Work conceived to be of great use, for the discovery of the *Roman Foot*: Seeing the *Milliare* containing *Mille Passus*, as the very Name imports, and every *Passus* consisting of five Feet, as * *Columella*, and * *Isidorus* expressly tell us; here therefore would be 5000 Feet to help us to one, could there be but found out a perfect *Roman Mile*. And this I imagined might probably be discovered amongst those many *Vestigia* of *Roman* Ways, which to this Day are frequently seen in *Italy*. Wherefore conferring with *Gasparo Berti*, a Man Curious and Judicious, (as appears by his *Ichnography of Roma Subterranea* in *Bosius*) as also with *Lucas Hoffsenius*, a learned Companion of *Cluverius*, in those honourable Travels of his, for the Restauration of the ancient Geography: They both informed me, that there are still in the *Appian* Way, where it passes over the *Pomptine Paludes*, several *Columnae* or *Lapides Milliarii*, standing; whereby the *Romans* divided and distinguished their Miles; and which occasioned those Phrases, *ad primum, ad quartum, ad centesimum lapidem*, and the like. And these, it may be, at the first were ordinary Stones, till C. *Gracchus* caused Columns to be erected in their places: Διαμετρήσας κ' μίλιον ὅσον πᾶσι (τὸ ὅ μίλιον ὅκτω σταδίων ὀλίγον ἰσοπέδῃ) κίονας λίθινους σημεῖα τ' μέγεθ' ἀπέθεσαν. He measured our, saith * *Plutarch*, by Miles all the Ways, the Mile containing little less than eight Stadia, and placed Columns of Stone to design the Measure. The thing was of that Ornament and Use, as that it was afterwards taken up, and continued by the *Roman Emperors*; as appears by these Inscriptions, which are fairly engraven on the first Column; found amongst the Ruines in the *Appian* Way, and from thence

thence lately removed into the Capitol,
by Order of the * Senate and People of
Rome.

* S. P. Q. R.

COLUMNAM MILIARIAM
PRIMI AB VRBE LAPIDIS INDICEM
AB IMP. VESPASIANO. ET. NERVA
RESTITUTAM
DE RVINIS SVBVRBANIS VIAE. APPIAE
IN. CAPITOLIVM. TRANSTVLIT

I

IMP. CAESAR
VESPASIANVS. AVG
PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTESTAT. VII
IMP. XVII P. P. CENSOR
COS. VII DESIGN. VIII

Below this, on the end of the Scapus.

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR
AVGVSTVS. PONTIFEX
MAXIMVS. TRIBVNICIA
POTESTATE. COS. III PATER
PATRIAE REFECIT

*Below this, on the Basis of the
same Pillar.*

IMP. CAESARI. DIVI
TRAIANI. PARTHICI. F
DIVI. NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANO. HADRIANO
AVG. PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTEST. II COS. II
VIATORES. QVI. IPSI. ET. COS. ET
PR. CETERISQVE. MAGISTRATIB
APPARENT. ET. H. V.

To these I shall also add the Inscric-
ption of another *Columna Millaria*, not
extant in *Gruterus*, or any other, that
I know, which I have seen at *Tarra-
cina*; the Column being exactly of the
same magnitude with the former, but
wanting by the Injury of Time, a Basis
below, and a Globe of nigh three Feet
Diameter on the top, serving in stead
of a Capital, both which the former
hath.

X.

IMP. CAESAR
DIVI. NERVAE
FILIVS. NERVA
TRAIANVS. AVG
GERMANICVS
DACICVS
PONTIF. MAX
TRIB. POT. XIII
IMP. VI COS. VI P. P
XVIII SILICE. SVA. PECVNIA
STRAVIT

LIII

*des, or else because it was in the Mid-way almost betw
Tarracina, and Appii Forum: For it was X Miles from Tar-
racina, and IX from Appii Forum; as appears by the Itinerary
Hieronymianum in Bertiis.*

Appii Forum
Ad Medias IX.
Tarracina X.

The Figure LIII below, signifies the distance of *Tarrac*
from *Rome*: Which distance may be further proved out
Appian, in his Third Book of the Civil Wars, speaking
Augustus: "Οὐσι αὐτῷ δὲτ Ταρρακίνας ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης
Πολεως ἑκαδὼν" Being about Tarracina, which is distant CC
Stadia from Rome. These Stadia reduced to Miles, if we
low VII Greek Stadia and an half, to a Roman Mile, as
dis doth, will make up LIII Miles, and one third part o
Mile, that is, two Stadia and a half over and above. Wh
Frafton Appian neglects, and therefore uses the round Nu
ber CCCC Stadia, for LIII Miles.

The Figure XVIII signifies the Decemnovium, or Way p
fing over the Fens, between Appii Forum, and Tarracina
denominated, because it contained nineteen Miles in length
Which may also be proved out of Procopius, where he spe
of the Δεκαβόλιον. This Way was paved by Trajan, as t
Inscription shews, and I think first of all by him. I long af
it was repaired by Theodoricus, according to another Insc
ption that I have seen at Tarracina, of which Gruterus, a
Cluverius, also make mention; where, omitting the Titles
Theodoricus, in the Marble we find these words engraven

DECENNOVII. VIAE. APPIAE. ID EST A. TRIP
USQVE. TERRACENAM. ITER. ET. IOCA. QVAE
CONFLVENTIBVS. AE. VTRAQUE. PARTE. PALVDIVS
PER. OMNES. RETRO. PRINCIPVM. INVNDIVFRAN
SVI. PVBLICO. ET. SECVRTATI. VIANTIVM
RESTITVIT. PER
PLVRIMOS. QVI. ANTE. NON. ERANT. ALBEOS
. DEDVCTA. IN. MARE. AQVA

* By this Number XVIII signifying the Decemnovium, and I
the Itinerary Hieronymianum, we may safely correct th
Itinerary Antonini, in which Tarracina is placed but XVII
Miles distant from Appii Forum. And from hence likewise w
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Appii Forum distant from Rome, if we subduct XVIII out o
LIII; whereas the Itineraries of Bertiis Edition make
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If therefore two such Columns were
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standing in a continued Order) the distance between two such being exactly measured, would much conduce to the discovery of the *Roman Foot*. Upon which supposition I had almost resolved to have gone thither, as I did to other places, with no other intention, but only to have been a Spectator of those Columns, and to have trusted to mine own hands, in taking their Distances. But upon a more deliberate Examination of the Business, I perceived that this Enquiry did depend upon a very nice Supposition: For if the *Decempeditores*, or or *Curatores Viarum*, proceeded not with extreme Caution, and aimed almost at a Mathematical Point, in designing the just Space of each particular Mile (which in a Work of that length is not probable; where the inequality of many Feet could not be discerned by the eye, and might be admitted without any blemish. For in * *Varro's* Judgment, *Sen- sus nullus quod abest mille passus sentire potest*) it could not be, but the same Differences, or somewhat like, must have crept in with them, which have been observed amongst us, in our Measured and Statute Miles; out of which it would be a vain Attempt exactly to demonstrate the *English Foot*. The neglect of which Circumspection, amongst some other Reasons, that may be assigned, I take to be one, of the diversity which Astronomers found in that memorable Observation, made in the Plains of *Singar*, or *Sinar*, by the Command of *Almanon*, the Renowned Calif of *Babylon*, about eight hundred Years since, in proportioning the Magnitude of a Degree upon Earth. For having taken the Altitude of the Pole at two several Stations, differing a Degree in the Heavens, they measured the distance between these Stations on Earth, going on in the same Meridian; where ^b *some of them*, says *Abulfeda*, found it to be fifty six Miles, and two thirds, others fifty six, without any Fraction. If therefore the *Roman Decempeditores*, or *Geodetae*, used not more Circumspection than the *Babylonian Astronomers* (which is not likely) there can be no trust given to their Miles, and less trust to the Foot that shall be deduced from thence.

Wherefore to come to a Conclusion; Having made Enquiry more ways than it may be any Man hath done, and I think with as much Caution and Exactness as any, it will be necessary after all, to shew amongst so many Feet, as are ra-

be the most genuine and true. And tho' in such an uncertainty and scarcity of ancient Monuments, and in such a diversity of Opinions, amongst Modern Writers, it may seem too great presumption, positively to define the Magnitude of the *Roman Foot*; yet having had the opportunity to have perus'd in this kind, more Antiquities than any that have preceded, I may with the more Confidence conclude, that the *Pes Colontianus*, in my Judgment, is the true *Roman Foot*; and that for these Reasons.

For first, It most exactly agrees with some very ancient and perfect *Roman Feet* in Brass, found long since amongst the *Rudera* at *Rome*; especially with that excellent one (as I remember) of *F. Ursinus*, a learned Antiquary. Tho' I cannot deny but that I have seen two ancient Feet in Brass different from this; the one of *Gualdus*, a very fair one, wanting two parts and an half, of such as this contains a 1000, a small and inconsiderable difference. The second of *Gottisfridus*, a Gentleman of honourable Quality, (to whom I stand obliged for the free Donation of several Antiquities) which exceeds it by eight parts; but this last hath been made by a very rude and unskilful Hand.

Next, the Proportions of almost all the White Marble Stones, as also of those lesser in Porphyry, in the Pavement of that admirable Temple of the *Pantheon*, are either completely three of these Feet, or one and an half; which, it is not probable, in a Structure of so much Art, should have been the Work of Chance. Add to this the Dimensions of several Stones in the Foundation of the Capitol, in *Titus* and *Severus*, Triumphal Archs, corresponding either to the whole Foot, or conjointly to the whole, and some *Uncia*, or Digits of it.

Thirdly, The Inscription on the same Monument where this Foot is found, of the *Circinus*, the *Libella*, the *Norma*, and the like, plainly shew, that these were intended to express *Cassius's* Profession, (whom ^c *Petrus* imagines to have been a Sculptor) and this being intended, I see no Reason why the *Roman Foot* should have been cut in so fair a Relevy, either too short, or too long; when the same Hand, and the same Pains, might have made it exact. It is true, that the Foot upon *Statilius's* Tomb, is 1944 such parts, as this is

* Varro de L. L. lib. 5.

^b Abulf. Geogr. Arab. MS.

Luc. Pa. lib. 1. c. Antiq. Rom. 8. Græc. ii. cerval. m. furs.

taken by me from the Iron Yard, or Standard of three Feet, in *Guild-Hall* in *London*, contains 2000 : But how rudely, in respect of Digits, that Foot of *Statilius* is described, I have before discovered. And therefore I wonder that

Philander * in his Commentaries upon *Vitruvius*, should in a matter of such high concernment in Architecture, proceed with so much Inadvertency, affirming that between this of *Statilius*, and that of *Cossutius*, there is no difference. And if he a Mathematician hath thus erred, (tho' commonly Men versed in those Sciences take not up things at too cheap a rate, without due examination) what Opinion may we conceive of another Observation, made at the same Monument, by *Ant. Augustinus*, *Jo. Baptista Sighicellus*, *P. Octavius Pacatus*, *Achilles Maffius*, *Achilles Statius*, *Benedictus Agius*, *Fulvius Ursinus*, *Latinus* *Lutius*, with as many ancient Feet as there were Men present ? I shrewdly suspect they flubbered over their Observation, as not regarding in nineteen hundred parts, and better, the small excess or defect of ten parts ; or not rightly apprehending what might be the Consequences of such an Error, how little soever in measuring the vast Magnitude of the Terrestrial Globe, or of the Celestial Bodies.

Lastly, Besides the Authorities of *Portius Vicentinus*, *Georgius Agricola*, *Glareanus*, *Gherardus*, *Donatus*, and of many other Learned and Judicious Men, who approve of this *Pes Colutianus*, (tho' bare Authority is the worst, because the weakest kind of Argument) that excellent *Congius* of *Vespasian*, now extant in *Rome*, so highly and so justly magnified by *Vallapandus*, may likewise serve to confirm, if not totally my Assertion, yet thus far, that I have not exceeded in assigning the true Longitude : For by the clear Evidences of

* *Dioscorides*, and of an *Anonymous Author* before cited, eight *Congii* are the just Measure of the *Roman Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*; and again by as many Testimonies of *Sextus Pompeius*, and *Rhemnius Fannius*, each of the sides of the *Amphora* is equal in Longitude to the *Roman Foot*. Wherefore having procured by special Favour the *Congius* of *Vespasian*, I took the Measure of it with *Milium* (being next to Water, very proper for such a Work) carefully pre-

pared and cleaned, which being done with much diligence I cauld a Cube to be made answerable to the true Dimension of the *Pes Colutianus*, filling up the Capacity of which, and often reiterating the same Experiment, I found continually the Excess of about half a *Congius* to remain, and that an *Amphora* made by the *Pes Colutianus*, would contain but VII *Congii*, and about an half. And therefore I cannot sufficiently wonder at the Observation

of *Ant. Augustinus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffius*, *Statius*, *Ursinus*, and others, with a Cube of that Foot which is described on *Statilius's* Monument : Who affirm the *Quadrantal* of this exactly to contain eight of these *Congii* of *Vespasian* : Whereas upon due Examination I confidently affirm, that they have erred. And therefore *Vallapandus*, in this particular, with more Judgment and Accuracy hath published his Observation concerning the Measure, and precise Weight of *Vespasian's Congius*, than any other whatsoever. Altho' I cannot be induced to assent to that deduction, which he infers of the *Roman Foot*, (from the side of a *Quadrantal* containing eight of these *Congii*) relying upon the Authorities of *Festus* and *Fannius*, against so many Evidences produced to the contrary. Wherefore as he is singular in his Opinion (for there is not one Author of Credit which follows his Assertion) so is his Foot as singular, there being not one of at least ten ancient ones, in the hands of several Antiquaries (besides those inscribed on two Monuments in *Rome*) which arrive to the Proportions of his, by XXVII parts in 2000. As for those other Fancies of his (for they are no better) of describing also the *Roman Foot*, by the Altitude of *Vespasian's Congius*, and assigning the *Latus Cubicum*, of the *Modius*, the *Semicongius*, the *Sextarius*, and *Hemina*, from certain parallel Circles circumscribed about it, (which certainly, as the Scheme of the *Congius* it self shews, were delineated without any farther Intention than for Ornament) I do not think them worth the Contutation.

Graeves.

Giaconus
Lenni La-
ni ob-
rv. de pe-

* Giaconus è Latini Latini
observationibus de pede Rom.
Cum veram pedis Rom. quantita-
tem statuerent vellent eund.
pedis mensuram simul contende-
runt, sed cum illi in antiquissima
delli pedis summi, que in basi
quidam in horti Latini exstat,
adamum convenire videntes, ex
his pedes quadrato vos confecerunt,
&c. Vide supra.

Whereas upon due Examination I confidently affirm, that they have erred. And therefore *Vallapandus*, in this particular, with more Judgment and Accuracy hath published his Observation concerning the Measure, and precise Weight of *Vespasian's Congius*, than any other whatsoever. Altho' I cannot be induced to assent to that deduction, which he infers of the *Roman Foot*, (from the side of a *Quadrantal* containing eight of these *Congii*) relying upon the Authorities of *Festus* and *Fannius*, against so many Evidences produced to the contrary. Wherefore as he is singular in his Opinion (for there is not one Author of Credit which follows his Assertion) so is his Foot as singular, there being not one of at least ten ancient ones, in the hands of several Antiquaries (besides those inscribed on two Monuments in *Rome*) which arrive to the Proportions of his, by XXVII parts in 2000. As for those other Fancies of his (for they are no better) of describing also the *Roman Foot*, by the Altitude of *Vespasian's Congius*, and assigning the *Latus Cubicum*, of the *Modius*, the *Semicongius*, the *Sextarius*, and *Hemina*, from certain parallel Circles circumscribed about it, (which certainly, as the Scheme of the *Congius* it self shews, were delineated without any farther Intention than for Ornament) I do not think them worth the Contutation.

* Vallapandus, l. 2.
dispositio. c. 11
de apparatus
tu Urbis ac
templi.

* Fragmentum
Dioscori-
dis.

* Sextus
Pomp. Fe-
stus de
Verbisignif.
* Rhem-
n. Fann. carm.
fragm.

* It had
been better
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with *Attilium*.

ties of *Sextus Pompeius*, and *Fannius*

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Fannius, alledged by him. For the Objection which may be raised thence is very material: How the *Pes Colotianus* can be the true *Roman Foot*, since it is confessed by me, that it doth not precisely answer to the sides of a *Quadrantal*, or Cube, containing eight of those *Congii* of *Vespasian*, or *XLVIII Sextarii*? Whereas on the contrary, *Festus* expressly writes, that the *Quadrantal* was the Square (he means the Cube) of the *Roman Foot*. * *Quadrantal vocabant Antiqui, quam ex Græco amphoram dicunt, quod vas pedis quadrati, octo & quadraginta capit sextarios.* And * *Fannius* confirms the same.

* Sext. Pomp. Festus de Verb. signific. * Rhemn. Fannii curmina de pond. & mensuris.

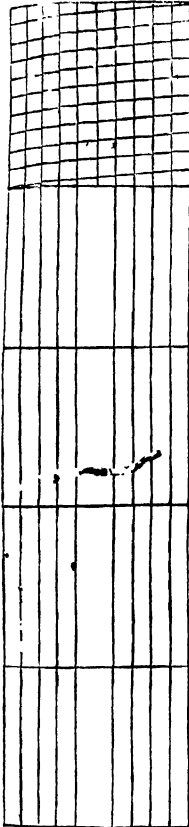
*Pes longo spatio, latèque notetur in angulo,
Angulus ut par sit, quem claudit linea triplex.
Quatuor ex quadris medium cingatur inane:
Amphora sit cubus: Quam ne violare heeret,
Sacra vires Jovi Tarpeio in monte Quirites.*

We might elevate their Authorities by saying, these are only the Testimonies of two Grammarians, better versed in Disputes of Words, than Critical in Measures, which more properly are the Speculation of Mathematicians: And therefore if *Vitruvius* had affirmed it, much more Credit might have been given. But we shall rather say, they wrote what was vulgarly, and commonly, upon Tradition, believed, that the length of one of the sides of the *Amphora* was equal to the *Roman Foot*: Not that it was precisely and exactly equal, but that of any known Measure whatsoever then extant, this came the nearest to it, as indeed it doth; yea, so near, that if at this Day the *Amphora*, and *Roman Foot*, were in use amongst us, many a Writer that had never been so curious as diligently to compare them, would not be scrupulous to affirm as much. Which may appear by the Practice of *Ant. Augustinus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statius*, *Ursinus*, and of several other Learned Men, not long before our Times: Who tho' they purposely made it their enquiry to discover

the true *Roman Weights and Measures*, and therefore made special use of this *Congius* of *Vespasian*, yet have no less erred, as we shewed before, in the Dimension of the *Amphora*, than both *Festus* and *Fannius* have done. Neither will this Answer seem improbable concerning Measures, if we shall examine a place or two concerning Coins, in which the Ancients, and those too of the better sort of Authors, have in the very same manner erred. For * *Livy* writing that *Marcellus* gave to *L. Banti*, (or *Bandius*) 10 *Bigati*, that is *Denarii* so called, because the *Big* was ordinarily stamped upon the Reverse of the *Denarius*. * *Plutarch* describing the same Gift, renders it by so many *Drachmæ*, the *Grecian* manner of Computation; not that the *Drachmæ*, in the exact and intrinsecal Valuation, was equal then to the *Denarius*, or the *Denarius* to the *Drachmæ* (as we must shew in the ensuing Discourse) but that in the vulgar and popular estimation, the one passed for the other, being both not much different in their weight, as well as valuation. * Likewise *Dion* informs us, that *Ottavius* promised the *Veteran Soldiers* 10 *Drachmæ* a Man: Whereas * *Cicero* expressing the same thing to *Atticus*, terms them 10 *Denarii*. And *Suetonius* writes, that *Cæsar*, by Testament, gave to each of the common People, *Sestertia trecenta*, that is, *LXXV Denarios*; which * *Plutarch*, both in the Life of *Brutus*, and of *Antonius*, renders *Ἀρχαία, ἑξήκοντα πέντε, Seventy five Drachms*. In like manner we may say, that *Festus* and *Fannius* have described the *Amphora* by the *Roman Foot*, not as if this were the exact Measure of it, but as being the most known and nearest proportion, in which, without falling into Fractions, it might evenly and roundly be expressed.

And thus have we finished our Enquiry after the *Roman Foot*: Our next Labour should be to compare it with the present Standards, and Originals, for Measures of divers Nations: For which I must refer the Reader to this ensuing Table.

SEMPES ROM.



The Roman FOOT compared with the Measures of divers Nations.

SUCH Parts as the Roman Foot, or that on the Monument of <i>Cossutius</i> in Rome, contains	1000
The Foot on the Monument of <i>Statilius</i> in Rome, contains	1005 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Foot of <i>Villalpandus</i> , deduced from the <i>Congius</i> of <i>Vespasian</i> , contains	1019 $\frac{65}{100}$
The ancient Greek Foot, being in proportion to the ancient Roman Foot, as XXV to XXIV, contains	1041 $\frac{67}{100}$
The English Foot	1034 $\frac{13}{100}$
The Paris Foot	1104 $\frac{45}{100}$
The Venetian Foot	1201 $\frac{65}{100}$
The Rhinland Foot, or that of <i>Snellius</i>	1068 $\frac{25}{100}$
The <i>Derah</i> , or Cubit, at Cairo in Egypt	1886 $\frac{25}{100}$
The Persian <i>Arish</i>	2206 $\frac{10}{100}$
The Greater Turkish Pike, at Constantinople	2275 $\frac{08}{100}$
The Lesser Turkish Pike, at Constantinople, is in proportion to the Greater, as 31 to 22	
The Braccio at Florence	1978 $\frac{28}{100}$
The Braccio for Woollen, at Siena	1264 $\frac{38}{100}$
The Braccio for Linen, at Siena	2041 $\frac{37}{100}$
The Braccio at Naples	2171 $\frac{66}{100}$
The Canna at Naples	7114 $\frac{79}{100}$
The Vara at Almaria, and at Gibraltar, in Spain	2854 $\frac{19}{100}$
Il Palmo di Architeti, at Rome; whereof X makes the Canna di Architeti	756 $\frac{98}{100}$
Il Palmo del Braccio di Mercantia, & di Tessito di Tela, at Rome; this and the former, are both engraven in a White Marble Stone in the Capitol, with this Inscription, <i>Curante Lu. Pato</i>	719 $\frac{24}{100}$
The Genoa Palm	842 $\frac{81}{100}$
The Antwerp Ell	2360 $\frac{92}{100}$
The Amsterdam Ell	2345 $\frac{46}{100}$
The Leyden Ell	2337 $\frac{13}{100}$

The English FOOT, taken from the Iron Standard at Guild-Hall in London and compared with the Standards for Measures of divers Nations.

SUCH Parts as the English Foot contains	1000
The Roman Foot, or that on the Monument of <i>Cossutius</i> in Rome, contains	967
The Foot on the Monument of <i>Statilius</i> in Rome, contains	972
The Foot of <i>Villalpandus</i> , deduc'd from the <i>Congius</i> of <i>Vespasian</i> , contains	986
The Greek Foot	1007
The Paris Foot	1068
The Venetian Foot	1162
The Rhinland Foot, or that of <i>Snellius</i>	1023
The <i>Derah</i> , or Cubit, at Cairo in Egypt	1824
The Persian <i>Arish</i>	2197
The greater Turkish Pike, at Constantinople	2200
The lesser Turkish Pike at Constantinople, is in proportion to the greater, as 31 to 32	
The Braccio at Florence	1913
The Braccio for Woollen, at Siena	1242
The Braccio for Linen, at Siena	1974
The Braccio at Naples	2100
The Canna at Naples	6880
The Vera, at Almaria, and at Gibraltar, in Spain	2760
Il Palmo di Architeti, at Rome; whereof X make the Canna di Architeti	732
Il Palmo del Braccio di Mercantia, & di Tessito di Tela, at Rome; this and the former are both engraven in a White Marble Stone in the Capitol, with this Inscription, <i>Curante Lu. Pato</i>	695
The Genoa Palm	815
The Antwerp Ell	2283
The Amsterdam Ell	2268
The Leyden Ell	2260

As by the Standards the former by Proportion.

Of the DENARIUS.

AS I have made for Measures, the *Roman Foot* the Foundation of my Enquiry, and therefore have handled it in the precedent Treatise: So for finding out of Weights, I shall take the *Denarius* as an undeniable Principle, from whence those of the Ancients, by a necessary Consequence may be inferred. For as the Unity is in respect of Numbers, or the *Sestertius* in Discourses *de re nummaria*; so is the *Denarius* for Weights, a fit rise, or beginning, from whence the rest may be deduced. Not but that it were better (as I gave the Caution before) if we absolutely consider the exactest ways of discovering Weights, to begin with the greater, and by them to find out the less, than by the less to produce the greater; but if we look upon the Condition of Times, and consider the means that are left after so many Revolutions and Changes of the *Roman Empire*, it will be safer to alter our Method. For to this Day there are many thousand *Denarii* left, and amongst these some so perfect and entire, as if they had been but newly brought from the Mint; whereas of the *Roman Libra*, and Ounces, there are but few extant, if compared with these. *Lappas*, and *Gruterus*, in their Inscriptions mention some, and *Petus* some others, besides such as I have seen in the hands of Antiquaries, and many of mine own: Most of which differ from one another, either as having been consumed by Rust and Time, or it may be also by the Men that then lived, for their advantage lessened: A thing too often practised amongst us. Wherefore I think it more convenient by the *Denarius* to deduce the proof and evidence of these, than by the diversity and uncertainty of these to conclude the *Denarius*: And yet if some of the best and fairest of them shall agree with this, I shall think my self so much the more assured.

Now seeing the *Denarius* may be considered in a double respect, either as *Nummus*, or as *Pondus*: In the first acceptance, the valuation of it in Civil Affairs is remarkable, in the latter, the gravity and ponderousness: I shall speak no farther of the former, than as it may conduce in some sort to illustrate the

latter. The *Denarius* was a Silver Coin in use amongst the *Romans*, passing at the first Institution for *Dena Æra*, or ten *Asses*. And so *Vitruvius* expressly writes, *Nostri autem primo decem fecerunt antiquum numerum*, *Et in denario denos areos asses constituerunt*. The same thing is attested by *Volusius Mar-tianus*. *Denarius primò asses decem valebat, unde et nomen traxit*. *Pliny* besides a Confirmation of the same Valuation, assigns also the time in which it was first stamped. *Argentum signatum est anno Urbis * quingentesimo octogesimo quinto, Q. Fabio consule, quinque annis ante primum bellum Punicum*, *Et placuit denarius pro decem in eis aris*. That is, for ten *Asses*. For the *Asses* both then, and under the first Consuls, were *Librales*. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. *Ἦν ὁ ἀσάργητος, χάλκεον νόμισμα, βάρους λίβρων*. The *Asses* was a Brass Coin, weighing a Pound. Where by the way, it is worth the observation, the strange, and in mine Opinion, the unadvised proportion, betwixt the Brass and Silver Moneys of those Times: That X Pounds of Brass should be but answerable to the 84th part (or so much, or near it, was the *Denarius*) of a Pound of Silver; or to speak more clearly, that one Pound in Silver should be equal in valuation to 840 Pounds in Brass. Neither can there be any excuse of that Error, unless this, that there then was an infinite plenty of the one, and as great a scarcity of the other. However it were, the same proportion is testified by *Varro*, who farther adds; that the *Romans* took the first use and invention of the *Denarius*, from the *Sicilians*: *In argento nummi, id à Siculis, denarii quid denos aris valebant*. And according to this Valuation the *Denarius* had an Impres upon it of the Figure X, denoting the *Decussis*, or Number of the *Asses*, as *Valerius Probus* witnesses, and sometimes this Character X; both which I have seen, and can shew, in several ancient ones. This latter by the Ignorance of Scribes formerly in MSS. and of our Printers of late, in the Edition of *Celsus*, and of *Scribonius Largus*, is represented by an Afterisk *, and by a worse Error in the same Authors, the Figure X expressing the *Denarius*, as a *Pondus*, is confounded

with the Figure X expressing a Number. From this Figure on the *Denarius*, or *Decussis*, * *Vitruvius* calls the Intersections of Lines, *Decussiles*, and *Decussationes*. And ^{10.} *Columella* ^{5.} useth the Phrase in *stellam decussuram*, when Lines meet Diamond wise, or Lozenge-like, as these in the Character X or X. Neither did the *Denarius* long pass at the valuation of X *Asses*, nor the *Asses* which before, and then were *Librales*, continue at one stay; but with the Exigencies of the Roman State, the rate of the *Denarius* rose, and the weight of the *Asses* fell; that is in effect, both the Silver and the Brass Monies came to be augmented in their estimation. For by a Publick Edict of *Fabius Maximus* the Dictator, the Common wealth being hardly pressed upon by *Hannibal*, the *Denarius* came to be priced at XVI *Asses*, and the *Asses* which were then *Sextantarii*, or the sixth part of the Roman Pound, (for in the first *Punick War*, by reason of the excessive Expences of the State, they first fell from being *Librales*, to be *Sextantarii*) came now in the Second *Punick War* to be *Unciales*. The whole progress and manner of this alteration, is by none so well

* *Argentum signatum est Anno Urbis 1333. Q. Fabio Cos. quinque annis ante primum bellum Punicum. Et placuit denarius pro X libris aëris, quinarius pro quinque, sesteritium pro dupondo, ac missile. Libra autem pondus aëris imminutum bello Punico primo, cum impensis Resp. non sufficeret, constitutumque ut asses sextantario pondere ferirentur. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.*

Sestertius for II Pounds and an half. The weight of the *Asses* in Brass was diminished in the first *Punick War*, the Common-wealth not being able to support the Expences, and then it was decreed, that the *Asses* should be coined *Sextantario Pondere*: That is, with the weight of the sixth part of a Pound, or two Ounces, whereas before they were *Librales*. Tho' *Alciatus* here, upon a very gross mistake, contends, that they were then coined *Dextantario Pondere*, and not *Sextantario*; but yet that they were called *Asses Sextantarii*, because the *Sextans*, or sixth part of an Ounce was wanting: Whereas ¹ *Pestus* expressly writes: *Græce ut dictum a pondere, quia deni asses singuli pondus librae efficebant denarium ab hoc ipso numero dictum*:

Sed bello Punico populus Romanus praeparatus erat dictum, ex singulis aëreus libralibus jenos fecit, qui tantales viderent. And these words of *Pliny*, which immediately follow these before recited, put it out of controverſie. ¹ *Where*, ¹ *Plin. l. 3* by, says he, five parts were gained, and c. 2. *Ita the Debris (of the Common-wealth) discharged.* I would gladly see by what ¹ *Arithmetick Alciatus* can demonstrate that the Common-wealth shall gain five parts, making the *Asses Sextantarii*, in his sense; whereas on the contrary, taking them in this Interpretation (as both ¹ *Agricola*, and ¹ *Vallipandus* do ¹ *Agricol* it is a thing most evident. For the lib. 2. de whole Pound, or *Asses*, before consisted of XII Ounces, being now reduced to two Ounces, and these two passing at as high a rate in the valuation of ¹ *Vallipandus* things vendible, as the whole *Libra* did, it is plain, that the Common-wealth by this diminution of weight, keeping the same constant tenure of the estimation of the *Asses*, gained ten parts in twelve, that is, five in six; and not one in six, as *Alciatus* would have it. But to omit this digression, and to return to

¹ *Pliny*: Afterwards being oppressed by *Hannibal*, under Q. *Fabius Maximus* the Dictator, the *Asses* were made *Unciales*, and the *Denarius* passed for XVI *Asses*, the *Quinarius* for VIII, and the *Sestertius* for IV. And hereby the Common-wealth gained half, yet in the Pay of the *Militia*, the *Denarius* was always accounted for X *Asses*.

The Impress of the Silver [that is, of the *Denarius*] were the *Bigæ*, and *Quadrigæ*; from whence they are called *Bigati*, and *Quadrigati*. Not long after, by the *Lex Papiria*, the *Asses* came to be *Semunciales*. *Livius Drusus*, Tribune of the People, mixed an eighth part of Brass with the Silver. Thus far *Pliny*. Out of which words it is most evident (omitting many passages of his worth our consideration) that as the *Denarius* at the first Institution passed for X *Asses*, so afterwards it was valued at XVI. And *Vitruvius* gives a Reason, why next to X, they made choice of XVI, rather than of XII, or any other proportion: ¹ *Quoniam am animadverterunt utrosque numeros esse perfectos, & sex, & decem, utrosque*

Græce

Plin. l. 3
Ita
quinque
partes fa
cta ueni
one at ali
num.

lib. 2. de
pondere
temperat.
moneta-
rum.
appur urb
at templi
par 2. l.
disp. cap.

¹ *Pollex Hannibale urgen.*
¹ *Q. Fabio Maximo Dictator*
¹ *asses uncialis fuit: Placu*
¹ *que de senatu. XVI assibus p*
¹ *mutari, quinarius assibus*
¹ *sestertium quatuor. Ita Re*
¹ *dimidium locata est. In i*
¹ *litari tamen utendū semper.*
¹ *denarius pro X assibus dat*
¹ *Nota argenti fuisse bige at*
¹ *quadrige, & inde bigati, q*
¹ *drigatique dicti. Mox lege*
¹ *pate semunciales. Sic fa*
¹ *Livius Drusus in Tribunatu*
¹ *his octavam partem aëris*
¹ *gento miscuit. Plin. lib.*
¹ *c. 3.*

Sext.
Pompeius
fest. de
verb. signif.

Greaves

* Budeus,
l. c. de ass.
* Villalpand.

* Vol. Me-
trianus de
assis di-
strib.

* Anron.
August.
Dialogo 1.

in unum conjecerunt, & fecerunt perfectissimum decussissexi, where * Budeus reads *decussissexi*: But * Villalpandus *decussis sex*, that it may the better, as he imagines, answer to the Greek, *δραξα ἑξ*. * Hujus autem rei, saith Vitruvius, auctorem invenerunt pedem. *E cubito enim cum dempti sint palmi duo, relinquitur pes quatuor palmorum, palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur uti pes habeat sexdecim digitos, & totidem asses erent denarius.* * Metianus also purposely treating of this Argument, after that he had related that the Denarius, at the first Institution, was valued at X Asses, adds, *now it is worth XVI.* And not to cite more Authorities, the Impress or Stamp of XVI, as well as of X, found upon several Denarii, and seen both by * Antonius Augustinus, (a Man very accurate in Coins, as appears by his Dialogues) and by Villalpandus, besides one with the Inscription of C. Titinius, with the same Character, mentioned by Fulvius Ursinus, and * Dalechampius puts it out of Controversie. And this valuation of the Denarius, as it is more than probable, continued from the first Institution of it in the second Punick War, without any interruption, to Justinian's time, and it is likely longer; since there is no proof out of any ancient Author, nor any Character on any ancient Denarius found to the contrary. As for those Authorities which are alledged, and passed by Budeus, and Alciatus, of Varro, Apuleius, Arruntius, and Pompeius, affirming, that after the second Punick War, the Denarius contained X Asses, the Quinarius, or Victoriatius V, the Sestertius II and an half: We may give a true and easie Solution, that these Writers expressed the valuation of them, as they were in their first original and beginning, with reflection to their primitive denomination: In which respect the Treveri Monetales, or Officers of the Mint, usually imprinted on the Denarius the Character X, rather than XVI, the former being the Impress of its first Institution, and the latter of its after Valuation. And so in like manner may those Citations be answered of Plutarch, Dionysius, and others, produced by some Learned Men to strengthen their Assertion, that the Denarius after the second Punick War returned to its first estimation. Which thing could not have been effected, without extream loss and prejudice to particular Men, in their private Fortunes and Estates; which the Justice and Wisdom

of the Roman Senate, under the Consuls, was not likely to have introduced, or the People to have admitted.

To conclude, the Denarius, as it is evident by many irrefragable Authorities before alledged, in the highest valuation passed for XVI Asses; and according to that proportion, the Quitharius, or Victoriatius for VIII, the Sestertius for IV: But in the lowest valuation, or first institution, it passed for X Asses: And then the proportion of the Quinarius was V, of the Sestertius II Asses and an half, and therefore was thus marked IIS, or thus HS, as the Quinarius had this Character, V, and also this X, as it is to be seen in a Victoriatius of mine own (besides several others) with the Face and Inscription of M. Calo. By which Coin that place may not unfitly be explained, which troubled * Budeus, why the *Ordo Decussatus*, and *Ordo quincuncialis*, signifie in the ranking of Trees the same thing, altho' the Quinarius, or Quincunx, give the denomination to the one, and the Denarius, or Decussis, to the other. The Reason is, because the Quinarius had the Character X imprinted on it, as well as the Denarius, or Decussis. Besides in *Temporarius*, we find the Quincunx to be thus — represented, as rarii. Cod. MS. Temporarii.

That the Denarius should have passed at any other rate between XVI and X Asses, as there is no Coin extant to prove it, so there is no express Authority to conclude it. Tho' some infer out of * Polybius, that it was valued also at XII Asses: Because he defines the *ἡμισιασάριον*, or *Semissis*, to be *τράταλον μίεγς δύο δρᾶς*, the fourth part of the Attick Obolus; and VI Oboli being in the *δραχμή*, to which Drachma they suppose the Denarius equal, therefore there must be XXIV Semisses, or XII Asses in the Denarius. But with much better reason we may hence infer, that the Drachma was somewhat bigger than the Denarius, as we shall prove in this ensuing Discourse; and therefore Polybius allows XII Asses to it: Whereas, if it had been precisely equal to the Denarius, he would have valued it at X, or else XVI of the lesser sort of Asses. So that Sir H. Spilæ, a Man of exquisite Judgment and Learning, in his Discourse

at the end of *Tacitus*, justly blames *Hottoman* for altering the Text of *Polybius*, and is himself to be censured, as also * *Lyppius*, in inferring thence that the *Denarius* contained XII *Asses*.

The several parts of the *Denarius*, excepting the *Quinarius* and *Sestertius*, of both which I have spoken before, are all comprized in this Description of * *Varro*, with which I shall conclude : *Nummi denarii decima libella, quod libram pondo as valebat, & erat ex argento parva; semibella quod sit libella dimidium quod semis assis. Teruncius a tribus uncis semibelle quod valet dimidium, & est quarta pars sicut quadrans assis.* By which proportions it appears, that the *Libella* was the Xth part of the *Denarius*, when it was current at X *Asses*, the *Semibella* the XXth, the *Teruncius* the XLth. And thus much of the *Denarius* as it is *Nummus*.

The second, and our principal Consideration of the *Denarius*, is, as it is *Pondus*. In which acception it will be necessary to premise a second distinction; that the *Denarius* was either * *Consularis*, or *Cesareus*. The *Consularis* was that which was made under the Government of the City by the Consuls, the *Cesareus* under the *Cæsars* : The *Consularis*, (I mean the *Consularis* after the second *Punic* War, and under the later Consuls) contained precisely the seventh part of the *Roman Ounce*, as the other did the eighth part, or somewhat

* The *Consularis* again may be considered, either in the time of the former, or of the latter Consuls : That of the former Consuls, at the first Institution of it by *Q. Fabius*, five Years before the first *Punic* War, *Peireskius* not improbably imagines to have been the sixth part of the *Roman Ounce* : And *Agricola* by comparing it with the *Talentum Atticum*, which *Varro* values at 15000 *Sestertii*, and with the *Tetradrachme*, which *Livy* (lib. 34.) estimates, *Trium fere Denarium* ; as also upon the Authority of the Scholiast of *Nicanor*, who equals the *Denarius* to a *Drachme* and an half, as *Priscian* doth to a *Drachme* and a third part ; I say, *Agricola* assigns it to almost the same proportion with *Peireskius*. But because I have seen no *Denarii Consulares* of so great Antiquity, and these Authorities may perchance admit of other Constructions, I shall leave this Opinion as only probable, and follow what is more certain and demonstrative, of the later Consuls.

First, That the *Denarius Consularis* of the later Consuls, was the seventh part of the *Roman Ounce* : This shall be our principal enquiry, because it is more evident of the two, and will give us the best light to discover the true weight of the *Denarius*, in the notion and acception of the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*. It is most apparent, both by several fair Coins which I have perused of the later Consuls, as also by *Cornelius Celsus*, who lived in

the beginning of the *Roman Emperors*, before there happened a general diminution of the *Denarius*, that it was then the seventh part of the Ounce, who thus writes, * *Sed & antea sciri volo in un-*

ciâ pondus denariorum esse septem. The same proportion is also expressed by * *Scribonius Largus*, who lived not long after *Celsus*, as some imagine, his words are these : *Erit autem nota denarii un-*

us pro Græca drachma; æquæ enim in libra denarii octoginta quatuor apud nos, quot drachmæ apud Græcos incurunt. * *Pliny* also confirms the same. *Miscuit denario triumviro Antonius ferrum,*

(he means under the Emperors) *è pondere subtrahunt, cum sit justum octoginta quatuor e libris signari.* Out of which words of his, and of *Scribonius Largus*, it will by a necessary consequence be inferred, that the true weight of the *Denarius Consularis* is the seventh part of an Ounce. For if we multiply twelve, the Number of the Ounces in the *Roman Libra* (as by all it is confessed) by seven the Number of the *Denarii*, of which the Ounce then consisted, the Sum will be LXXXIV *Denarii* ; and so many, say *Scribonius* and *Pliny*, ought justly to be in the *Roman Pound*. And these are the only clear and positive Authorities that are to be found in Classical Authors, and most of the Writings of the Ancients, *de ponderibus & mensuris*, having long since been lost ; or else those few Fragments that are left, of *Clepatra*, *Dioscorides*, and of others, are so corrupted, that little Truth with any certainty can be collected. From whence it will by way of Corollary follow, that if either the *Denarius Consularis* be given, the *Roman Ounce*, and *Libra*, in the same proportion will necessarily be thence deduced ; or if the *Roman Ounce*, and *Libra* be given, the *Denarius* will as necessarily be concluded.

But before we farther treat of this Argument, we shall endeavour also to demonstrate the *Denarius*, by the *Drachma Attica*. For *Scribonius* seems, and so do other Ancients, to make them equal. And therefore *Pliny* writes :

* *Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus* : Whereas the *Drachma Ægina* was much larger, this containing X such *Oboli* as the *Attick* contained VI, and therefore the *Athenians* in hatred of the *Æginaeans*, called it *παχέα δραχμήν*, as * *Pollux* testifies. And here as * *Jul. Fav.* we considered the *Denarius*, as *Nummus*, and as *Pondus* ; so likewise must we

* *Celsus*, l. 5. c. 17

* *Scrib. L.* gus in præfation

* *Plinius* l. 33. c.

* *Plinius*, l. 27. c. 34

* *Jul. Fav.* l. 9. c. 6

take the *Drachma Attica*, as *Nummus*, and as *Pondus*: In the prosecution of both which, relatively to the *Denarius*, I shall insinuate the longer, because it is an Argument that hath scarce at all, or very perfunctorily been handled. The *Drachma*, as *Nummus*, was a Silver Coin in use amongst the *Athenians*, (for I intend only to speak of the *Drachma Attica*, for the same reason

^b Plinius, l. 21. c. 34. ^a Pliny doth. *Perè enim Atticè observatione utuntur medici*) and so it was the Measure of things vendible, as all Coins are: And as *Pondus*, so was it the Measure of their Gravity and Weight. Now the *Drachma*, as *Nummus*, passed in the estimation of the best Authors, both *Greek* and *Latine*, at the same Rate and Valuation as the *Denarius* did. And therefore, as often as the *Latines* are to express the *Greek Drachma*, they render it by the *Denarius*; and on the contrary, the *Greeks* the *Denarius* by the *Drachma*. Thus what *Tully* renders by the *Denarius*, *Dio* in his 45th Book expresseth by the *Drachma*. Their words, both speaking of *Augustus*, are these, *Veteranos quique Castilini, Et Calatne sunt* (as *Tully* relates) *perduxit ad suam sententiam, nec mirum, quingenos denarios dat.* Καὶ ἑξω-

^c Cicero, l. 6. l. 5. Ep. ad Attic.

^b Dio, l. 45. καὶ ἑξωτός τε, saith *Dio*, καὶ πέντακκοις δραχμαῖς. In like manner *Pliny* writes, *Venisse murem ducentis nummis*, (that is, *Denariis*; for *Nummus* absolutely put is often, tho' not always, taken for the *Denarius*, as on the contrary the *Denarius* is taken for *Nummus* in *Hesychius*,

^c Plinius, l. 8. c. 57. ^a Hesychius in voce *δραχμῶν*. *Castilnum obfidente Annibale, cuique qui vendiderat fame interisse, emptorem vixisse annales tradunt.* The same thing ^m *Valerius Maximus* reports in his 7th Book, and 6th Chapter, and ⁿ *Strabo* in his fifth Book; the former writing that it was sold for 200 *Denarii*, and the latter that it was bought for 200 *Drachmae*. To these Authorities I shall

^m Valer. Max. l. 7. c. 6. ⁿ Strabo, l. 5. Geogr.

^o Fragmenta Cleopatrae. ^a A. Gellius, l. 1. c. 8. Noct. Att. ^b *adjoin* ^c *Cleopatra*, τὸ Ἰταλικὸν διστάριον ἢ δραχμὴν ἄ. The Italian *Denarius* containeth one *Drachma*: And ^a *A. Gellius*, *Latè murem ducentis nummis nostratis, denarium decem millia.*

These two thus passing the one for the other, being also at the first institution much of the same fineness in respect of Silver, it must necessarily be admitted, either that they were exactly the same for weight, which is our next Enquiry, or else that they were not much different. For in comparing of Foreign

Coins, the κολλυβισαί, or *Nummularii*, in ancient Times, must have taken the same Course, which our most knowing Bankers do practise now. First, to respect the pureness and fineness of the Coins, whether they be alike for the *intrinsec*; and next, whether they have the same weight; and if they differ in either, or both of these, according to those differences to proportion their exchanges. Those other accidental Causes of the rising and falling of Exchanges of Moneys, since they are merely contingent, depending upon the Necessities either of Times, or Places, or Persons, I purposely premit, as not so proper and essential to our Enquiry. As for the *extrinsec* of Coins, by which I mean the outward Form, or Character, and Inscription of the Prince, or State, tho' this may raise the Valuation of them in those Countries, which are subject to the Prince, or State, and lessen them in those which are out of their Dominions; yet this can produce no remarkable difference, more than what is usually assigned by the Masters of the Mint, for the Waste in Coining, and for the Labour of the Work.

With these Cautions, if we shall examine the *Attick Drachma*, and by such Writings of the Ancients, or by such Coins as are extant, enquire their true Weight, we shall come to such a preciseness as may be hoped for in a Work of this nature. ^p *Suidas* tells us in the general, *Δραχμή ὃ ἐκκὴ νομισματικῶν ἀργυρίων*. The *Drachma* is the Weight of the Silver Money. And ^q *Hesychius* more particularly informs us: *Δραχμή τὸ ὅσδον ἔστι βύλιος*. The *Drachma* is the eighth part of the Ounce. And ^r *Fannius* yet more distinctly writes:

*In scrupulis ternis drachmam, quo pondere doctis
Argenti facilis signatur pondus Athenis.*

To which we may add ^s *Cleopatra*, *Ἡ Φραγὶ δραχμὴ ἔχει γερμυδία γ'. ὅσδός ἐστι τρεῖς βύλιναι, καὶ τρία ἡ. ὅσδός ἐστι μὴ. The Drachme hath three Scruples, six Oboli, nine Lupini, eighteen Siliquæ, forty eight Ereola. The ^t *Scholias* of *Nicanor* also makes the *διδραχμῶν* to be τὸ τετραγώνον ἔστι βύλιος, The fourth part of the [Attick] Ounce. In the same proportion are we to take those other Silver *Athenian* Coins mentioned by ^u *Julius Pollux*, namely, the *τρίδραχμῶν*, which consisted of three *Drachmes*, the *τετραδραχμῶν*, which consisted of four *Drachmes*, the *πενταδραχμῶν*, which consisted of five *Drachmes*, the *ἑξαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of six *Drachmes*, the *ἑπταδραχμῶν*, which consisted of seven *Drachmes*, the *ὀκταδραχμῶν*, which consisted of eight *Drachmes*, the *ἐννεαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of nine *Drachmes*, the *δέκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of ten *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of eleven *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of twelve *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of thirteen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of fourteen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of fifteen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of sixteen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of seventeen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of eighteen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of nineteen *Drachmes*, the *ἑκαδραχμῶν*, which consisted of twenty *Drachmes*.*

δραχμῶν, or τέτραρχμον, which by a Syncope is the same with the τετραδραχμῶν, containing four Drachmes, or the half Ounce. Τετραδραχμῶν, τετραδραχμῶν, faith ¹ Hefychius; tho' ² Ammonius puts a distinction between them, τετραρχμον μὲν ὅστις τὸ νόμισμα, τετραδραχμῶν δὲ τὸ σάρον δραχμῶν [ἄξιον]. This the Greek also called σάλη, as * Cleopatra, and ³ Epiphanius witnesses, Ὁ σάλη in Cleopatra, ἄλφα & δ'. καλῶσι δὲ αὐτὸν τετραδραχμῶν: The Stater weighs four Drachms, this they call the Tetradrachme. And this also may most clearly be collected out of ⁴ St. Matthew, where seeing the Original expresseth it more fully than our Translation, I shall recite the words as they are in the Greek: 'Ελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καπερναὺμ, προσήλθον οἱ τὰ διδραχμὰ λαμβάνοντες τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ ἔπον, ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ ὤνεις ἔτελε τὰ διδραχμὰ; Which the Vulgar renders thus: *Et cum venissent Capernaum, accesserunt qui didrachma accipiebant, ad Petrum, & dixerunt ei, Magister vester non solvit didrachma?* And our Translation thus: *And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received Tribute-money, came to Peter, and said, Dost not your Master pay Tribute?* In the 27th Verse of the same Chapter, our Saviour answers: 'Ἰνα μὴ σκάνδαλίζωμιν αὐτοὺς, πορεύθεis εἰς τὴ θάλασσαν βάλε ἄλγιστρον, καὶ ἑναεκάοντα προῖον ἔχων ἄρεον, καὶ ἀνείζας τὸ νόμισμα αὐτοῦ, ἐρήσεις σάλην. Ἐμάνων λαλῶν δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντιμὺς καὶ σέ. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the Sea, and cast an Hook, and take up the Fish that first cometh up: And when thou hast opened his Mouth, thou shalt find a Piece of Money: That take, and give unto them for me, and thee. This, which our Translation calls Tribute-money, in the 24th Verse, is called in the Original διδραχμῶν, or two Drachmes; and so much was paid by the Pole, according

¹ Josephus, l. 7. Bell. Jud. c. 27. to ² Josephus, for each particular Person. Our Saviour therefore paying for himself, and St. Peter, in the 27th Verse, bids him to give a Stater; that is, a τετραδραχμῶν, or four Drachmes; namely, the double to the διδραχμῶν, which our Translation renders too generally by a Piece of Money: But the ³ Persian Translation interprets it distinctly by four Drachmes: *Thou shalt find four Drachmes in it; that take, and give for thee, and me.*

⁴ Evangelia Perit. MSS. Eru. diffinitio Viri D. Pocockii.

With this Attick Tetradrachme, or Silver Stater, the Hebrew and Samaritan שקל Shekel, that is, Sicel, did

also agree. For if we give Credit to Josephus, who in ¹ Scaliger's Fifteenth *Great Diligentiſſimus* καὶ Φιλάδοφισαίῳ omnium scriptorum, we shall find them to be the same. ² Ὁ ὅτι σικλὸν νόμισμα ἑβραίων ἐστὶν Ἀττικὸς δὲ τετραδραχμῶν τὸ σάρον. The Sicel is a sort of Money amongst the Hebrews, that contains four Attick Drachmes. The same proportion is evidently collected out of ³ Philo, ⁴ Philo, where for L Shekels mentioned in the Law, he renders CC Drachmes, and for XXX an CXX. ⁵ Hefychius likewise testifies as much, Σικλὸν τετραδραχμῶν Ἀττικῶν, The Sicel is [in valuation] the Attick Tetradrachme: And ⁶ St. Hierome, the ablest of the Fathers in the Jewish Antiquities, * Siclus, id est stater, habet quatuor drachmas Atticas. ⁷ Hieronymus, ut ex hoc Suchies, I conceive, w

those τετρακοντα ἀργύρια, the XXX Pieces of Silver, which were given to Judas, as the Reward of his Treason. Eusebius relating the Story expressly, terms them Silver Staters, which an Hebrew would have termed either Silver Shekels, or at lastly πικρὸν Cess: This in the Scripture Phrase being frequently put for the Shekel, and therefore the Syriack Translation of the New Testament reads it *πικρὸν*. Whence Tertullian hath this Annotation: *Observant Hebraei, ubique in Scriptura argenteum sit mentio, non expressa nominis atque speciei, intelligi siculum iustitiarum equivalentem quatuor denariis*. Some modern Writers imagine them to have been but X Denarii; but Baronius contends that they were, vel Librae argenti XXX, vel aureum coronatorum trecentorum: Arias Montanus, that they were either XXX Librae, or X Talenta. The most probable Opinion is, that this Sum neither so great as Baronius and Montanus make it, nor yet little as some Moderns would have it, but between both, that is XXX Shekels. M. Cajaanbo in his Exercitationes u. Baronius, hath a probable Conjecture to strengthen this Assertion: *Non enim temere factum videtur, quod filius Dei qui exinanivit, assumptus servus formae, Phil. 2. 7. Tringita argenti venderetur, sicut lege Dei municipia totidem filii estimantur*. Exod. 21. 32. *Et apud Josephum, lib. 4. c. 8. Facit hoc quod non parum ad Domini abjectionem declarandum, quando caput tam parvi estimatum est*. A small Price I confess, XXX She being less than XV of our ordinary Crowns. But Hierome u. St. Matthew thought it to be as little, who thus writes, as M. saubone renders him, *Inselecem Judam non cogitasse quanti precem venderet. Sed Christum mundi Salvatorem, Dei filium, vile aliquod mancipium nimio pretio addidisse*. Now Price of a Servant we find in Exodus to have been X Shekels.

These Testimonies are so positive, and from so good Authors (to which also I might adjoin ¹ Epiphanius in his ² Epiph Book *ὅτι σαββαῖον*, did I not conceive him to be full of Errors in that Discourse) that I cannot sufficiently wonder at that strange Opinion of ³ Græpse, and some others, introduced out of affectation of Novelty, of a double Shekel, the one sacred, equal to the Tetradrachme, the other profane, weighing the Didrachme: That used in the Sanctuary, this in Civil Commerce, without any solid Foundation in the Writ, or without any probability of Reason, that

⁴ Græpse de multiplici siclo & talent

Græves.

in any wise State, the Prince and People should have one sort of Coin, and the Priests should have another: And that this of the Sanctuary should be in a double proportion to the other, and yet that both should concur in the same Name. It is true there is often mention

^a And all thy estimation shall be according to the Shekel of the Sanctuary. *Levit.* 27. 25. *Vet. vulg. fielo San-ctuarii ponderabitur.*

in the ^b Scriptures of the *Weights of the Sanctuary*, not as if these were different from what were used vulgarly in the City; but

because the Standards, and Originals, the Rules of Commutative Justice, and therefore of an high and sacred use, were kept (as it is more than probable) in the Sanctuary; for God himself makes this one of the Priests Offices, ^c *ut sint super omne pondus atque mensuram.* And it is no wonder that God, who so much hated a *false Balance*, and a *false Measure*, should commit the Charge of these to the Priests, as things most holy; since the Heathens themselves out of a reverent estimation of them, placed them in their Temples, as appears by that Inscription of the *Con- gius of Vespasian* before alledged, and now extant in *Rome*; and by these Verses of ^d *Fannius*, treating of the *Roman Measures*:

*Amphora sit cubus, quam, ne violare liceret,
Sacrare Jovi Tarpeio in monte Qui-ritis.*

And afterwards, in the Times of Christianity, they were kept in Churches, as it is to be seen in the *Authenticks of Justinian*; where he commands, that the *Weights and Measures* should be kept, in *sacratissima cujusvis civitatis ecclesia*. As for those Allegations taken out of the Interpretation of the *LXX*, whereby *Græpius*, and others, go about to prove a double Shekel, they are all well, and solidly, in my Judgment, an-

^e swered by ^f *Villalpandus*, and others, to whom I shall refer the Judicious Reader: For I intend not here to speak of the *Hebrew Shekel*, or *Attick Drachme*, Item par. 2. more than what may serve to illustrate the *Denarius*.

Seeing therefore, as we have proved, that the *Attick Drachma* was equal in the notion and acception of the Ancients, to the *Denarius*: If therefore an either *Attick Δραχμή*, or *Δι-α-δραχμή*, or *Τετραδραχμή*, were found, it thence conclude the *Denarius*.

Again, since the *Hebrew Shekel* hath likewise been demonstrated to be equal to the *Attick Τετραδραχμή*, and this *Attick Τετραδραχμή* to four *Denarii*, by the common and received ^g *Axiome* of Geometricians, we may conclude, ^h that the *Hebrew Shekel* was also equal to four *Denarii*; that is, that four *Roman Denarii*, the *Attick Τετραδραχμή*, and the *Hebrew שקל* were all respectively equal to one another. If therefore an *Hebrew Shekel*, fair and entire, were found, we might as necessarily thence infer the *Denarius*, as by the *Τετραδραχμή*.

We shall endeavour by both these to enquire out the truth, and first by the *Attick Tetradrachmes* in Silver: Because of these I have seen and weighed many, some of them very fair and perfect, and found at many several places, as *Athens*, *Constantinople*, *Tenedos*, and other parts; where the Art of Counterfeiting Coins is not as yet crept in, and where it is to little purpose to practise it: Seeing in those places there are few so curious as to buy them, or that will give a greater valuation than what they are worth in the *intrinsic*. Wherefore having in *Italy*, and elsewhere, perused many hundred *Denarii Consulares*, I find by a frequent and exact trial, the best of them to amount to *LXII Grains English*, such as I have carefully taken from the Standards of the *Troy*, or *Silver Weights*, kept in the *Tower in London*, and in *Goldsmiths-Hall*, and in the *University of Oxford*: On the other side weighing many *Attick Tetradrachmes*, with the Image of *Pallas* on the forepart, and of the *Nollua* on the Reverse: I find the best of these to be *CCLXVIII Grains*; that is, each particular *Drachme LXVII Grains*.

And that no Man may doubt whether these were true *Athenian Tetradrachmes*, we are to observe, that the Ancients used several Impresses on their Coins, by which they might be known and distinguished. And therefore *Argentum signatum*, in the Description of *Quintius* his Triumph over *Philip*, is by ⁱ *Livy* opposed to *Argentum infectum*, which

^j *Pollux* terms ἀσκητον, as ^k *Tully* calls the former sort, *Fallum atque signatum*, and the ^l *Greeks*, ἐκτυπωμένον. Thus the *Denarius* had the Impress of the *Bigæ*, or *Quadrigæ*, as *Pliny* informs us: And therefore ^m *Livy* uses the word *Bigati* for *Denarii*, and ⁿ *Pliny* both *Bigati* and *Quadrigati*. The *Brass Coins* of the *Romans* were, thus marked: ^o *Nota arie* ^p *Plin.*

suit

^a Paral. 23. 29.
^b Prov. 11. 1. item
^c 20.
ver. 10, 23.

^d Rhemn. Fann. carmina de pond. & mensuris.

^e Authent. collat. 9. de collatoribus tit. 11. novel. 128. c. 15.

^f Villalp. de appar. urbis ac templi. par. 2. lib. 2. disp. 4. c. 28. Item par. 2. lib. 2. disp. 4. c. 28.

^g Axiome
^h de
ⁱ Liviu
^j Jul.
^k Jul.
^l Cicer
^m Liv.
ⁿ Plin.
^o Plin.
^p Plin.

* Utar-
chus in Ar-
opace.
Τὸ δὲ Περ-
σικὸν νό-
μισμα
τοῦτον
ἐπισημῶν
ἔχει.
* Plut.
Agel.

* Virg. 1.
Æneid.

* Jul. Poll.
l. 9. c. 6.

* Hera-
clides, ἡρα-
κλῆς.
* Euseb.

fuit ex altera parte Janus geminus, ex altera rostrum navis, in tridente vero & quadrante rates. The Persians stamped on the Reverse an Archer: Which occasioned that Conceit of Agesilaus, mentioned by * Plutarch, That the King of Persia had beaten him back with ten thousand Archers; when with so much Money he had corrupted the Grecians. The Carthaginians on the one side signed the Face of a Woman, (I suppose in Memory of Queen Dido) on the Reverse the Head of an Horse, or in Virgil's Expression, * *Caput acris equi*, both which I have seen. The Peloponnesians had the Impress of a Tortoise on their Money, whence that witty Greek Proverb took its Original: * *Τὰν ἀρεῖαν, καὶ τὰν ἐφίδου νικᾶντι χελώνων.* The Money at Tenedos had on the one side a double Hatchet, and on the other side two Heads, one of a Man, and another of a Woman, arising from the same Stem, or Neck, in Memory of a Law made by the King of that Island (whom * Heracles names Τέννης, placing him antienter than the Trojan War), That a Man and a Woman, taken in Adultery, should have their Heads struck off with an Hatchet. In which kind I met with two very rare and ancient Coins in Silver, at Constantinople, both made with a very fair Relevy, and both agreeing in the same Image and Inscription; the one weighed less than the Attick Tetradrachme, the other wanted somewhat of the Drachme. And because the Coin hath not, I think, been seen by any Antiquary, and the History is remarkable, I shall here express the Figure of the fairest of these.



And the History I shall relate out of Heracles * *Heracles: Νόμον δὲ τινα φασὶ τ βασιλέα Τέννου διαβιάζει, ἔστι λαοὶ μοιχόν αποκλείεν τούτων πελὶνδ, ἀλόνει* * *ἡς αὐτῶν, καὶ τ λαόνει* * *ἐρημύει τ βασιλέα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ νόμον χρεῖσθαι καὶ εἶναι τὸ νόμισμα* * *αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δάτερῳ πέλκεος κεχάραται*, ἐπὶ δάτερῳ * *ἡς ἐνός αὐχένος* * *πρησσωπον ἀνδρός καὶ γυναικός. καὶ ἐκείνους λέγει* * *ἐπὶ τ ἀποκρίναν, τὸ ἀποκρίνασθαι Τέννης* * *τὸν νόμον.* They say King Tennes made a Law, That if one

took another in Adultery, he should kill him with an Hatchet. His Son being joined so, and he that took him, asking the King, What he should do? He answered, Execute the Law: And for this Reason on one side of his Money there was an Hatchet imprinted; on the other, the Face of a Man and of a Woman, arising out of one Neck. From hence it is said of severe Actions, to be cut with a Tenedian Hatchet. For which exemplary Justice those of Tenedos, as it is probable, Deified King Tenes. * Tully writes, *Tenedu Tenem* * Cicer. I [Deum appellant]: And again, *Tenem* * *apud Tenedos putant esse sanctissimum Deum, ac coere urbem condidisse.* Where his Name is truer writ than in Heracles: For the Coin hath only a single N. and so hath * Eustathius.

The Money of Chios, as Julius Pollux witnesses, had the Effigies, or Resemblance of Homer; no doubt in Honour of his Memory; tho' * Herodotus relates, that whilst he was living he found at first but cold Entertainment in that Island. Theseus the tenth King of the Athenians, signed his Money with the Impress of an Ox: Hence that Proverb, *Βῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβηκεν.* This as * Julius * *Jul. Po* Pollux testifies, was the *Διδραχμὸν* * *l. 9. c. 6.* Who farther adds, *Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν νόμισμα, καὶ ἐκατέτω βῆς ἐπὶ βῆν ἔχεν ἐπὶ ὑπομνησιν. εἰδέναι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀμηρον νομίζουσιν εἰπόντα, ἐκατόμβος ἑνεακοίων. καὶ μὲν καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντι νόμοις ἔστιν ἀποκρίναν διατάξιον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ Δηλίας θεωρεῖται κήρυκα κηρύττειν φασὶν ὅπως θεωρεῖται τινὲς ἐκείνους, ὅτι δόξαντες αὐτῶν τοσούτοι βῆες καὶ δίδραχμὰ καὶ ἑκατόν βῆν δύο δραχμὰς ἀτίμας.* This was an ancient Coin amongst the Athenians, and was called Bēs, because it had the Figure of an Ox instamped. They imagine that Homer knew this, when he said, nine Hecatombs of Oxen; and also in the Laws of Draco, it is to pay the Mult of ten Oxen. And they say, that at the Solemn Shew at Delos, the Crier, when any Gift is to be given, cries so many Oxen shall be given, and for every Ox so many Attick Didrachmes are given.

The same * Author writes, that the Attick Tetradrachme was stamped with the Face of Minerva; and he might have added with the Noctua on the Reverse. This * Eubolus pleasantly calls * *In An-Pallidat* * *πῶλον, Minervæ pullum.* chise. The Diώσκων had the Face of Jupiter, it may be it is an Error in Pollux for Pallus, and on the other side the Noctua. The Τελεβόλων had on the one side Jupiter, according to * Pollux, (I * *Jul. Poll* l. 9. c. 6. con.

conceive it to be a Mistake for *Pallas*, or *Minerva*) on the other side two Nocturns, because it was the double to the

* Plautus in Pœnulo.

† Scetus Pompeius testis de Verb. signif.

† Plautus in Pœnulo.

† Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.

† Plutarchus in Lysandro.

From the *Diobolum*, * Plautus uses the Term *Diobolaris Servorum Sordidulorum*, *Scorta Diobolaria*, which † Festus interprets thus, *Meretrices diobolares appellatas, ex eo quod duobus obolis duccentur*. To which I may add, out of such ancient Coins as I have seen, that the *Triobolum* (whence that Phrase of * Plautus, *Homo Trioboli*, and of the *Greeks*, ἀξίον τριωβόλου) which by † Pollux is called the ἡμι-δραχμὸν, had the Face of *Pallas* on the one side, and the *Noctua* on the other; and so likewise had the *Obolus*, and *Drachma* of such as I perused; and all of them on the Reverse the Inscription ΑΘΕ. And I think I may safely add, that on such Coins as we find the *Noctua*, with a deep Relevy, we may conclude them to be *Athenian* Coins. * Plutarch is of the same Opinion in the Life of *Lysander*, where he discourses of *Gylippus*, a Commander, as famous for defeating the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, as infamous for stealing the Silver consigned to him by *Lysander*, for the City *Sparta*. When he arrived, faith Plutarch, at *Sparta*, he bid the Silver that he had stolen, under the Tiles of his House, and delivered into the Hands of the *Ephori* the Bags, shewing them the Seals [entire]: Which being opened, and the Money told, they found the Sums to disagree from the Labels: Wherewith being troubled, a Servant of *Gylippus*, in obscure Terms, intimated to them, That under the Tiles of his Master's House, there were hid many Nocturns, or Owls; ἢ γὰρ (ὡς τοῖσι) τὸ χάραγμα τῶν ὠνείων τότε νομισματικόν, ὅθεν τὰς Ἀθηναίων γινώσκεις. For the greatest part (as it seems) of the Money then had the Stamp of the Noctua, by Reason of the Athenians: Who not long before, as *Thucydides*, and the best Historians of those Times shew, were the richest and most flourishing State amongst the *Grecians*.

Having therefore had the Opportunity to have bought, or else the Favour to have weighed many fair and perfect *Tetradrachmes*, found at remote places, with the *Pallas Galeata* on the one side, and the *Noctua*, with the Inscription ΑΘΕ on the Reverse, where E being placed for H, proves the Antiquity of them. (For the *Atticks* at the first used not H, but only E, for both E and H) I find by the best of these (to re-

assume what I said before) that the *Attick Tetradrachme* is 268 Grains, and the *Drachme* 67 of our *Troy*, or *English* Standard. Which may farther be confirmed by an *Attick Drachme* of mine own, found in the *Black Sea*, with this Inscription, ΑΘΕ ΤΙΝΑΠΝΙΚΑ ΑΡΧΕ; and by a * Τετράδραχμον, or *Semidrachme*, bought by me at *Alexandria*; that weighing near 66 Grains, and this 30 and better: The Face of *Minerva*, either by use, or time, being a little diminished in both; but yet so little, that they cannot have lost above two or three Grains of their primitive weight. And as this single *Attick Drachme* of mine, is much to be valued by Antiquaries for the weight, and therefore was desired by the learned *Peirescius*: So is the Inscription, ΤΙΝΑΠΝΙΚΑ ΑΡΧΕ, no less worth Consideration, for the Explication of a place in † *Livy*; who describing the Na-

val Triumph of *L. Æmilius*, writes thus: *Pecunia translata nequaquam tanta pro specie regii triumphi. Tetracina Attica CCXXXIII Millia, Cistophori CCCXXII. Mil.* Where † *Budeus*, and *Rhodiginus*, instead of *Tetracina*, read *Tetradrachma. Tetracinum enim quid sit, nemo ut arbitror novit*, faith *Budeus*. I would rather read it, as the Coin doth, *Tinarnika*; this having almost the same Letters with *Tetracina*, which by the Scribes, I suppose, have been inverted. Neither is there any Reason, why *Livy* might not as well mention in this Triumph, *Attica Tinarnica*, as *Tetradrachma*; these being the fourth part of the *Tetradrachme*, and therefore better agreeing with his Description: *Pecunia translata nequaquam tanta pro specie regii triumphi*: And also better agreeing with the *Cistophori* he here mentions: A sort of Coin about half of these *Attica Tinarnica*, whereas the *Tetradrachma* were eight times as great. For † *Festus* expressing the *Talentum Euboicum*, renders it by 7500 *Cistophori*, and by 4000 *Denarii*, or *Attick Drachmes*, that is *CIO Tetradrachmes. Euboicum talentum nummo Græco septem millium & quingentorum cistophorum est: Nostro quatuor millium denariorum.*

And as these Testimonies above alleged are beyond all Exceptions, so the *Gold Coins of the Grecians*, which I have examined, do most evidently

* I have since p
fair Athenian Τετράδραχμον, my very worthy and learned Friend, John Maisham, E weighing completely the three Grains English. As another of Sir Tho. Roe's, together with an Ὀβολός his, weighing eleven Grain

† Liviu
l. 37.
* Bud.
de asse.
Rhodig
left. An
l. 10. c.

* Scetus
Pomj
Festus
Verb.

prove

prove this proportion assigned to the *Attick Drachme*. Which that we may the better understand, we are to observe what proportion the Valuation of the Gold of those Times had to the Silver; and next, what proportion it had in respect of weight.

• Jul. Poll.
l. 9. c. 3.

For the first, *Julius Pollux*, in very periphrastic Terms, puts it down : Τὸ χρυσίου δρι τ' ἀργυροῦ δεκαπλάσιον ἢ σαφῶς ἀν τις ἐκ τ' Μένανδρου ἀποκαταβήνης μάθη. *That the Gold was in a tenfold proportion to the Silver, one may evidently learn out of Menander's Paracata-*

* Scholia-
stes Aristo-
phanis.

these. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* implies as much: Εἰσι μὲν χρυσοὶ δαρικῆς οἱ Δαρεικοί. ἐθνύαλο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι, ὅπου δ' ἄλλοι. τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ὀνομαζέμεται χρυσός, ἐκ πάλι Δαρεικῆς Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιότερου βασιλέως ὀνομασθέντι. Λέγουσι δὲ τινες δύναντα τὸ Δαρεικὸν δραχμὰς ἀξίους ἕκαστον. ὡς τὸ; πάλιν Δαρεικὸς δύναντα μὴδὲν ἀξίους. The Daricks are Golden-Staters, each of them is worth as much as that which is named by the Atticks the Xerxes. They are called so not from Darius the Father of Xerxes, but from another King more ancient than he. Some say that the Darick is valued at XX Drachmes of Silver, so that V Daricks are worth a Mina of Silver. For the Attick Μυὰ, or Mina

it must, I would correct that place of *Ἡφυσχίου* concerning the *ῥαχμή* *χρυσίς*, and read it thus: *ῥαχμή* *χρυσίς* *ὁλη* *νομισμα* *ἐς* *ἀβύσσους* *λόβον* *ῥαχμῆς* *ἴ*, and not *Διῥαχμῆς* *ἴ*, as it is in the Printed Copies. And by this of *Ἡφυσχίου* I would supply the defect of *ῥαχμή* *χρυσίς* *ὁλη* *νομισμα* *ἐς* *ἀβύσσους* *ῥαχμῆς* *ἴ*, and make it thus *ῥαχμή* *χρυσίς* *ὁλη* *νομισμα* *ἐς* *ἀβύσσους* *λόβον* *ῥαχμῆς* *ἴ*. For without the addition of *χρυσίς*, and *λόβον*, there is no sense: And I believe *Σουδάς* took these very words out of *Ἡφυσχίου*.

Having thus found the proportion that the *δραχμή χρυσῆς* had to the Silver, our next Enquiry is, How many of these *Drachmes* in weight the *χρυσός*, or *χρυσὸς σάβηρ*, or *Aureus* contained.

Julius Pollux gives us in this parti-
cular the best, and most positive Infor-
mation of any, ὅτι χρυσὸς σάβηε δ'ὐνο ἔχει
δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς. The Golden Strater
[or Aureus,] contains two Attick
Drachmes. The same is confirmed by
Hefychius : Πολυμύρῃς ὅστις ἀνίσταται
τὴ χρυσῆν ἀπὸ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς δραχμὰς
δύο· ἥ τ' ἔχει χρυσὸν δραχμῶν νομισμὰτ'
ἀδελφεῖς, δραχμὰς δ'ἑκα. Polemarchus
says, that the Aureus amongst the Athe-
nians contains two Drachmes, and that
the Drachme of Gold is worth ten
Drachmes of Silver. And to this of
Pollux and Hefychius, all the *Aurei* of
the ancient *Greecians*, which have pas-
sed through my Hands, do very well
correspond. Now these *Aurei* as they
had several Impressions upon them, so had
they several Names, by which they are
distinguished. For they were either
Ἀττικοί, or Δαρκικοί, or Φιλιππηνοί, or
Ἀλεξανδρεοί, or the like ; all which

^o Plinius,
l. 21. c. 34.
^x Jul. Poll.
l. 9. c. 2.

19. c. 3. *Pliny* quam nostri minam vocant, pendet drachmas Atticas centum. And *Pollux*, Ἡ μινὰ τὴν ἑκατὸν ἀργύρων ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν Ἀττικῶν: The Mina with the Athenians contained an hundred Attick Drachmes, and the Χεῦρος Δραχμῶν, or Στατήρ Χεῦρος of *Darius*, consisting of two Drachmes in weight, as we shall presently prove, it will necessarily follow, that the proportion of the Δραχμὴ Χεῦρος, was to the Δραχμὴ ἀέλουγος, in deculpā ratione: And therefore that five *Daricks*, or ten Drachmes of Gold, were equal in Valuation to an hundred Drachmes in Silver, that is, to the Μινά. The same proportion may be collected out of *Polybius*, when the *Romans* upon a Sum of Money to be received, concluded a Peace with the *Ætolians*, Antv. 1582. Ἀντὶ τοῦτο μίσεως τὸ ἀέλουγος χεῦρος, χεῦσιον ἰάν βύσανον τὸ διδούσης τὸ δέκα μινών ἀέλουγος, χεῦσιον μινών. Which words *Livy* renders thus: Pro argento si aurum dare mallet, dare convenit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus valeret. This being granted, as certainly of necessity

* Λέγουσι δὲ τινες διῶσαι
Δρακμῶν ἀρβύλας διαχ
η (as 70). *scilicet* rightly
recte the Printed Copies, w
render it ἢ or ὁλῶ) εἰς
πέντε δρακμὸς διῶται
ἀρβύλαι. Harpocr. Τετρα
δρακμοὶ Xenophonti
δίκαιά τετράληρα. Talen
autem 600 Drachma. I
Δρακμὸς sunt 20. Drach
Scal. de re num.

Greaves.

Grain in the weight. Which difference we may also allow to those of the Ancients, without any prejudice to our Enquiry. Concerning these *Aurei*, or Golden *Staters*, the Observation of * *Julius Pollux*

* Jul. Poll.
l. 9. c. 6.

is worth our Consideration: *Kai ei μὲν Δαρεικοὶ ἰσοῦντο σάτρης, οἱ δὲ Φιλίππειοι οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, χρευστοὶ πάντες ἐντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν χρευστοὶ ἑπταστακτεῖς δὲ σάτρη, οἱ δὲ σάτρη ἑπταστακτεῖς δὲ χρευστοὶ.* Of the *Staters* some were denominated from *Darius*, some from *Philip*, some from *Alexander*, and were all of Gold. And when you say the *Aureus*, the *Stater* is understood; but if you say the *Stater*, the *Aureus* is not always meant. And this is most true; for the *χρευστοὶ*, or *Aureus*, (I speak not here of the *Aureus Romanus*, this being somewhat less than these mentioned by *Pollux*) did always imply the *σάτρη*, but the *σάτρη* did not always infer the *Aureus*: The *Stater* being more general, signifying as well the *Argenteus*, as the *Aureus*, and that was double to this; the *Stater Argenteus* being four *Drachmes*, as we proved before, and therefore the same with the *Tetradrachme*, and the *Aureus* two *Drachmes*, and therefore equal in weight to the *Didrachme*. Wherefore every *Aureus* was rightly called a *Stater*, but every *Stater* could not rightly be called an *Aureus*.

From these *Aurei* then, or *χρευστοὶ σάτρης*, we may deduce the Silver *Attick Drachme*, if we either had the *Δαρεικοί*, some of which to this Day are found in *Persia*; or if we had the *Φιλίππειοι*, or the *Ἀλεξάνδρειοι*. To pass by the *Δαρεικοί*, because I have not perused any of them, and to speak only of the *Φιλίππειοι* and *Ἀλεξάνδρειοι*, of which there are many extant.

* Snellius
de re num-
maria.

Concerning the *Φιλίππειοι* * *Snellius* writes thus: *Philippi nummum unum, & Alexandri Macedonum, selectissimum veterum nummorum estimator Nicolaus Rockoxius possidet, utrumque eodem ponere granorum 179.* Now *CLXXIX* Grains of Gold in *Holland*, such as *Snellius* used, are answerable to an hundred thirty four Grains *English* and an half. Near which proportion I have observed two others, with the Inscription *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ*, excepting only a Grain or two.

As for the *Ἀλεξάνδρειοι*, I find the weight of one of the fairest for Impression, and Character, I think, in the World, which I bought at *Alexandria*, with the Image and Inscription *ΑΛΕΞ-*

ΑΝΔΕΟΥ, to be exactly of *English* Grains 133 $\frac{1}{2}$, and another at *Constantinople* 133, and in the same proportion several others. With which comparing one of mine Honoured and Learned Friend, *John Marshall*, Esq; I find his a Grain defective: And weighing since some others, out of that choice and rare *Κεμύλιον* of ancient Coins, collected by the Noble Sir *Simonds D'Evers*, Knight Baronet, I observed two of his to exceed 133 by $\frac{1}{2}$ a Grain.

Wherefore I may conclude (allowing only half a Grain for so much wanting by time, or by the Mint) from the *Aureus* being double to the *Attick Drachme*, that it hath been rightly assigned by me to be *LXVII* Grains: And from this with those Limitations above mention'd, I may conclude the *Denarius Consularis*, (which is our principal Enquiry) seeing *Galen*, l. 8. c. 3. de *Compositione Medicam.* According to the *Latine* manner of division, speaking of an Antidote prescribed by *Aesclepiades*, whereof the *Dosis* was to be one *Drachme*, or *Denarius*, writes thus: *Ἡδύμαι δὲ λείβει αὐτὸν δραχμῶν ἀρτεμιῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἅπαντες αὐτῶν τοῖς νεώτεροις ἰατροῖς ἐπὶ νοσήματι, ἄλλο δὲ νοσῶν ἡμᾶς ἐσθὲν ἢ πρὸς πρῶτον φύσις ἀνατλάει. πρὸς δὲ ἵκον δὲ ὅτι δραχμῶν λίγυρῶν νῦν ἐκ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπαντες, ὅπως Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν πάσῃ νοσήματι.* I suppose, that he means the Silver *Drachme*, for so all the later Physicians are wont to call it; neither will the nature of the thing suffer us to understand any other. And it is manifest, that in such things as we all now name the *Drachme*, the Romans name the *Denarius*.

The *Denarius* also, as we proved before out of *Philo*, *Josephus*, *St. Hierom*, and *Hesychius*, may be inferred by the *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* *Shekel*: The *Shekel*, by the joint Testimony of all of them, being equal in Valuation to the *Attick Stater Argenteus*, or *Tetradrachme*, and the *Attick Tetradrachme*, as we have shewed, to four *Denarii Consulares*: If therefore an *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* *Shekel* in Silver, fair, and not impaired, were found, we might by this as well discover the *Denarius*, as by the *Tetradrachme*, or the *Aureus*. And here I must confess I have not seen so many perfect and entire, with the *Samaritan* Characters, which certainly are the best and truest, (for those with the later Characters, invented, as some suppose, by *Esdra*s, are most of them counterfeited) as to give myself satiate

Galenus,
l. 8. de
composi
medicam

faction.

faction. For tho' I have perused that of *Arias Montanus*, now in the University of *Oxford*, which he describes in his *Traët De Siclo*, and from whence he deduces the proportion of the *Hebrew Shekel*; yet to speak the truth, there is no trust to be given to it: Nor but that the Coin is very ancient, and the Inscription upon it in *Samaritan Characters* well made; but the fides of it have been so filed away, that it hath very much lost of the true weight: For I find it to be scarce the weight of *Twenty-pence* of our *English Standard*. Whereas *Montanus*, if he made his Observation exactly, equals it to almost four *Spanish Rials*, or to four *Roman Julio's*; both which exceed two of our *English Shillings*. So that till such time as I may procure out of the East, (whither I have often sent) some perfect *Shekels*, I must be content to take up the Relations of others. And here I shall begin with *Moses Nehemani Gerundenfis*, a Jew, a Learned Expofitor of the *Pentateuch*; who, as *Arias Montanus* tells us, flourished in *Catalonia* above 400 Years since. His words, as *Montanus* hath delivered them in his *Traët De Siclo*, are these: * In *Comment. Exod. 39. Multis verbis differens significabat se non facile ad Salomonis Farrhai, qui ante illum in Galhâ scripserat, sententiam de siclo accedere; cum Salomon affirmasset, Siclum esse dimidiam argenti unciam. Postea jam absoluto in omnem Legem Commentarium opere, idem Moses Gerundenfis capite ad eam rem propriè addito, sicli estimationem à Salomone illo indicatam, re ipsâ doctus, ingenitè, & apertè, ut viros doctos, & veri inveniendi, atque docendi cupidos decet, comprobavit. Narrat autem se eo anno, quo illa scriberet, in Palestinam ex Hispania sacrorum locorum visitandi causa navè delatum Aconnam, quam nunc Fachan vocant, devenisse; ibidemque sibi ab incolis offensum fuisse nummum argenteum antiquissimum, expressis tamen signis & literis conspicuum; in cuius altero latere forma esset vasculi illius, quod manna plenum in sacra arca ad saculorum monumentum, Dei jussu, & Moysi procuratore fuerat repositum: Et in altero ramus ille admirabilis, quem in fasciculum virgularum plurimarum Aaronis nomine illatum (cum illius sacerdotali dignitatè ab emulis quibusdam obtrectaretur) postera die populus omnis florentem, amigdalaque explicantem vidit; inscriptiones etiam fuisse in eodem nummo Samaritanæ characteribus, que*

*olim communes totius Israelis literæ fuerant, ante discessionem decem tribuum à duabus, lingua planè Hebraica, quarum exemplum ex altera parte erat SEKEL ISRAËL, quod Latini sonat Siclus Israelis: Ex altera verò JERUSALEM KEDESSAH, hoc est Jerusalem sancta: Qui nummus antiquitatem cum primis magnam probabat, utpote cuius nomine Israelis, eo tempore quo omnes XII. tribus communi concordia Israelis nomen obtinebant; quoque Hierosolyma ipsi omnibus regia urbs, sancta quoque erat; eademque communis omnibus & religionis, & publicæ rei, & monete, atque literarum ratio, quæ postea discessione facta, alia atque alia utrique parti fuit. Namque Judæi, ut omnes fere scriptores asserunt, ne cum Schismaticis Israelitis ullo Sacrorum usu communicarent, eam Literarum formam, quæ nunc etiam in usu est, hoc est quadratam, mutatis valde alterius prioris figuris, adinvenere. Affirmat præterea idem Gerundenfis, nummum illum, qui Siclus inscribatur, sibi in statera pensum dimidiæ argenti uncie pondus reddidisse, offensam quoque alteram monetam dimidiato pondere minorem, isdem omarino vasis & rami figuris quæ tamen non SEKEL, sed HASZI SEKEL, hoc est dimidius Siclus diceretur, probare itaque sibi vel maxime Salomonis Farrhai, de sicli pondere, & valore, sententiam. Thus far Gerundenfis: Who if he had expressed with what half Ounce he had compared his Shekel, or if *Montanus* had done it for him, they had given the Judicious Reader better satisfaction. But this, I suppose, by a probable Conjecture, may be supplied. in saying, that he living in *Catalonia*, weighed it with the *Catalonian*, or *Spanish* half Ounce; which ^b *Villalpandus*, and ^c *Craconius*, both of them *Spaniards*, make equal to the half Ounce now used at *Rome*; that is, to Two Shillings Three Pence Farthing, q. of our Money. This Conjecture of mine will exceeding well confirm those many Observations of *Villalpandus*, a Man in this kind very curious, which he made of several ancient *Shekels* in *Silver*, who thus writes:*

* Igitur ante aliquot annos appendimus Siclum unum apud F. Ursinum & postmodum eos omnes, quos præcedenti capite percensuimus, atque comperimus singulos argenti siclos ex æquo semunibus Romanæ antiquæ respondere; ita ut ne

Græca

* *Arias Montanus de Siclo*, in libro qui inscribitur Thubal Kain, five de mensuris.

^b Eadem omnino sunt uncie, quibus olim Romani, Hispanique utuntur, &c. *Villalp. c. appar. Urb. ac Templi*, par. 1. 3. c. 20.

^c *Craconius de ponderibus*, pag. 45.

* *Villalpandus de app. Urb. bis ac Templi*, par. 2. l. 2. §. 4. c. 28.

minimum quidem bordei aut frumenti granulum, huic, vel illi lanci addi poterit, quin in eam examen propenderet. Nec mirum cuiquam videri debet, antiquissimos nummos suo pristino ponderi nunc respondere, neque ullam argenti partem vetustate consumptam tot seculis fuisse. Nam singulari Dei beneficio nobis contigit, tot integros appendere potuisse siclos. Illud quod nummi ipsi integri vetustatem maxime præ se ferentes, litteræ expresse, extantesque, argenti color, atque alia id genus multa facile probant. With these Observations of *Villalpandus*, I find the Weight of a very fair *Samaritan* Shekel, of the truly Noble and Learned Mr. Selden, to agree: To whom I stand obliged for this Favour, as he doth for the Coin, to the honourable *Antiquary*, Sir Robert Cotton. To these Testimonies, tho' (it may be) sufficient of themselves, I

* We may also insert the Observation of *Anton. August.* Dialogo 2. *Ne bo uno [siclo] che e d' argenti, & e ti pesi di quattro dramme confromi a quello che dice San Girolamo sopra Ezechielle: Where by four Drams he means half the Roman Ounce.*

shall add * one more, for farther illustration of the Weight of the *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan* Shekel, and that is of an ancient, and fair one, in Silver, amongst his Majesty's Coins, perused by the most Reverend Primate of Ireland, a Man of exquisite Learning and Judgment, who hath often assured me, that it weighs Two Shillings Five Pence of the *English* Standard; which proportion, excepting some few Grains, in which it doth exceed, does well correspond with those of *Villalpandus*. And this may farther be confirmed out of the *Kiddushf. Talmud*, כל כסם האסורה בחורו כסם צור ושל רבו הם כסם מדינה 11. *Argentum omne cuius in Lege fit mentio, intelligitur argentum Tyrium (ponderis & bonitatis ut in urbe Tyri: As = Schlinder interprets it) sed Rabbiorum argentum intelligitur argentum commune provinciale.* Taking therefore the *Silver Money* of Judea, as the *Talmud* doth, to be equal to the *Tyrian*, and that of *Carthage* to be equal to that of *Tyre*: As it is very probable, that the *Carthaginians*, being a Plantation of the *Tyrians*, might observe their Proportions in Coins, as well as their Customs in Religion, we may by these discover the Shekel to be much about the same Weight that hath been assigned: For *Ant. Augustinus*, describing in his Dialogues the Weight of two fair *Carthaginian* Coins in Silver, writes, that they are each of them somewhat more

than four Drachms: That is, as he elsewhere explains himself, a little more than half the *Roman Ounce*. If therefore we shall adhere to the Observation of *Gerundensis*, made four hundred Years since, or to these later of *Villalpandus*, and others; or to this Conjecture of mine, the *Hebrew Shekel*, and half the present *Roman Ounce*, are either both the same, or else very near in proportion.

And this may easily be granted; but if it be, how will four *Denarii Consulares*, four *Attick Drachmes*, and the *Hebrew Shekel*, be reciprocally equal one to another, as they should be by those several Testimonies before alleged? Whereas, by many hundred *Denarii Consulares*, tried by an exact Balance, I find the best of these to contain LXII Grains *English*, and the *Attick Drachme* LXVII. And the fourth part of the *Shekel* to be but CIV Grains $\frac{1}{2}$, if we admit of *Gerundensis*, and *Villalpandus*'s Observations. Which notwithstanding, according to *Pbilo*, *Josephus*, *St. Hierom*, *Epiphanius*, and *Hefychius*, should be equal to the *Attick Drachme*; and the *Attick Drachme*, by the Testimonies of the Ancients, should be likewise equal to the *Denarius*. For the Solution of this Objection I answer: First, That the *Denarius*, and *Attick Drachme*, being distinct Coins of different States, and not much unequal in the true Weight, it is no wonder, especially in *Italy*, and in the *Roman Dominions*, that they should pass one for another: No more than that the *Spanish Rials*, in our Sea-Towns in *England*, should pass for Testars, or the Quarters of the *Dolar* be exchanged for their Shillings: Whereas the *Rial* in the intrinsic Valuation, is better than our Testar by four Grains, and somewhat more; and the Quarter of the *Dolar* is better than our Shilling by more than eight Grains, or a Penny; but because they want the Valuation, Character, and Impression of our Princes, which I call the extrinsic of Coins, therefore doth the *Spanish Money* fall from its true Value with us, and so would ours do in *Spain*. By the same analogy must we conceive the *Attick Drachmes*, tho' in the intrinsic they were somewhat better worth than the *Denarius*, yet for want of the extrinsic, to have lost in *Italy*, and thereby to have become equal in Valuation to the *Denarius*. And this seems to be implied

* *Ant. August.* Dialog. 6.

Vol. Metianus de assis distributione. These words of *Metianus* I find in a *MS.* of *Metianus*, thus corrected: *Metianus enim nunc tantum valet, quantum quinarius olim.* At *peregrinus nummus loco mercis, ut nunc tetradrachmum, drachma habebatur.* Whether it be by conjecture, or it be found in some ancient *MS.* I know not, but the mention I cannot but approve.

and *Drachma*: As our Merchants, and Goldsmiths do of the *Spanish Rials*, and Quarters of a *Dolar*: Which they could not do, if they were precisely equal, but must rather be Losers in the melting or new coining of them. And

* *Budaus drachmam putat sedem ponderis esse cum denario, Onuphrius vero inter utrumque statuit rationem sesquialteram, Agricola sesquiseptimam, Pannino tres denarii quadrachmas, Agricola vero tem denarii octo drachmas iocant.* Capel. de pond. & mms. l. i. l. XXXIV denaque est libra Romana, sunt quales XCVI Drachmis, quae libra Italica, & medica. al. de re nummaria.

Therefore all modern Writers that have treated of this Argument, some of them making the *Drachma* less than the *Denarius*, others equal, but none greater, have been deceived by a double Paralogism, in standing too nicely upon the bare Words of the Ancients, without carefully examining the Things themselves. First, In making the *Denarius*, and *Attick Drachme* precisely equal, because all ancient Authors generally express the *Attick Drachme* by the *Denarius*, or the *Denarius* by the *Drachme*; either because in ordinary Commerce, and in vulgar Estimation, they passed one for another, in the *Roman State*; or else if any were so curious to observe their difference, as surely the *Koλλυεῖσαι* were, yet by reason of their nearness, and to avoid fractions, and having no other Names of Coins that were precisely equal, whereby to render them, therefore all *Greek* and *Latine* Authors, mutually used one for the other. And, Secondly, Because some Writers, (as *Dioscorides* and *Cleopatra*) affirm, that the *Roman Ounce* contained eight *Drachmes*, therefore modern Authors infer, that the *Denarius* being equal to the *Drachme*, and eight *Drachmes* being in the *Roman Ounce* (as so many were in the *Attick*) that therefore there are eight *Denarii* in the *Roman*, and consequently that the *Roman* and *Attick* Ounces are equal. Whereas *Celsus*, *Scribonius Largus*, and *Pliny*, as we shewed before, expressly write, that the *Roman Ounce* contained in their time, which was after *Dioscorides*,

seven *Denarii*. And being natural *Romans*, and purposely mentioning the proportion of the *Denarius* to the *Ounce*, thereby the better to regulate their *Doses* in Physick, it is not probable but they must better have known it than the *Grecians*. Besides, who with any certainty can collect out of these imperfect Fragments of *Dioscorides* and *Cleopatra* (for those Tracts of theirs, *de ponderibus*, are no better) whether at the first they wrote in that manner, as they are now printed? Or if they did, why might not they endeavour to introduce into the *Roman Ounce*, in imitation of the *Attick*, that manner of division, which is now generally received in our Times, of making the *Ounce*, of what kind so ever it be, to contain eight *Drachmes*. And surely this of eight being a compound Number, as Arithmeticians use to speak, was much fitter than seven, used by the *Romans*, which being a prime Number, is therefore incapable of any other division. And then for to conclude, that because the *Attick Ounce* had eight *Drachmes*, and the *Roman* as many, that therefore their Ounces are equal; is all one as to conclude, that the *Paris* and *English* Ounces are equal, because the *French* as well as we (and so do all Physicians of all Countries that I know) divide their Ounce by eight *Drachmes*. And thus, I suppose, I have sufficiently answered the first part of the Objection, concerning the *Denarius*, and the *Attick Drachme*: That if we respect the vulgar and popular Estimation, in which sense Classical Authors understood them, (for they could not well otherwise render them, than as they were current) so were they equal; but if we respect the intrinsecal Valuation, which depends upon the weight, especially when Coins are of a like fineness, so were they unequal: The *Attick Drachme* being, of our Money, Eight Pence Farthing *q*, and the *Denarius* Proportional to Seven Pence Half-penny Farthing; allowing for the Standard *English* Grains to the Silver Penny.

low, are taken from the *English* Standard at Five Shillings the Ounce (as it was formerly coined) to avoid Fraction That is, eight Grains to the Silver Penny: Whereas these times it is Five Shillings Two-pence. Not that the Ounce is increased, for this is always constant and fixed, but that for Reasons of State, our Silver Coins are diminished and consequently contain fewer Grains. And this diminution must necessarily be, as often as other Nations with whom we have Commerce, rebate in the Proportions of their Coins; or else we must be content to be Losers.

Great

* These Proportions, with those before, and those which so

Neither do I know any Authority, that either expressly, or by a true and logical consequence, can be produced out of Classical Authors, to infringe this Assertion of mine, unless it be one in *Fannius*, which being a Fragment is the less to be valued: And another in *Livy*, who thus writes, *lib. 34.* in his Description of the Triumph of *Quintilius*: *Signati argenti octoginta quatuor millia fuere Atticorum; Tetradrachmum vocant; trium ferè denariorum in singulis argenti est pondus.*

* *G. Agricola* *repositio ad Alciatum de pond. & mensuris.* *Argentei Romanorum denarii triplices sunt: Græves, qui pendunt drachmam Atticam cum dimidia: Mediocres, qui drachmam & septimam ejus partem: Leves, qui plerumque drachmam.*

Which words of his occasioned * *Georgius Agricola*, not knowing how to answer them, to bring in a distinction of three sorts of *Denarii*: The *Gravis* weighing an *Attick Drachme*

and an half, the *Mediocris* one and a seventh part, the *Levis* most commonly one; without any clear Proof or Evidence in any ancient Author, and directly contrary to all ancient Coins of the *Atticks* and *Romans* which I have seen: Of which Error he would not have been guilty, (for there is no Man that hath writ either *de ponderibus & mensuris*, or *de re metallica*, more solidly and judiciously than he) if he had been so happy as to have perused many entire *Grecian Aurei*, and *Tetradrachmes*, or else to have examined a greater and more select quantity of *Roman Coins*. To satisfy my self concerning that place of *Livy*, I had recourse to our *MSS.* here, (and I could wish I had done the like in *Italy*) and these I find to agree with the Printed Copies; tho' the Coins, which are much ancients than any *MSS.* constantly disagree. Wherefore if it be not a mistake in *Livy* himself, which I am not apt to believe in so grave an Author, I would correct the Copies by the Coins, and instead of *III ferè denariorum*, make it thus, *IV ferè denariorum*. Where the Figure *V* being resolved into two Lines, and left a little open at the bottom, might easily be taken by the Scribe for the Figure *II*.

* If this Answer be not satisfactory, we may say, as some have done, that *Livy*, *Fannius*, and the *Scholiast* of *Nicanor*, speak of the *Denarius* of the former Consuls immediately succeeding *Q. Fabius*. For there being but six of those in the Ounce, (as they suppose) the *Denarius* will be greater than the *Drachma*, as it will be less when seven were coined, under the later Consuls, which is our Assertion.

scian, or *Pseudo-Priscian* (as *Capellus* styles him) who, in his *Tract De ponderibus*, reads those words of *Livy* in the same manner, *Trium ferè Denariorum*.

As for the *Denarius Aureus*, a Name I think not known to the Ancients, which *Salmasius* and others collect out of * *Livy*, *De sedere Ætolicò. Pro ar-* Livius 38.
gento si aurum dare mallent, dare con-
venit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus valeret. I see no solid Foundation for that Opinion; all that can be collected thence is, that the Gold then was in decupla ratione to the Silver, which I have proved before. And whereas * *Plautus* hath his *Denaria Philippæa*. Plautus Rudens

Nummi octingenti auri in marsupio infuerunt,
Prætere centum denaria Philippæa.

This is a Metaphorical or Comical Expression of him, and no certain sort of Coin; which he pleasantly calls *Denarii*, because half the *ἑξακοὶ Φιλίππειοι* were equal in weight to the *Drachma*, and so also was the *Roman Denarius* supposed to be.

Nor are we to take the *κλῖσθ*, which is thrice mentioned by *St. Matthew*, and once by *St. Mark*, for the *Denarius*, as some have done: No, nor for any other sort of Coin: For it is precisely the *Latine* word *Census*; that is, *ὁ φέρε, tributum*, and so it is rendered by *St. Luke*, *Ἔξις Καίσαρος φέρον δέναι, ἢ ἕ*; where *St. Matthew*, and *St. Mark* have it. *Ἔξις δέναι κλῖσθον Καίσαρος ἢ ἕ*; Tho' *Hesychius*, and *Moscopolus*, both upon an Error, interpret it a sort of Coin. *Hesychius*, *κλῖσθ* εἶδος νομισμαδὶ ὁμοειδὲς ἀντισφάλαιον, or νομισμαδὶ ὁμοειδὲς ἀντισφάλαιον, as *M. Casaubone* corrects it: And *Moscopolus*, *κλῖσθ* νόμισμα δὲ χαλκῆς τοσάσιον, *The Census is a Coin equal in weight to the Drachme*: That is, in the Notion of the *Greeks*, equal to the *Denarius*. The Error of these two *Greek* Grammarians, is a misunderstanding the propriety of the *Latine* word *Census*: And that occasioned them to take *κλῖσθ*, and *νόμισμα* *κλῖσθ*, for the same. But the Evangelist *Matthew* puts a manifest difference between *κλῖσθ*, *tributum*, and *νόμισμα*, the Money that was paid for Tribute. *Ἐπιστάδης μοι τὸ νόμισμα κλῖσθ*, writes *St. Matthew*, *Shew me the Money of the Tribute*: Or as our new Translation renders it, *Shew me the Tribute-Money*. And the three Evangelists, *Matthew*,

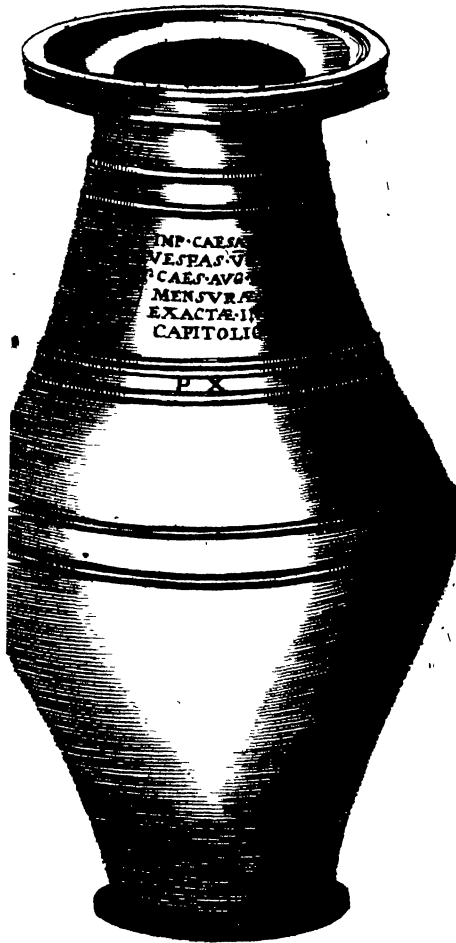
Mark, and *Luke*, immediately after expressly term this Money the *Διδαχον*. Οἱ δὲ προσέβησαν αὐτῷ Διδαχον. And they brought unto him a Penny. Which being a *Roman* Coin, and current amongst the *Jews*, being then in Subjection to the *Romans*, it is more than probable that they paid their Tribute to *Cæsar*, in the same Species of Money that was used by *Cæsar*; and not with any new or peculiar sort of Coin, according to *Baronius*, (which *M. Casaubone* hath justly confuted) but with the ordinary current Money of *Rome*, and that was the *Denarius*.

Our next Solution should be of the *Shekel*, how it could be equal to the *Tetradrachme*, and consequently to four *Denarii*, when by the constant weight of the best *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan Shekels* extant, we find them to be much less. And here I am a little unsatisfied, how to reconcile the Coins to *Philo*, *Josephus*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Hierom*, and *Hesychius*: Or else, if we admit of the Coins (as I know no just Exceptions against them) how to excuse these Authors of too supine Negligence in comparing them, if so be they ever were so curious as to collate them with the *Attick Tetradrachmes*. For if we shall say, that the *Silver Stater*, or *Attick Tetradrachme*, was a Foreign Coin, in respect of the Rep. of the *Jews*, and therefore that in *Judea* it might somewhat fall from its true Valuation, we shall say no more than what Reason and Experience confirm. But then that the *Tetradrachme* should sink so low as to lose Four-pence-half-penny, if we take the Reverend *Primate's* Observation before-mentioned; or which is more Six-pence *q.* if we follow that of *Grun- densis*, and *Villalpandus*, or those of mine, upon Two Shillings Nine Pence Half-penny, for so much was the *Tetradrachme* of our Money, it may seem too great a diminution; especially the *Attick* Money being as pure, and fine, as that of the *Shekel*; and therefore no Goldsmith amongst the *Jews*, but would

have given a greater Rate only to melt it, and turn it into Bullion. Yet on the other side, when I consider the Practice of the Money-changers amongst the *Jews* at this Day, which it may be was as bad in *Philo's* and *Josephus's* time, and might occasion our Saviour not long before to whip them out of the Temple, which they by their Extortions had made a Den of Thieves; who now make it a Trade at *Alexandria*, and elsewhere, in changing *Spanish* Dollars into * *Madines*, (or the small Silver Money current in *Egypt*) to gain one or two *Madines*

* At my being in *Æ* thirty five *Madines* passed a Dollar: *Sands* in his Travels writes forty.

upon every Dollar, notwithstanding the *Spanish* Money is as frequent, and as well known in *Turky*, as their own. I can the better imagine they might make the same advantage, or a little more, upon the *Attick Tetradrachmes*: Which it may be also were not permitted, being contrary to their Law, to pass so generally with them, as the *Spanish* Money now doth (by reason of the Image of *Pallas*, and the *Noëua* instamped:) Or if they were permitted, yet they might not be so common, and so well known: And therefore upon Strangers in *Judea*, in giving them current Money for that which was foreign, they would gain so much the more. So that *Philo*, and *Josephus*, when they equal the *Shekel* to the *Tetradrachme*, may have taken it upon the Relation and Practice of these Money-changers, and not upon any Experiment of their own. The same Answer may serve for *Epiphanius*, *St. Hierom*, and *Hesychius*: Tho' it may be these borrowed their Descriptions from *Philo* or *Josephus*, who long preceded them: And being *Jews*, and living in the time when the State of the *Jews* was in being; whereas these did not, their Authority is the more to be credited. And thus have we finished our Enquiry of the *Denarius Consularis*, by comparing it with the *Attick Drachmes*, and the *Hebrew Shekels*.

CONGH VESPASIANI IN PALATIO
FARNESIANO ROMÆ.

The last and best way to discover the true weight of it, is by the *Congius Romanus*, whereof by a special Providence, as * *Petrus*, and *Villalpandus*, have well observed, the Original Standard of *Vespasian* is still extant in *Rome*. This, as the Superscription upon it, *X P* demonstrates, contains the weight of ten *Roman Pounds*, and is equal (by the joint Confession of all Authors treating * *Galen* l. i. f. this Argument) to fix *Sextarii*. Again, the *Sextarius*, as * *Galen* writes, "Ἐχ-"

μίδυ λίβρου καὶ ἡμιστάδι καὶ ἕκλον, ὡς ἔστι τὰς πέντε ἀγγύλιαι καὶ. Contains one Pound and an half, and a sixth part, so that it hath in all twenty Ounces. Or as * *Oribasius*, ^b Or Physician to *Julian* the Apostate, in- ^{L. 2.} forms us, is equal to the *Roman Pound*, and eight Ounces. ^{Start filiu} Ἰταλικὸν κρημίου ἔχει ἑξῆς μῆ. ἑξῆς λίβρου μίδυ, καὶ ἀγγύλιαι ἑ. The Italian Amphora contains forty eight *Sextarii*, and the *Sextarius* one Pound and eight Ounces. The Capacity therefore of this *Congius* being filled up with fix *Sextarii*, of some certain sort of Liquors, (for it is *Liquorum mensura*) will give us ten *Roman Pounds*, and consequently their Ounces and *Denarii*. The only difficulty is, with what sort of Liquor we must measure it: For all Liquors are not of the same Gravity. And this is well cleared by * *Rhemnius Fannius*, and others.

* *Rhemnius Fannius*, carmina de pond. & mens.

*Ullud praterea tecum cohibere me-
mento,
Finitum pondus varios servare li-
quores.
Nam Libra, ut memorant, bessem sex-
tarius addet,
Seu puros pendas latices, seu dona
Lyci.*

The *Sextarius*, saith *Fannius*, contains one Pound and eight Ounces, whether we weigh clear Water, or Wine: Where by Wine, according to * *Agri-^d Agricola*, is to be understood, *Vinum Fuli*. ^{L. 3. de p. dec. reru} *vum*, such as the *Greeks* call κρημίου. Rather, I imagine, that Wine, which *Galen* calls λανόν, καὶ ὁλοκρεόν. The *Sextarius* then being one Pound eight Ounces of clear Water, or pure Wine, and fix *Sextarii* being in the *Congius*, it is most evident that the *Congius* contains ten Pounds of Water, or of Wine. This also appears by a *Plebsciturum* of the two *Silii*, *Publius*, and *Marinus*, which is to be seen in the best Copies of * *Sextus Pompeius*.

* *Sextus Pompeius* verb.

VTI. QUADRANTAL. VINI. OCTOGINTA
PONDO. SIET
CONGIUS. VINI. DECEM. IS. SIET
SEX. SEXTARII. CONGIUS. SIET. VINI
DVO. DE. QVINQVAGINTA. SEXTARII
QUADRANTAL. SIET. VINI
SEXTARIUS. ÆQVVS. ÆQVO. CVM. LIBRA-
RIO. SIET

The same is confirmed by * *Diosco-^{Dioc}rides*, who for farther certainty, mentions with what sort of Water we should measure it: And that is with

* *Petrus*, l. 3. de antiq. li- quid. arid. que mens. Villalp. de appar. Ur- bis ac Tem- pli, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25. * *Galen* l. i. f. de compos.

Gassendus, the one at Rome, with the

* This Congius I had weighed, if I could have procured a Balance of such exactness, is was fitting for such a work. The want of which occasioned Villalpandus to suspect the Observation of Patus; tho' Patus writes thus of himself. Plenum, cum iustissima trutinâ, quâ bodie Roma utimur cum appendicem [Congium], invenimus aquam, quâ eum compleveram, libras nollri temporis novem, uncias sex semis efficere, quibus uncias quinque drachmas quatuor, scripulum unum, & grana XIV (que amplius sunt in his nollris, quam in antiquis libris computando eum congium libras decem) & ultra scripulum unum, & grana XIV (de quibus nullam rationem habendam esse

one at Rome, with the Roman Weights, from the * Original Congius it self; the other at Aix, with the Paris Weights, from a Model, or Copy of that at Rome, procured by Peireskian. And here to compare the Denarius Consularis with their Observations, it is necessary to have exactly both the Roman and Paris Weights. The former, with as much accurateness as it was possible, were taken in Rome: The other were sent me by Monsieur

gliff, such as the Troy Pound is 5760; the whole Congius therefore consisting of ten Pounds, will be 57560 English Grains. The other Observation is related by * Gassendus, in his excellent Discourse De Vita Peireskii: Ut paucis Peire ergo res dicatur, cautiones adhibuimus easdem, quas Lucas Patus, & Villalpandus, dum vas ipsum, ad summum colulum puteali aquâ opplevimus, expendimus, vasis pondus subduximus. Reprehendimus autem aquam, quæ Romano pondere esse debuit decem librarum, seu unciarum centum viginis, esse pondere Parisiensis (quale nempe Parisiis exploratum, missumque est) librarum septem, minus uncia quadrante: Seu unciarum centum undecim, & quadrantum uncie trium. Deinde ex hac proportionem collegimus unciam Romanam continere grana

prædictis penere incerte. Villalpandus trying it long after Patus, with more Care, and with a Balance made of purpose, found it to be exactly ten such Pounds as are now used in Rome. All that I could do was to fill the Capacity of it with Milium well cleaned, and to compare it with the English Measures taken from the Standards. It contained of our Measures for Wine three Quarts, one Pint, and one eighth part of a Pint. Of our Corn, or dry Measures, three Quarts and about one sixth part of a Pint. At my being in Italy, there was found amongst the Ruines at Rome a Semicongius in Brass, of the same Figure with this of Vespasian's, the sides much consumed by Rust. This I also measured, and found it to be the half of Vespasian's Congius. From this Measure of the Congius we may rightly apprehend how vast that Draught was of Novellus Torquatus, who drank three of these Congii at once: From whence he was called Novellus Tricongius. The Story is recited by Pliny [l. 14. c. 22.] Apud nos cognomen etiam Novellus Torquatus Mediolanensis ad Proconsulatum usque præturâ bonis gestis, tribus congiis (unde & nomen illi fuit) epotis uno impetu, spectante miraculi gratiâ Tiberio Principe in senectâ jam seculo, atque etiam aliis seculo, sed ipsâ juveni ad merum ponior fuerat. In the same Chapter Pliny likewise discourses thus of Cicero, Son to that famous Orator: Tergillus Cleonem Marci filium bimos congius simul haurire solitum. Marce Agrippa à temulento juxhum impa-

of honourable Quality in Paris, who compared them with the Standard. To begin with that of Villalpandus, who gives us a large Description, with how much Caution and Circumsppection, and with how exquisite a Balance he twice made his Experiment, whereby he discovered the weight of it in Water to be exactly answerable to ten such Pounds as are now used in Rome: Whence he concludes, "Constante asserimus antiquam Romanorum libram, unciam, ac pondera, tot ætatum successione, ac Romani imperii perturbationibus minime immutata fuisse, sed eadem per manus tradita usque ad nostra tempora perdurasse. This Roman Pound of his reduced to the English Standard for Silver, or Troy Weight, with which I have faithfully collated it, is 5256 Grains En-

gentia septuaginta sex in a Parisiensis continentur. Unde & illis in drachmâ collectis, obvenire cuilibet drachmæ grana sexaginta septem: Idque proinde consuevit pondus denarii Cæsarei, quem dictum est fuisse * drachmalem.

Now the Paris Ounce sent to me by Monsieur Hardy, containing four hundred seventy two Grains English, and an half; and the Congius, according to Gassendus, of the Paris Ounces 111 $\frac{1}{2}$, the complete Weight of the Congius, in Grains, will be 52801 $\frac{1}{2}$. Which Sum exceeds that of Villalpandus by 241 $\frac{1}{2}$; that is, by more than half a Roman Ounce. This difference (tho' it is not great) between these two Observations of theirs, might arise, either from the unequal swelling of the Water in the Congius; or from the different Gravity of Fountain-water at Rome, and at Aix; or from some inequality of the Model and Original; or from some defect in the Jugum, or Beam of the Balance, which if it were not made by a very skillful Hand, by the pressure of so great a Weight, would suffer some alteration. Which way soever it was, either by some, or all of these, the difference cannot prejudice my Conclusion a com-

* The Inference of Gassendus, I easily grant, that the Denarius, under some of the Cæsars, was Drachmalis; that is, the eighth part of the Roman Ounce. But neither was it always so under the Cæsars nor if it had been so, will therefore follow that it was Drachmalis, or the eighth part in respect of the Attick Ounce. Seeing the Athenian Ounce was greater than the Roman as we have before proved and therefore the Denarius Consularis, which was the fifth part of the Roman Ounce, was scarce the eighth part of the Attick. Wherefore he must see how he can make it good, where he brings Peireskian, in the Second Book of his Life, thus discoursing — Denarium, cum tempore Regum pendisset trientem uncie, sub antiquâ tamen Republica pendisset solum sextantem, recentiore partem septimam, primis Cæsariis octavam, et drachmam (Attica nem drachma æqualem.)

pleat Grain ; which no reasonable Man but will allow, either for Coining, or for Waste : For if I divide 52560, the number of the Grains in the *Congius*, according to *Villalpandus*, by DCCCXL the number of the *Denarii* in ten Pounds, the Sum will be LXII $\frac{1}{2}$. Or if we shall follow *Gassendus*, tho' I should rather prefer *Villalpandus*, because he took his immediately from the Original, then will the weight of the *Denarius Consularis* be LXII $\frac{1}{2}$. The Fraction in both without any inconvenience may be omitted. And this proportion of the weight of the *Denarius Consularis*, if it were necessary, I could farther prove by some of the *Aurei Consulares*, which often were double in weight to the *Denarii*, as the $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\iota$ were double to the $\Delta\epsilon\gamma\chi\upsilon\alpha\iota$ $\Delta\epsilon\gamma\chi\upsilon\alpha\iota$; as also by several *Quinarii* in *Syver* (which are the half of the *Denarii*) by a very ancient

* Of ϵ the Roman Semuncia, I have bought, and seen several Brasses. Besides one, which I owe to my very worthy and learned Friend, Doctor *Pag.*

and perfect * *Semuncia*, by a *Quadrans* and *Triens*, all of them in Brasses of mine own, and by several other Weights examined abroad. One

of them I cannot pretermitt, being near five Roman Pounds, and very remarkable for this Inscription : EX. AUCTORITATE. Q. JUNI. RUSTICI. PR. VR. but the weight of it is a little defective ; part of the *Silex* (as many of the ancient Roman Weights that I have

* *Patus*, l. 1. de antiq. Rom. & Grac. interv. mensur. makes mention of a *Libra Romana* in Brasses, procured by *Fulvius Ursinus*, of singular rarity : In caput supremâ planitie argenteis literis hæc erat nota I, & in circumferentiâ hæc alia EX. AUCT. D. CAES. but this I had not the happiness to see in Italy.

seen, were * *ex silice*, which is as hard, or harder than Marble) being broken away, else the rest is very entire and well polished. But I conceive, that by those former ways I have so irrefragably demonstrated the true ponderous-

ness of the *Denarius Consularis*, that it would be thought superfluous, or a vain ostentation, to endeavour any farther to prove it. Wherefore instead of that I shall handle the *Denarius Cæsareus*, which is our second Enquiry.

The *Denarius Cæsareus*, was that which was made under the Government of the *Cæsars*. And this instead of the Face and Inscription *ROMA*, with the Character X or χ on the Fore-part, and the Impress of the *Bigæ*, or *Quadrigæ*, on the Reverse, (in which kind most of the *Denarii Consulares* were stamped) had on the Reverse several Impresses, and on the other side the Image or Re-

semblance of the Emperor : Which occasioned our Saviour to ask the Question, *Great* when a $\Delta\iota\omega\delta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma$, or Roman Penny was shewed to him, * *Whose is this Image* ^{Mat. 22} and Superscription ? They say unto him, *Cæsar's*. This *Denarius Cæsareus*, if we respect some definitive quantity and weight, was as various and uncertain as the *Denarius Consularis* of the later Consuls was constant and fixt ; being under the first Emperors, sometimes more, sometimes less, as the Reasons and Exigencies of the State did require, or the Profuseness and Prodigality of those Times. Yet this uncertainty (as far as I have observed) was limited within some certain and determinate bounds : The *Denarius Cæsareus* never exceeding the seventh part of the Roman Ounce, and never being less than the eighth part, but often in a middle proportion between both, and that with much inequality. And thus made * *Vil-* ^{b Villalp} *alpandus*, after many Experiments at ^{appar. ut} *Rome*, to conclude, that out of the *Denarii* nothing concerning the *Roman* ^{ac temp} *Weights* could be determined. Tho' ^{par. 2. lib} *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Craconius*, *Snellius*, and several others, before and after him, are of a contrary Opinion. And it may be, if *Villalpandus* had distinguished between the difference of Times, and in them of the different Coins, and considered those of the Consuls, distinctly from those of the *Cæsars*, and those of the former *Cæsars* from those of the later, he would have reformed his Judgment : For it plainly appears, upon examination, that the diminution of their Weight was an Invention introduced after *Antonius* the *Triumvir's* time, whereas before the *Denarius* was fix'd. *Miscuit*, saith * *Pliny*, *Denario* ^{Plin. l. 3} *Triumvir Antonius ferrum, alii è pondere subtrahunt* (his meaning is under the Emperors, to *Vespasian's*, or his own time) *cum sit justum oblongina quatuor è libris signari*. Where he says very well in speaking so generally, *alii è pondere subtrahunt*, without precisely limiting the proportion. For this, as we observed, was very various and undeterminate : So that whereas the just number of the *Denarii*, according to the Practice of the later Consuls, should be eighty four in the Roman Pound, we find by the Weight of the best of them under the former *Cæsars*, that they coined sometimes eighty six, eighty eight, &c. till at last there came to be ninety six *Denarii* in the Roman Pound, that is, eight in the Ounce. And this,

Great
Mat. 22

^{b Villalp}
^{appar. ut}
^{ac temp}
^{par. 2. lib}
^{disp. 2. c.}

^{Plin. l. 3}
^{c. 9.}

Greaves.

^a Arias Montanus in
Thubal
Cain, sive
de mensuris.

^a Plinius,
l. 3. c. 33.

^c Villalpand.
de app. Ur-
bis ac
Templi,
par. 2. l. 2.
^d Strab. in
Eratosth.
Batav. l. 2.
c. 5.
ibid.

by a very necessary consequence, may be inferred out of another place of Pliny, if we take for granted that some learned Moderns confess, and the Gold and Silver Coins found to this Day, of the later Consuls, and first Emperors, strongly prove, that as the Atticks made their *Ἀεὺρος*, or *Aureus*, double in weight to the *Δραχμὴ Ἀεὺρε*: So did the Romans make their *Aureus* double in weight to the *Denarius*. Which proportion they might borrow from the Athenians, and other Grecians, who, as ^a Arias Montanus imagines, first received it from the Practice of the Hebrews: Or rather, as I suppose, from the Phenicians, and these from the Hebrews. From whence soever it came, it is not much material in our Enquiry: That which we may safely conclude from thence is this; that the Gold being in respect of weight, double to the Silver, the *Aureus Romanus* falling in its weight, the *Denarius* likewise of necessity must fall: Else could they not have continued in *duplâ ratione*. Now in what manner the *Aureus* was first coined, and how afterwards it lost of its primitive weight, Pliny informs us: *Aureus nummus, post annum LXII percussus est, quam argenteus, ita ut scrupulum valeret sestertius vicenis, quod efficit in libras ratione sestertiorum, qui tunc erant, sestertius IOCCCC. Post hæc placuit XL. M. signari ex auri libris: Paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuisse vero ad XLV. M.* For this Testimony, and the former, we are to thank Pliny, seeing there is neither Greek nor Latine Author extant, from his time to Theodosius, that gives us any certainty, what to conclude concerning the ancient Coins. And therefore since this later is of great consequence, but somewhat corrupted, I compared it with the MSS. in the Vatican and Florentine Libraries, and with a fair one in Babel-College, which renders the later part of it thus: *Postea placuit X. XL. signari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuisse vero ad XLVIII.* Where for XLVIII, ^c Villalpandus corrects, or rather corrupts the Text, in writing XLV. But Agricola, and ^d Snellius read it by conjecture thus: *Post hæc placuit XLII signari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, minutissime vero ad XLVIII.* And ^e Snellius gives a Reason of it in his *Eratosthenes Batavus*. *Numerita argentei denarii, & aurei nummi eadem manet analogia, pondere*

subduplo, ut quamdiu octoginta quatuor argentei è libra, & è singulis uncis septem cudebantur; tam diu quoque aurei duo & quadraginta libram implerent. Postquam vero argentei nummi pondus imminutum est: Ut sex & nonaginta in libram constituerentur, tum quoque duo de quinquaginta aurei, pondere tanto leviores, in singulis libris cudi ceperunt. Which Conjecture seems not altogether improbable, if we respect the later Consuls, and first *Cæsars*, in whose Times we find the *Aurei* to have been double to the *Denarii Cæsares*; but surely long before Justinian, the *Aurei*, or as they were then also called the *Solidi*, lost that proportion to the Silver, and kept it only to the *Semisses Aurei*, to which they were double, as they were in a treble proportion to the *Tremisses*.

Wherefore instead of these Conjectures (which have been the bane of many a good Author) of Agricola, Villalpandus, and Snellius, I would read the later part of those words of Pliny, as the MSS. do, till I can see some concluding Reason, or good Authority of ancient Authors to the contrary: For I do not see why the Romans at the first might not coin forty *Aurei* out of the *Libra*, as well as forty Silver *Teruncii* out of the *Denarius*: Which Varro ¹ Varr assures us they did. And who knows de L. I whether at the first making of their Gold Coins, which was sixty two Years, according to Pliny, after the first Coining of Silver, they endeavoured to keep them in *dupli ratione*, in respect of weight: Which graceful manner they might afterwards introduce by Commerce with the Grecians.

And here, e'er I proceed any farther in my Enquiry after the *Denarius Cæsareus*, I cannot but complain, either of the Negligence of former Times, or Unhappiness of ours; in that not one Author extant mentions the true Weight of the *Denarii*, under the *Cæsars*. ² *Xiphilinus* relates in his Epitome of *Dionysius*, how Antoninus Caracalla corrupted, and abused the Coins; but makes no mention of the Weight. *Τῶν δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὰτε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νόμισμα κίθ' ὅλων ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ χρυσίου, ὁ παρὰ τὸν ἡμῶν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ μελλίδος καλασσεύμενον, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ χρυσίου καλασσεύμενον ἰκανῶς.* To Antoninus, as other things, so also his Money was adulterated: For the Silver and Gold, which he gave us, the one was prepared of Lead silvered over, and the other of Brass gilt. ³ *Suidas* also, speaking of the *Monetarii* writes thus:

² Xip
mus it
ton.
calla.

³ Sui
vocc
den
Mon

Μονηταριοι οἱ τῶν τῶ νόμισμα τεχνίται, οἱ δὲ Ἀυρηλιανῶν ἐπέθεσαν τῶ νόμισμα, καὶ τὸν ἀρχοντα Φιλικησίμου ἀντιδύτης ἐμφύλιον ἐπέθεσαν πόλεμον, ἐς μὲν Αὐρηλιανὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπερβύθη καὶ ἀστεινὸν ὥμοις κατεργάσατο. The Monetarii are Artizans employed in the making of Money. These, in Aurelian's time, corrupted the Money; and, having slain their Governour Felicissimus, raised a Civil War; whom Aurelianus with much difficulty conquering, put to Death with exquisite Torments. And many good Laws were made by several Emperors, against adulterating and corrupting of Coins: And those executed with much severity, even in the time of Christianity: For we find under the Emperor

Justinian, that such as offended in gold, were not only put to Death, but a cruel and bitter Death by Fire. *IN FES SOLIDI. C. THEOD. SI SOLIDI CIRCULUM EXTERIO-INCIDERIT, VEL ADVLTE-*

RI. OMNES solidi, in quibus nostri vultus, ac veneratio una est, uno pretio aestimandi sunt, atque vendendi, quantum diversa forma mensura sit: Quod si quis aliter fecerit, aut capite puniri debet, aut flammis tradi, vel alia poenā mortiferā. Quod ille etiam patietur, qui mensuram circuli exterioris adaserit, ut ponderis minuat quantitatem, vel figuratum solidum, adulterā imitatione, in vendendo subiecerit. In Constantius's time the same Punishment was inflicted. *L. PRÆMIO. C. THEOD. DE FALSA MONETA. Præmio accusatoribus propositio, quicumque solidorum adulter potuerit reperiri, vel à quoquam fuerit publicatus, illico omni dilatione submois flammarum exustionibus mancipetur.* And afterwards under Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius, they were accounted, and suffered as *Rei lese Majestatis*. *L. FALSÆ MONETÆ. COD. EODEM.* False monetæ rei, quos vulgo paracharactas vocant, Majestatis crimine tenentur obnoxii. But no where is it mentioned concerning the Denarii, and Quinarii, which were the Silver Coins in common use, how much should be their weight. Wherefore in such a silence of ancient Authors, we have no more solid and sure Foundation of our Enquiry, than either by our selves to examine the weight of the fairest Coins under the Emperors; or else to relate what others long before our time have observed.

Antonius Augustinus in general informs

perfection, and how they began to decline with the Roman Empire: As commonly when Money comes to be abased, and that the Mint, like the Pulse, beats too slowly and irregularly, it is an evident Symptom of some Distempers in the Bowels of a State.

* The Medals of all times (saith he) [are worthy to be observed by Artizans] beginning from Alexander the Great, in whose time they principally flourished, till the Emperor Gallienus, when they chiefly fell together with the Empire. From thence to the end of Justinian, there are found good Medals of all the Emperors, but with a notable diminution of their politeness and ancient perfection. Those which we have after Justinian are unsufferably bad. The fault by all Men is assigned to the Huns, and Vandals, and Alanes, and Goths, and Longobards, and to other barbarous and savage Nations, who conquered the greatest part of Europe. Erizzo, who lived almost an hundred Years since, a very diligent Man in the Roman Coins, but it is to be wished that he had used more Judgment in the explication of them, more particularly informs us.

* Having compared the weight of those sorts of Money, which are equal in weight to the Roman Denarius, with the Medals of Silver, which have the Heads of the Roman Emperors imprinted, I have found them not a little different, so that as it were all those Medals weigh less than the Denarius. And having also weighed those Medals which have the Effigies of the Cæsars, I have continually found them different amongst themselves in weight. This uncertainty so troubled Villalpandus, after many Experiments made at Rome, that he knew not what to determine. And it seems * Blondus long before conceived it impossible: *Hec omnia qualia per singulas ætates fuerint, ex amissum ostendere, non magis diffiale, quam impossibile fuerit.* non so-
 * Le medaglie di tutti i te
 [sono degne da esser offerte
 degli Artifici] cominciando
 Alessandro magno, nell' età
 quale principalmente fiorin
 per fin al tempo dell' Imper
 Gallieno, nel quale cadder
 fatto insieme con l' imperio.
 indi poi in fin di Giustina
 trovano bon medaglie di
 gli Imperadori ma con no
 perdita della politezza, &
 fessione antica. Quel poi

Great

de
 ui

lum quia obsecris & nostrâ etate ignotis verbis sunt à majoribus tradita, sed quia omnis ferè ætas suam habuit cudendi varietatem, & formam. Wherefore, for farther satisfaction of the Reader, I shall relate some Observations of mine own: Especially those of the twelve first *Cæsars*, which I took, with many others, by an accurate Balance, from some choice Cabinets in *Italy*. And first, I shall begin with the Gold Coins: For seeing the *Aurei* under the former *Cæsars* were in *dupla ratione* to the *Denarii*, therefore the weight of those being known, we cannot be ignorant of the weight of the *Denarii Cæsarei*. Besides, they are not subject to be consumed by Time and Rust, but only *ex interimento*, and therefore we may the safer give Credit to them. And lastly, because the difference, tho' but of a Grain, is of some consideration in Gold, the Masters of the Mint use to be the more circumspect about them: Whereas in Silver Coins, since it is hardly worth the pains to stand precisely upon the excess or defect of every Grain, therefore there are few of these so exact, but either exceed or want in the very Mint, one or two Grains, and sometimes more.

The Weight of some AUREI, under the first Twelve CÆSARS.

	Eng. Grains.
* C. CAES. COS. III. —	CXXIII 7 1/2
* A second, on the Reverse, A. HIRTIVS. PR. —	CXXII 1/2
* A third —	CXXIV 1/2
AVGVSTVS. CAESAR. —	CXIX 1/2
III. VIR —	CXIX 1/2
A second, on the Reverse, OB CIVES SERVATOS —	CXIX 1/2
* A third, on the Reverse, DIVOS. AVG. DIVI. F. —	CXIX 1/2
TIBERIVS —	CXVIII 1/2
* A second, on the Forepart, TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS —	CXVII 1/2
On the Reverse, a Temple —	
CALIGVLA —	
CLAVDIVS, on the Reverse, S. P. Q. R. OB. CIVES SERVATOS. —	CXVII 1/2
A second —	CXVII 1/2
A third —	CXVIII 1/2
* NERO, on the Reverse —	

* A second, on the Reverse, JVPPIFER. CVSTOS —	CXIII 1/2
* A third, on the Reverse, CONCORDIA. AVGVSTA —	CXIII 1/2
GALBA, on the Reverse, CONCORDIA. PRO VINCIARVM —	CXV 1/2
OTHO, on the Reverse, SECVRITAS S. P. Q. R. —	CVIII 1/2
VITELLIVS, on the Reverse, LIBERTAS RESTITVTA —	CXII 1/2
VESPASIANVS, on the Reverse, PACI AVGVSTI. —	CXI 1/2
* A second, on the Reverse, COS. III. TR. POT. —	CXIV 1/2
A third, on the Reverse, PONT. MAX. TR. P. COS. VI —	CXI 1/2
* A fourth, on the Reverse, PACI AVGVSTI —	CVIII 1/2
A fifth, on the Reverse, PACI AVGVSTI —	CX 1/2
* T. VESPASIANVS, on the Reverse, ANNONA AVG —	CIX 1/2
* DOMITIANVS. COS. II. —	CXIII 1/2
* A second, DOMITIANVS. COS. VI. CAESAR. AVG. F. on the Reverse, IV. VENTVTIS. PRINCEPS —	CXII 1/2

These *Aurei* were selected by me out of several others, as the fairest and entirest; and amongst these to such as I have prefixed an Asterisk, they are such as seemed so perfect, that I could make no just Objections against them. By these it appears that *Pliny* speaking of the Gold Coins, rightly informs us: c. 3. *Paulatimque Principes imminuere pondus, imminuisse vero ad XLVIII. That by degrees the Emperors lessened the Weight [of the Aurei] to the forty eighth part of the Roman Pound; that is, to the fourth part of the Ounce.* For this is the lowest Weight, that I find, till *Heliogabalus's* time, who coined new sorts of *Aurei*, different from what had been the constant Practice of the Roman State: Some of which were the fiftieth part of the *Libra Romana*, and others again so massy, that they were *Centeni*, or *Bilibres*; which not long after were altered and abolished by *Alexander Severus*. The manner is expressed by *Ælius Lampridius*, in the Life of *Alex. Severus*: *Formas binarias, ternarias, & quaternarias. & denarias etiam atque amulius.*

*Lampri-
dus in
Alex. Se-
vero.*

quas Helio-gabalus invenerat, reser-
præcepit, nec in usu cuiusquam versari.
Atque ex eo his materiæ nomen inditum
est, cum diceret plus largienti hanc esse
Imperatori causam, si cum multis solidos
minores dare posset, dans decem vel am-
plius una forma, triginta, & quinquaginta, & centum dare cogeretur. Under
the same Alex. Severus began the *Semisses Aureorum*, and *Tremisses* to be
coined, which had not formerly been in
use. The *Semisses* were answerable in
weight to the *Denarii Cæsarei*, when
they were least, that is, ninety six in
the Roman Pound; tho' *Agricola*, *Vil-*
lupandus, and others, upon a mistake,
equal them then to the *Drachma Attica*.

* *Ælius Lampridius* writing of Alex.
Severus, plainly expresses, that in his
time they began. *Tumque primum se-*
missis aureorum formati sunt, tunc etiam,
cum ad tertiam partem aurei velligal de-
cidisset, tremisses, dicente Alexandro etiam
quartarios futuros, quod minus non
posset. Afterwards *Constantine*, *Constan-*
tius, *Julian*, and other succeeding Em-
perors, lessened the weight of the *Aurei*,
whereby there came to be seventy two
in the Roman Pound, so that each of
them weighed the *Sextula*, or four *Scru-*
pula. That the *Aurei* of *Constantine's*
time were sixty two in the Roman Pound,
is most evident out of the *Codex Theodo-*
sius, where they are also absolutely
called *Solidi*, without the addition of
Aurei. * *L. SIQVIS. C. THEOD. DE*
PONDERATORIBVS, ET AI'RI IN-
LATIONE. *Siquis solidos appendere*
volverit auri colli, septem solidos qua-
ternorum scripulorum, nostris vultibus
figuratos, adpendat pro singulis uncis.
XIV. verò pro duabus, juxta hanc for-
mam omnem summum debiti inlaturus,
eadem ratione servanda, etsi materiam
quis inferat, ut solidos dedisse videatur.

* *Gui. Pancirolli*, in his *Thesaurus varia-*
rum lectionum utriusque juris, reads VI
Solidos, instead of VII, and XII instead
of XIV. And that it must necessarily
be so, besides that the *Solidi* of *Constan-*
tine now extant prove as much, may be
collected out of the proportion of weight
which is here assigned by *Constantine*
himself to the *Solidi*, and that is four
Scruples, or the *Sextula*. For the *Soli-*

Aurei by *Jullianus*, in like manner, are
termed *Solidi*. L. QVOTIESCVA QVIA. *Græc.*
C. DE SUSCEPTORIBVS, PRÆPOSTI-
TIS, ET ALCARIS. Where he also
defines the same weight.

* Quotiescunque certa
summa solidorum pro ti-
tuli qualitate debetur, &
auri massa transmitti-
tur, † in LXXII. soli-
dos libra feratur ac-
cepta. The same thing
is implicitly confirmed
by *Isidorus*, (l. 16. Orig.
c. 24.) *Solidus alio no-*
mine sextula dicitur,
quod is sex uncia com-
putatur. Hunc ut dixi-
mus, vulgus aurum so-
lidum vocat, cuius ter-
tiam partem ideo dice-
runt tremissem, quod so-
lidum faciat ter missum.

Where * *Agricola*, I
imagine, truly finds fault
with him for calling the
Solidus, *Sextula*; tho'
the proportion he as-
signs is right; that is,
that the *Solidus* was the
sixth part of the Roman
Ounce, and contained
equalis subjeçt, the weight
of the *Sextula*, as it is
attested by * *Zonaras*:
Or, which is all one,
that seventy two *Solidi* were made out
of a Roman Pound, as *Justinian* before
expressly assigned: And as infinite store
of the *Solidi*, or *Aurei*, from *Constan-*
tine to *Iocæ*, which I have weighed,
manifestly prove.

In the same place of * *Isidorus* we
may collect the Reason why the *Au-*
reus was called *Solidus*. After that, the
Semisses, and *Tremisses Aurei* were coin-
ed, the *Aureus* was called *Solidus*, be-
cause nothing was wanting to it. *So-*
lidum enim Antiqui integrum dicebant,
& totum: In which sense the *Solidus*
was also taken for the *Libra*, or *Assis*;
that is, as the *Assis* is taken for the
whole, according to that usual Phrase
of *Civilians*, *Ex asse heres*, when one
is Heir to the whole Inheritance: So
the *Solidus* was taken for the whole

* *Cod. lib. 1. c. tit. 7. c.*
rescripto Valentini & v-
lensis Imp.

† This excellent place ve-
hardly escaped *Holowden*
Emendation, who had a pre-
mind to have played the *Co-*
rick, and to have altered
For he thus writes: *In vetu-*
code in rasam memoriam
ita reperta sunt, ut certum,
alteram, & fortasse genui-
lectionem solutam, & li-
dum, duodequingenta, a-
certe quinquaginta. A go-
ly consequence, because
Parchment was scraped, a
the first writing altered, the
fore the true reading must
expunged, and a false o-
put in. Whereas he mix-
with mere Candour and
geniuty have concluded
contrary, that the false c-
was expunged by the Scri-
and the true one inserte-
For who uses in Copying
MSS. to scrape any thing
of the Apographum, but
when by collating it he fi-
it to be different from
Original?

* *Agricola*, l. 2. de po-
& temperat. monetarium

* *Zonar*. l. 3.

* *Codex*
Theodof.
l. 1. de pon-
deratoribus

* *Gui. Pan-*
cirolli the-
saur. var.
left. utr.
juris.

* *Vol. I*
ianus c.
assis d

twelve Ounces, and the Ounce of six
Solidi, the whole Pound therefore will

hence, (*Idem* * *Salmasius*) *Idem* *Roman*
idem pondus habere capis in auro, quod solidus, id est, sex balci

called that the Sol dus Aureus, when it had the same weight in Gold, which the Solidus, that is, the Alsis had in respect of Brass, that is, two Drachmes. Tho' I rather suppose that the Aureus was called Solidus, first of all in Severus's time, not for containing two Denarii in weight, (which Salmusius calls Drachmes) for so it always did under the later Consuls, and first Emperors, but because the Aureus was then first divided into two parts; that is, into the Semisses, and Tremisses, and so relatively to these the whole Aureus was rightly called Solidus. Of the same Opinion is ^d Agricola: Quos aureos, cum respectum ad semisses & tremisses haberent, tunc primo dixerunt solidos, quod semisses ex dimidia eorum parte, tremisses ex tertia constarent.

^d Agricola.
l. 2. depend.
& temp.
moneta-
rum.

The Semisses, and Tremisses, of the other Emperors, at some distance after Severus, came to be less in the same proportion, as the Aurei were lessened. For the Aurei of Severus were double to the Denarii *Cæsarei*, and therefore but forty eight in the Pound, and not fifty, as *Helioabalus* made, whose Error *Severus* corrected. But when the later Emperors made seventy two Aurei out of the Roman Pound, the Semisses came also to be diminished, and were half of these new Aurei, and not of the former, and the Tremisses the third part. And here the Aurei lost that proportion which they kept before, of being double to the Denarii. Of these Tremisses

is *Justinian* to be understood, *L. FORTISS. MILITIBVS. COP. DE MILITARI VESTE fortissimis militibus nostris per Illyricum non binos tremisses pro singulis clamydibus, sed singulos solidos dare præcipimus.* And this may be farther proved by a fair

* Tremissis in Gold of mine own of *Justinian*, with the Inscription *D. N. JUSTINIANUS*, weighing twenty one Grains *English*, and therefore wanting only three Grains $\frac{1}{2}$, which it may have lost by Time: Otherwise it would be exactly the 216th part of the Roman Pound; that is, the third part of the Aure-

us, or Solidus of those Times: Whereas if it had been coined to the proportion of the Aureus, when there were forty eight in the Pound, it should have weighed 36 Grains $\frac{1}{2}$, so that it must have lost 15 $\frac{1}{2}$; a difference so great in a piece of Gold so fair, and withal of so small a quantity, altogether improbable. And therefore this Coin alone, if no more were extant, would confute their Opinion, who maintain that the Tremissis of *Justinian* differed not from the Tremissis of *Severus*, and consequently the Aurei of them both, better than the Reasons produced by ^b Covarruvias to the contrary have done.

* I have since perused, whether Tremissis in Gold, a fair one, with this Inscription *D. N. JUSTINUS. P. F.* Al weighing twenty two Grains and better; which form belonged to the learned *C. grapher, Ortelius*. Euseb third, of *Maximianus*, CONOB supercribed (wl signifies, *Constantinopolis Obvium*, or *Constantinopolis signatum*) weighing like twenty two Grains. At fourth, of *Justinian*, weighing twenty three.

^b Covarruvias, Tom. 1. paragr. 2. de v aureis, argente numis.

The Weight of some of the Fairest AUREI of the Roman Emperors, from Nerva to Heraclius.

On the Fore-part of the AUREI
are these Characters:

IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR.
P. II. COS. III. P. P.
IMP. TRAIANVS. AVG. GER. DAC.
P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P.
IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG.
ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR.
P. XII.
ANTONINVS. AVG. ARMENIACVS.
IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS.
AVG.

On the Reverse these:

Eng. Grains.
IDES. EXERCITVS — 111 $\frac{1}{2}$
DIVVS. PATER. TRAIANI — 110 $\frac{1}{2}$
COS. II. P. M. TR. P. P. AVG — 121 $\frac{1}{2}$
COS. III — 119 $\frac{1}{2}$
P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. }
COS. III. in Scuto Victorie. } 118 $\frac{1}{2}$
VIC. AVG — }
CONCORDIAE. AVGVSTOR. — 117 $\frac{1}{2}$
TR. P. II. COS. II.

	Eng. Grains.	Greaves.
M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. P. P.	IOVI VLTORI —————	114
SEVER. P. AVG. P. M. TR. P. X.	FELICITAS. SAECVLI —————	114½
COS. III		
IMP. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR.	CAESAR. M. ANT. GORDIA- } 114	
AVG	NVS. AFR. AVG —————	
* Trebonianus Gallus.	P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. ———	75½
* Gallienus	P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. ———	74½
IMP. PROBVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIOSO. SEMPER —————	106
IMP. C. CARINVS. P. F. AVG.	SPES. AVGG —————	72½
DIOCLETIANVS. P. F. AVG.	IOVI. CONSERVAT. AVGG —————	77½
MAXIMIANVS.	VIRTVS. MILITVM T. —————	74½
CONSTANTINVS. MAX. AVG	SECVRTAS. REIPVBLICAE ———	70½
	<i>Infra</i> T. R —————	
CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG	VIRTVS. AVGVSTI. N —————	68
CONSTANTIVS	GLORIA. REIPVBLICAE. VOT- } 70	
	XXX. MVLTI. XXXX <i>in-</i>	
	<i>fra</i> SNNS —————	
IM. CAE. MAGNENTIVS. AVG	VICTORIA AVGG. LIB. ROMA- } 70½	
	NOR —————	
	<i>Infra</i> TR —————	
FL. CL. IVLIANVS. P. F. AVG	VOT. X. MVL. XX. <i>infra</i> ANT ———	68½
D.N. IOVIANVS. P. F. PERP. AVG	SECVRTAS. REIPVBLICAE ———	68
	VOT. V. MVL. X. <i>infra</i> COS. P ———	
D. N. VALENS. P. F. AVG	RESTITVTOR. REIP. <i>infra</i> ANTO ———	68½
D.N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	RESTITVTOR. REIPVBLICAE ———	69½
<i>A Second</i> —————		69
D. N. GRATIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIAE. AVGG. <i>infra</i> TROES ———	69
<i>A Second</i> —————		68½
D. N. THEODOSIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGG. <i>infra</i> CON ———	68
<i>A Second</i> —————		69½
D. N. ARCADIVS. P. F. AVG	NOVA. SPES. REIPVBLICAE ———	67½
	<i>Intra</i> Corollam XX. XXX ———	
<i>A Second</i> —————	<i>Infra</i> CONOB —————	68
D. N. HONORIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. —————	69½
	<i>Statua, cui Inscript. R. V</i>	
	<i>infra</i> CONOB —————	69½
<i>A Second</i> —————		68½
<i>A Third</i> , D. N. HONORIVS. P. F.	VICTORIA. AVGGG. N. D. } 68½	
AVG	<i>infra</i> CONOB —————	
D. N. THEODOSIVS, P. F. AVG	IMP. XXXXII. COS. XVII. P. F. ———	69½
	<i>infra</i> CONOB —————	
D. N. PLA. VALENTINIANVS	VICTORIA. AVGGG. <i>infra</i> CO- } 68	
	NOB —————	
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. <i>infra</i> CO- } 69½	
	NOB —————	
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGG. <i>infra</i> ———	68
	TROES —————	
D. N. IVL. NEPOS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. A. <i>infra</i> ———	69½
	CONOB —————	
D. N. ANASTASIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. <i>infra</i> CO- } 68½	
	NOB —————	
D. N. IVSTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA AVGGG. A. <i>infra</i> ———	69
	CONOB —————	
D. N. FOCAS. PERP. AVG	VICTORIA AVGGG. <i>infra</i> CO- } 68	
	NOB —————	
D. N. FOCAS. PERP. AVG	VICTORIA. AVG. <i>infra</i> CO- } 69½	
	NOB —————	
HERACLIVS —————		69½
<i>A Second</i> —————		69½

Graues. And thus much of the *Aurei* under the former and later Emperors, as they serve to illustrate and prove the Weight of the *Denarii Cæsarei*, which is our next and principal Enquiry.

The *Denarii* under the *Cæsars* were almost as various and unconstant as the *Aurei*, sometimes more, sometimes less; and if they had not been so, they could not have kept that proportion to the *Aurei* of the former Emperors, which we assigned. From *Augustus's* time to *Vespasian*, as I find by examining many of them, they continually almost decreased, till from being the seventh part of the Roman Ounce, they came now to be the eighth part: And therefore ninety six were coined out of the Roman *Libra*, whereas before under the Consuls eighty four. From *Vespasian* to *Alex. Severus*, as far as I have observed, the Silver continued at a kind of stay in respect of weight, excepting only such Coins, as upon some extraordinary occasion, both then, and in the first Emperor's time, were stamped, either in Honour of the Prince, or of the Empress, and *Augusta Familia*, or else in Memory of some eminent Action. These last, most usually, were equal to the *Denarii Consulares*, and many of them had these Characters, *E. X. S. C.* or else *S. P. Q. R.* Under *Severus* and *Gordianus*, the *Denarii* began to recover their primitive Weight, and came to be equal to the *Denarii Consulares*, the halt of which also were exactly the *Quinarii*; and so continued during the succeeding Emperors, till *Justinian*, with little diminution, but most commonly with a notable abatement and mixture of alloy. After *Justinian* there happened such a Deluge of barbarous Nations, which overflowed the greatest part of *Europe*, that not only the Coins, but even the Liberal Arts and Sciences, began with the Majesty of the Empire to decline from their first Lustre and Perfection.

Wherefore I shall not speak of the *Μιλιάρησιον*, or *Μιλιάρισιον*, a sort of Silver Coin in use before, and after *Justinian*, which some collect out of *Cedrenus* to have been the eighth part of the Ounce, and therefore equal to the *Denarius* in the lowest valuation; tho'

Cedrenus
in histor.
compend.

* *Suidas*
in voce
*Μιλιάρη-
σιον.*

* *Suidas* renders, *Μιλιάρησιον* τὸ ἑνὸς μίλιον ὀβολοῦ δίκαιον, and the *Scholias* *Basilic. Edlog.* 23. Δωδίκαιον, and to contain twenty four Φόλλαις. But I shall not positively determine either the

Siliqua in Silver, both coined when the Imperial Seat was translated to *Byzantium*, unless I had examined some of the fairness of them. And for the same Reason I shall not define the *Hebrew Denarius*, mentioned by *Eliaz* in *Thibite*, in the word *דנר* and by * *Moses* * *Gerundensis* upon *Exodus*, and by the *Col. Chaldee Paraphrase*, 2 Reg. 5. 5. which I imagine to have been no other than the Roman *Denarius*, used by the *Jews*: Neither shall I determine the *Arabian Dinar*, and *Derham*; the former of which the *Rabbis* call *דנר* *דנר* used by *Rhasis*, *Avicen*, *Mesue*, and by several other *Arabians*, both Physicians and Historians. All that can certainly be concluded is this, that by the *Dinar*, when we speak of a Coin, is meant sometime the *Denarius*, and sometime the *Aureus*: But when we speak of a Weight, always the *Aureus* is understood; as by the *Derham*, the *Δραχμή*, or Silver Drachme. But surely the quality of the thing is different from the name: The Silver Drachme of the *Arabians*, as it is generally now used in the *Mahometan Dominions* in the *East*, consisting of XLVII¹/₂ Grains *Engl.* (as I have found by weighing many of them) which is much less than either the *Drachma Attica*, or the *Denarius Consularis*; and somewhat less than the *Denarius Cæsareus*. And yet it is not improbable but that this may have continued with them without any diminution, for six or seven hundred Years to our Times, as well as the Roman Pound and Ounce have continued entire sixteen hundred Years and better. But to omit any farther prosecution of the *Dinar* and *Derham* of the *Arabians*, which may hereafter more fully be discussed, when we shall handle their Measures and Weights, and to go on with our Discourse of the Roman *Denarius*. After the breaking in of so many barbarous Nations, as of a Torrent, into the Roman Empire, the *Denarius* began generally to be disused; every one almost of these, as an Argument of their Sovereignty and Conquests, making new Coins of their own: Or else such as continued the former, either by Allays so abased the Fineness, and Valuation of the Coins, or by several Diminutions so impaired the Weight, that the *Denarius* totally fell, and at last almost vanished into nothing. Neither will this seem strange, if we shall consider, that the like alteration, in respect of Weight, hath happened by the

Coins. I shall instance in our *Denarius* or Penny, which in *Ethelred's* time, that is, a little more than 100 Years since, was the twentieth part of the

Troy, or Silver Ounce: As *M. Lambard*, in his *Saxon Glossary* observes, and as by Experience I have found (and the same proportion was anciently observed by the *French*, in their *Denier*). This propor-

tion continued successively to *Edward the First*, in whose time we find the

Weight of the *Denarius* by * Statute to be thus defined: *Per ordinationes tunc regni Anglie denarius Anglie, qui vocatur Sterlingus, rotundus, sine tonsura, ponderabit XXXII Grana frumenti in medio spicae, & XX denarii faciunt unciam, & XII uncie faciunt libram.* Under * *Edward* the third it came first

to be diminished to the twenty sixth part of the Troy Ounce; and under * *Henry* the Sixth it fell to the two and thirtieth; in * *Edward* the Fourth's time it came to be the fortieth; under * *Henry* the Eighth at first it was the fortieth, then the forty fifth. Afterward sixty Pence were coined out of the Ounce in the second Year of * *Queen Elizabeth*; and during her Reign sixty two: Which proportion is observed in these times. So that it is evident that *Ethelred's* Penny was bigger than three of ours.

And after times may see this of ours, as well as the *Roman Denarius*, to be quite diminished, and brought to nothing. For if either our own Exigencies, or the Exigencies of Foreign States with whom we have Commerce, cause us or them (as Occasions will never be wanting) to alter the Proportions of the Gold and Silver Coins, either in respect of Weight, or in respect of Purity, or lastly, in respect of the Valuation the Gold bears to Silver; by all, or some of these Causes, there will inevitably happen such a diminution of the Penny (and proportionably of our other Coins) that at length it will not be worth the Coining. But I leave this Speculation to such, whom it doth more nearly concern. And certainly it is a Consideration not of the least importance; Money being as the Sinews and Strength of a State, so the Life and Soul of Commerce: And if those Advantages which

at the Helm of the State, it may fare with them after much Commerce, as with some Bodies after much Food, that instead of growing full, and fat, they may pine away, and fall into an irrecoverable Consumption. But I return to the *Roman Denarius*, which we have brought so low, that there is nothing now left of it, but only the name; and that also suffered

an * alteration: For the later *Greeks* instead of the *Δναρειον*, called it the *Δναρειον*. And both *Greeks* and *Latines*, and sometimes the *Arabians*, took it not in the same sense, as it passed for in the first institution; that is, for a Silver Coin, worth in

Valuation ten or sixteen *Asses*, but for any sort of Coin whatsoever. And therefore * *Meursius's* Observation, in his *Glossarium Græco-Barbarum*, is worth our consideration. *Postea δυνάρειον dixerunt pro corruptiore, & generaliter pro quavis pecunia. Sicut Itali denaro. Galli Denier. Hispani Dinero. Anonymus de bello sacro.*

Δυνάρεια ἔχοντες πολλὰ, ὥστε τὰ ταπεινὰ, ἐπειρήθη, ἐπαρῶς πολλὰ πρὸς καὶ πινέει μετ' αὐτῶς.

Whence the learned * *Jos Scaliger* rightly observes, that, *Ultimis temporibus denarii pro exigua stipe usurpati sunt, ut hodie in Gallia. Imperator Aurelianus: Philippeos minutulos quinquagenos, aris denarios centum. Eos Vopiscus in Bonoso sestertios aris vocat. Macrobius de nummo ratilo loquens, qui erat areus: Ita fuisse signatum hodieque intelligitur in alex lusu, cum pueri denarios in sublime jactantes, capita, aut navia lusu teste vetustatis exclamant. In Evangelio secundum Marcum 12. λατρία δύο δ' ἔστι κοδράντιος. Hilarius, duos denarios viduae inopis Deo acceptiores. Luc. 10. ἐκβαλὼν δύο θηνάρεα, Ambrosius, duo ara. Verissimum est igitur denarii usum, ἀντὶ τῆς χαλκισμῶς, vel stipe. Thus far Scaliger.*

Such an uncertainty being then, as we have mentioned, both of the *Aurei* and *Denarii*, under the first *Cæsars*, in whose Times the purest Coins, and the

Græci

Meursii Glossarii Græco-Barbarum in vobis

* Lambardi Glossarium Cantabrigie 1644.

* In appendice libri de limitum: Juxta Gallos vigesima pars uncie denarii est, & XII Denarii solidum reddunt.

* Stat. 31 Edov. 17.

* Stat. 9 Edov. 3.

* Stat. Hen. 6. Stat. Ed. 4. Stat. Hen. 8.

Stat. Eliz.

The <i>Turkish Sultani</i> , or <i>Egyptian Sherif</i> , being a Gold Coin, with which the <i>Barbary</i> and <i>Venetian Chequeen</i> , and <i>Norimberg Ducat</i> , within a Grain more or less, agree	53:
The <i>Ratel</i> , or <i>Rotulo</i> , for Gold and Silver of 144 Drams at <i>Cairo</i>	6886.7
The <i>Ratel</i> , or <i>Rotulo</i> , for Silk of 720 Drams at <i>Damascus</i> (with which I suppose they there formerly weighed their Gold and Silver; because most Countries use the same Weights for Silks, Gold, and Silver)	24430.7

que tritici, neque cicernæ
que frugis ullius, aut le-
gis, quod nullius par sit u-
gentium pondus. At vero
maius minutum, quod
fabri granum appellant, æ-
tine momentum dici potest.
nibus mundi nationibus i-
demque est, & stabile,
auti sacra fames, & opu-
rosa libido, inuolati & i-
rupte seruat, idque signi
exemplaribus undique ta-
dem collatis. Indecum
an useful Fancy of h

think of some common Measure, in which all Nations might concur; tho' it is more to be wi-
for, than ever to be expected. But that Assertion of his, *Inuolati, & incorrupte seruat, idque signi*
exemplaribus undique identidem collatis, from a Man of such rare Abilities, I cannot but extremely wonder at;
if we shall go no farther to confute his Assertion, than to compare our *Giana Anri* with those of *Paris*, which
melius used, we shall find ours much bigger, XXIX *English Grains* almost equalling XXXVI of *Paris*. Or
shall compare the *Spanish Grana Anrei*, with his, we shall find those much less; XXXVI *Spanish Grains* weigh
but XXVIII and a half of his at *Paris*. The like could I demonstrate in those of other Countries. By w
dangerous and notable Error, for want either of due Care, or an exact Balance, we may conceive that what
alto is delivered by the Ancients, in the like nature, is not presently without due Examination to be credited.

In this Table I judged it much fitter to compare the *Denarius* with the Standards for Gold and S:
of several Nations, than with their Gold and Silver Coins now current. Because the Pounds
Ounces of the Standard, continue always the same; whereas the Gold and Silver Coins being at
several Proportions, according to the Exigencies of the State, admit of several Alterations and
minutions.

The C O N C L U S I O N.

IT was my Intention from the *Pes Rom.* and *Denarius*, together with the *Congix* of *Vespasian*, to have deduced the other Weights and Measures, used by the *Romans*; and from those of the *Romans*, by such Testimonies as are upon Record in the Writings of the Ancients, to have inferred those of the *Hebrews*, *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and of other Nations. A Work, I confess, intricate and full of Difficulties; wherein I could expect neither to give my self, nor others Satisfaction, without first laying some sure and solid Principles for the Basis and Foundation. Therefore that occasioned me to insist the more largely in the prosecution of the *Pes Rom.* and *Denarius*, and to examine all the ways I could possibly imagine, for the evident Proof and Confirmation of them. What in this kind I have done, and with how much truth and diligence, I leave to the impartial Test of After-times, the rest at more leisure may be perfected. Yet these following Observations, as a *Coronis* to the whole Work, I thought would not be unacceptable, if by way of anticipation I communicated them to the World: And those are how the Originals and Standards of Weights and

Measures, notwithstanding the Revolutions and Vicissitudes of Empires, may be perpetuated to Posterity. Amongst several ways, which I have thought of, I know none more certain and unquestionable, than to compare them with some remarkable and lasting Monuments, in remote Countries, that have stood unimpaired for many hundred Years, and are like to continue as many more. In which kind I made choice of the First and most Easterly of the Three great Pyramids in Egypt; of the Basis of that admirable Corinthian Pillar, erected (as I suppose) by one of the Ptolemys, a quarter of a Mile distant to the South from Alexandria, being one vast and entire Marble-stone: Of the Rock at Tarracina, or Anxur, where it adjoyns to the *Via Appia*, and almost touches the Tyrrhene Sea: Of the Gate or Entrance into the Pantheon, or Temple of Agrippa, dedicated by him to all the Gods, and by the Christians to all Saints: Of the *Porta Sancta*, in that new and exquisite Structure of St. Peter's Church in Rome. If the li-
had been attempted by some of the ancient Mathematicians, our Times would have been freed from much uncertainty, in discovering the Weights and

and Measures of the Greeks and Latines.

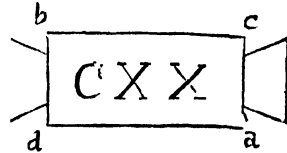
The First and most Easterly of the three great Pyramids in *Ægypt*, hath on the North-side a square Descent, when you are entred a little past the Mouth of it, there is a Joint, or Line, made by the meeting of two smooth and polished Stones over your Head, which are parallel to those under your Feet, the breadth at that Joint, or Line, is three Feet and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *English* Foot.

Within the Pyramid, and about the midst of it, there is a fair Room, or Chamber, the top of which is flat, and covered with nine maffy Stones; in it there stands a hollow Tomb of one entire Marble-stone: The length of the South-side of this Room at the Joint, or Line, where the first and second Rows of Stone meet, is 34 Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

The breadth of the West-side of the same room at the Joint, or Line, where the first and second Row of Stones meet, is 17 Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

The hollow or inner part of the Marble Tomb, near the top, on the West side of it, is in length six Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

The hollow, or inner part of the Marble Tomb, near the top of it, on the North-side, is in breadth two Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.



The uppermost Line *b c*, over the Figures *CXX*, in the innermost, and deepest part of the engraving, is in length four *English* Feet, and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The lowermost Line *d a* in the innermost, and deepest part of the engraving, is in length four Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

The stately Gate or Entrance into the *Pantheon*, or Temple, built by *Agrippa* in *Rome*, the jambs, and top and bottom of it, being all of one entire Marble-stone, is in breadth between the jambs, or sides, some three Inches above the bottom, and some nine Inches within, nineteen Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

The *Porta Sancta*, on the Right hand of the Frontispice of *St. Peter's* Church in *Rome*, is in breadth on the Pavement, or Threshhold, between the jambs or sides of the entrance, eleven Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

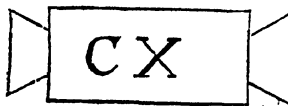
The great Gate, or Entrance, which is the middlemost of the five in the Frontispice of *St. Peter's* Church in *Rome*, the Doors of which are covered with Leaves of Brass, with very fair and exquisite Figures, is in breadth on the Pavement, or Threshhold, between the jambs or sides of it, eleven Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Measures being fixed, we may likewise fix the Weights in this manner; by making a Vessel of a Cubical Figure, answerable to the proportion of any one of these Feet, or Palms, or Braces, which are described in the Table at the end of the first Treatise. This Cubical Vessel being filled with clear Fountain-water, we are to weigh it with an exact Balance, and to express the Weight of it by some one of those Weights, which we have placed in a Table at the end of the second Treatise.

The side of this Cube being known, and the weight of it in Water defined, the rest of the Weights in the second Table, by way of consequence, by those Proportions which we have assigned, may be discovered. Thus for Example: The *Roman* Foot described by *Vallartius*, is nine hundred eighty six parts, such as the *English* Foot contains a thousand: This being cubed (saith he) weighs of Fountain-water eighty *Roman* Pounds.



The Basis of the vast *Corinthian* Pillar, about a quarter of a Mile from *Alexandria* to the South, on the West-side of the Pillar at *a b*, is in breadth twelve Feet $\frac{1}{2}$: At *c d* it is fourteen Feet $\frac{1}{2}$.



The Rock at *Terracina*, or *Anxur*, near the *Via Appia*, close by the *Tyrrhene* Sea, hath these Figures, besides several others in the same perpendicular, very deeply engraven.

Of the DENARIUS.

Pounds. If therefore there be given nine hundred eighty six parts of a thousand of the *English* Foot, the Cube of this will give us eighty *Roman* Pounds in Fountain-water ; and consequently the other Weights will be discovered by those Proportions we have assigned to them, in respect of the *Roman* Pound. Again, eighty *Roman* Pounds of Water being given, if we reduce this into a

Cubical Body, the side of it will give the *Roman* Foot described by *Vallartianus* : And consequently the other Measures may be deduced by those Proportions we have given them in a peculiar Table. Whereby it appears, that as by Measures Weights may be preserved, so on the contrary, by Weights Measures may be restored.

~
Gr.

Some DIRECTIONS to be observed in comparing the Valuations of COINS.

IN comparing the Valuations, either of ancient Coins with modern, or of modern one with another, we are to consider : First, the *intrinseck* of them, and then the *extrinseck* : The *intrinseck* is either the *fineness* of the Coin, in respect of Metal, or the *gravity* in respect of Weight. The *extrinseck* I term first, the *Character* imprinted on the Coin. And, Secondly, the *Valuation* enjoyed by the Prince, or State : By which Character and Valuation, what *originally* and *materially* was but common Metal, or Plate, comes now *legally* and *formally* to be current Money. With these Limitations, if we shall compare ancient Coins with modern, and modern one with another, it will be no difficult matter to proportion out their several respective Valuations ; and withal to reconcile the seeming Repugnancies, either of ancient Coins now found, differing from the Traditions of ancient Authors, or the Traditions of ancient Authors differing amongst themselves.

I shall first give an instance of modern Coins compared with modern, in our *English* Money compared with that of *Spain*, as being most familiar to us ; the application of which will by analogy serve for all other distinct States and Times, using distinct Coins.

In comparing therefore *English* Money with *Spanish* Money in *England*, or *Spanish* Money with *English* in *Spain*, we are thus to proceed : First, We are to examine whether they be of a like fineness for the *intrinseck* ; if they be, then an Ounce of *English* Money, and an Ounce of *Spanish* (supposing the Weight of the Ounce to be alike) will be of like value in any other Country out of *England* and *Spain* ; where neither are current, but only considered as so much Metal, or Plate. Secondly, We are to

consider the *extrinseck*, that is, the Form and Stamp of the Coin, with the Valuation of it by the Injunction of the Prince of either State ; and here that which before was *equal*, comes now to be *unequal* : For an Ounce of *English* Money in *England* comes to be more worth than an Ounce of *Spanish* Money in *England*, because this wants the Character, Stamp, and Valuation of our Princes, whereby it is current : And for the same Reason will an Ounce of *English* Money be less in Valuation than an Ounce of *Spanish* Money in *Spain*, supposing (as I said) the Ounce in both Countries to be exactly one and the same.

The same analogy will be, if we compare ancient Coins, as those of the *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, with our *modern* Coins. We are first to consider the *intrinseck* of them, whether they be of a like weight and fineness for the Metal, with ours : And this is the *Natural* or *Physical* Consideration. From whence we may conclude, that if, for Example, so many *Attick Tetradrachmes* do equal in pureness and weight, so many of our *English* Shillings, newly brought from the Mint, or so many of our *Troy* or *Silver* Ounces, taken from the Standard, then are they to be balanced with these in the acceptance of them as Plate ; and a Silver-smith, abstracting from the *extrinseck*, that were to melt them both, would give a like Value for them both. But if we, Secondly, look upon them with the Image and Character of the State, and in the Notion of Money, which is the *politick* Consideration, then that which before in the *Trutina*, and Scale, was equal, in the *Fora*, and in Commerce, comes to be unequal : And an Ounce of *English* Money shall pass for more than an Ounce in *Attick Tetradrachmes*, with reference to the Ex-

Greaves. pences of the Mint, and to the Civil Valuation, depending upon a Mandate, or Law, enacted by the Prince.

In like manner will it be, if we compare ancient Coins with ancient, made in different States, as it is in comparing ancient with modern.

Upon these Grounds of Reason it will follow, that whereas the Roman Authors make the *Denarius Consularis* to be equal to the *Drachma Attica*, and the *Greeks* equal the *Drachma Attica* to the *Denarius Consularis*, that both say true; and yet both of them, if we speak strictly and exactly, may be deceived. For the *Denarius Consularis* examined by the Balance, which is the best Judge of the *Intrinsic*, (I speak of the *Intrinsic* in respect of weight, and not of the *Intrinsic* in respect of fineness, that being best discovered by the Scale, and this by the Test: Which last, for the more clearness of my Discourse, I suppose in all these Coins to be alike). I say, the *Denarius Consularis* is found by me, contrary to the Opinion of all modern Writers, to be lighter than the *Drachma Attica*: And therefore to speak strictly, and precisely, cannot be equal to it in the *intrinsic*. But again, if we look upon the *extrinsic* of the *Drachma Attica*, and *Denarius Consularis*, that having the Stamp of *Athens*, and this of *Rome*, here Reason must be our Balance, and not the *Trutina*. For the *Athenian* Coin being a Foreigner, and not current in *Italy*, in the way of Exchange and Commerce, will lose of its primitive Valuation it had at *Athens*, and for want of the *extrinsic* of the Roman Stamp, necessarily rebate in the *intrinsic*. And therefore both *Greeks* and *Romans* writing in *Italy*, might truly say, that the *Denarius Consularis*, and *Drachma Attica*, were equal, that is, speaking in *Civil Commerce*, and *Popular Estimation*: Altho' they were unequal in the *Intrinsic* and *Natural Valuation*.

But if we shall change the Scene, and carry the *Denarius Consularis* to *Athens*, the Case will quite be altered. For the *Denarius* being a Stranger, and the *Drachma Attica* a Denizon, that cannot

have the same Privileges with this: And therefore the *extrinsic* of the *Denarius* being there of no use, and the *intrinsic* in respect of weight falling short of the *Drachma*, it must necessarily be much less in Valuation at *Athens* than the *Drachma*: And I think no advised *Athenian*, writing in *Attica*, would make them equal, I am certain no *Nummularius* would.

The same may be said of the *Hebrew Shekel*, and *Attick Tetradrachme*, and of all other Coins of distinct States, mentioned in Classical Authors. Thus *Philo* and *Josephus*, in *Judea*, both truly equal the *Shekel* to the *Attick Tetradrachme*, that is in way of Commerce; tho' the *Shekel* be unequal, and less than the *Tetradrachme*, (as I have found by examining many of them) in a just Notion of Weight. The Reason is evident by what hath been expressed before: For in *Judea* the *extrinsic* makes amends for what the *Shekel* wants in the *intrinsic*; and on the contrary, what the *Tetradrachme* exceeds in the *intrinsic*, is diminished for want of the *extrinsic*, till at length in a popular Estimation they come to be equal. But the quite contrary would happen, in the transportation of *Shekels* from *Jerusalem* to *Athens*. Here the *Shekel* would necessarily fall from its primitive Valuation, and the *Tetradrachme*, being considered now no longer as a Foreigner, would recover what it lost in *Judea*, and consequently rise above the *Hebrew Shekel*; as having a double advantage in the *extrinsic* from the State, and in the *intrinsic* from its Weight.

But what need we to go so far for Examples, when as we instanced before, we have them nearer home? The *Spanish Quarters* of the *Dolar*, or *Double Rials*, pass ordinarily in our Sea-Towns but for *Shillings*, (whereas they are worth in the *intrinsic* Thirteen Pence Farthing) and our *Shillings* pass in *Spain* scarce for a *Real* and an half. For theirs wanting in *England* our *extrinsic*, and ours in *Spain* wanting their *extrinsic*, must respectively rise and fall in their Valuation.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
C O C H I N - C H I N A.

In Two Parts.

The FIRST Treats
Of the TEMPORAL STATE of that Kingdom.

The SECOND,
Of what concerns the SPIRITUAL.

Written in ITALIAN,
By the R. F. CHRISTOPHER BORRI,
a Milaneze, of the SOCIETY of JESUS, who was one of the
First MISSIONERS in that Kingdom.

To the R E A D E R.

THIS Account is so short, it requires not much Preface, or to say the Truth, any at all; a little time sufficing the Curious to inform himself into the Value and Contents of it. Who the Author was appears by the Title, and what the Cause of his going into that Kingdom, his Profession and only Business being to preach Christianity to the Infidels: He liv'd five Years among them, and learn'd their Language to perfection; and therefore his Relation is not like those of Travellers, who just pass through a Country; or Merchants, that touch at Ports upon the Business of Trade, and consequently deliver very fabulous Accounts, either to make their Travels the more surprizing, or for want of knowing better, taking things upon hear-say, and not understanding the Language to get certain Information. This Father on the contrary frequently conversing with all sorts of People, and having a settled Residence there for Years, had the opportunity of knowing what he writ. He gives the Description of the Kingdom, a considerable part whereof he travell'd over: He speaks of its Produits, which he had the benefit of for Sustenance and Cloathing: He tells us the Temper and Seasons of the Air, which he several times felt: He relates the Inundations which he often saw: He gives an Account of their Sects, which he learn'd from their Priests, or Omfays, whom he converted to Christianity: He sets down the Power and Government of the Kingdom, which he could be no Stranger to, being familiar with several Men in great Authority: And to conclude, he particularizes how far the Christian Faith had been there propagated; which he well knows, as having been himself a Labourer in the Vineyard for the first five Years; and after that, receiving it from those that succeeded him. In fine, the Relation is curious, tho' short, and seems to carry all the Air of Truth imaginable, besides the general Approbation it has always receiv'd in all parts, which is the greatest Commendation that can be given it.

A N A C C O U N T O F C O C H I N - C H I N A.

The First Part.

O F T H E Temporal State of the Kingdom of *Cochin-China*.

C H A P. I.

Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of this Kingdom.

Name of
*Cochin-
China.*

Cochin-China, so call'd by the *Portugueses*, is by the Natives call'd *Anam*, signifying a Western Country, because it lies West of *China*; for which same Reason the *Japoneses* in their Language give it the Name of *Cochi*, signifying the same as *Anam*, in the *Cochi-Chinese* Language. But the *Portugueses* having by means of the *Japoneses* been admitted to trade in *Anam*, of the *Japonese* word *Cochi*, and this other word *China*, compounded the Name *Cochin-China*, applying it to this Kingdom, as if they call'd it *Cochin* of *China*, the better to distinguish it from *Cochin* the City in *India*, inhabited by the *Portugueses*; and the Reason why in the Maps of the World we generally find *Cochin China* set down under the denomination of *Cochin China*, or *Cauchina*, or the like, is no other but the corruption of the right Name, or that the Authors of those Maps would signify, that this Kingdom was the beginning of *China*.

1. Bound.

This Kingdom on the South Borders upon that of *Chiampa*, in 11 Degrees of North Latitude, on the North somewhat inclining East-ward with *Tunchim*, on the East is the *Chinese* Sea, and on the West North West the Kingdom of

As to its Extent, I shall here speak ^{Exce} only of *Cochin-China*, which is part of the Great Kindom of *Tunchim*, usurp'd by a King who was Grandfather to him now reigning in *Cochin-China*, who rebell'd against the Great King of *Tunchim*: For as yet the *Portugueses* have traded only in this Province; and here only the Fathers of the Society have been conversant, in order to introduce Christianity: Yet at the end of this Account, I shall discourse concerning some Particulars of *Tunchim*, where our Fathers got footing since my return into *Europe*.

Cochin-China extends above a hundred Leagues along the Sea, reckoning from the Kingdom of *Chiampa*, in the aforesaid 11 Degrees of North Latitude, to the Gulf of *Anam*, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees, or thereabouts, where the King of *Tunchim*'s Dominions begin. The Breadth is not much, being about 20 Miles, all the Country plain, shut up on the one side by the Sea, and on the other by a Ridge of Mountains inhabited by the *Kemois*, which signifies a savage People; for tho' they are *Cochin-Chinese*, yet they no way acknowledge or submit to the King, keeping in the Fastnesses of the uncouth Mountains,

An ACCOUNT of Cochin-China.

rains, bordering on the Kingdom of *Lais*.

Cochin China is divid^d into five Provinces, the first bordering on *Tunchim*, where this King resides, is call'd *Sinnua*; the second *Cachiam*, here the

Prince, the King's Son resides and governs; the third, *Quamguya*; the fourth *Quignin*, by the Portuguese call'd *Pul-lucambi*; and the fifth confining on *Champa*, is *Renrin*.

(B)

C H A P. II.

Of the Climate, and Nature of the Country of Cochin-China.

TH^{O'} this Kingdom, as has been said, lies between 11 and 17 Degrees of North Latitude; hence it follows of Course, that the Country is rather hot than cold, and yet it is not so hot as *India*, tho' it be in the same Latitude, and within the Torrid Zone. The Cause of the difference is, because in *India* there is no distinction of the four Seasons of the Year, so that the Summer lasts there nine Months without intermission, without feeling so much as a Cloud either Day or Night, and therefore the Air is continually, as it were, inflamed with the great reflection of the Sun-beams. The other three Months are call'd Winter, not because there is any want of Heat, but because at that time it generally rains Day and Night; and tho' to appearance, such continual Rains should naturally cool the Air, yet they falling in the three Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, when the Sun is in its greatest Elevation, and in the *Zenith* of *India*, and no Winds blowing but what are hot, the Air continues so inflam'd, that sometimes the Heat is more intense than in Summer, when for the most part there are pleasant Winds blowing from the Sea, which cool the Ground, wherewith, if Almighty God did not relieve those Countries, they would be uninhabitable.

Great Heat of India.

But *Cochin-China* enjoying the Distinction of the four Seasons, tho' not in so perfect a manner as *Europe*, is much more temperate: For tho' its Summer, which comprehends the three Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, be violent hot; because it lies within the Torrid Zone, and because the Sun is then in its *Zenith*, yet in *September*, *October*, and *November*, the Autumn Season, the Heat ceases, and the Air becomes very temperate by reason of the continual Rains, which at this time usually fall upon the Mountains of the *Kemois*, whence the

Waters running down in abundance do so flood the Kingdom, that meeting with the Sea, they seem to be all of a piece. These Inundations during these three Months, for the most part happen once a Fortnight, and last three Days at a time. They serve not only to cool the Air, but to fertilize the Earth, making it fruitful and abounding in all things, but particularly in Rice, which is the most common and universal Food of all the Kingdom. During the other three Winter Months, which are *December*, *January*, and *February*, there are cold Northerly Winds, bringing cool Rains, and so sufficiently distinguishing the Winter from other Seasons. To conclude, in *March*, *April*, and *May*, the Effects of Spring appear, all things being green and blossoming.

Now since we have spoke of these Inundations, I will not conclude this Chapter without first observing some Curiousities that occur on occasion of them.

Notable Inundations.

The first is, That all Men in general wish for them, not only that they may cool the Air, but much more for the fertilizing of the Earth: For which reason as soon as they appear, all the People are so pleas'd and joyful, that they express it by Visiting, Feasting, and Presenting one another, all of them crying, and often repeating, *Daden Lut*, *Daden Lut*; that is, the Inundation is come, it is here: And this is done by Persons of all Degrees, even to the King himself.

And in regard the Inundations often come so unexpectedly, that very often when they do not think of it at Night, they find themselves the next Morning surrounded with Water; so that they cannot go out of their Houses, throughout the whole Kingdom, as has been said: Hence it is that abundance of Cattel are drowned, for want of time

BORRI.
A pleasant
Law.

to retire to the Mountains, or higher Grounds. For this Reason there is a pleasant sort of Law throughout the Kingdom; which is, that if any Oxen, Goats, Swine, or other Beasts, are drowned, the Owner loses them, and they belong to him that first takes them: Which causes much Sport and Jollity; because when the *Lut* happens, they all go out in Boats, to seek the drowned Cattel; upon which they afterwards feast and treat one another.

Beneficial
Sport.

Nor are the younger sort without their Pastime; for there being in those Fields of Rice, an infinite number of Rats, their Nests filling with Water, they are forced to swim out, and get upon the Trees to save themselves: And it is pleasant to see the Boughs loaded with Rats, like Fruit hanging on them. Then do the Boys run out in their Boats, striving to out-do one another, in shaking the Trees, that the Rats may fall and be drowned: Which Childish Pastime is wonderful beneficial to the Country, delivering it from those mischievous Creatures, that otherwise,

by degrees, would devour all the Harvest.

In short, the *Lut* causes another considerable Advantage: Which is, that it affords every Body the opportunity of furnishing his House with all Necessaries, because the Country being all navigable, during these three Days, Commodities are very easily convey'd from one City to another, and therefore then are held the greatest Fairs and Markets, and with greater Concourse of People than at any other time in the Year. Then also it is, that they lay in Provision of Wood to burn and build, bringing it from the Mountains in Boats; which to this purpose come into the Streets, and into the very Houses, built for this purpose upon high Pillars, that Water may have free passage, the People living during that time in the upper Floors; to which it were a wonder if the *Lut* should ever rise, they being built according to the Situation of the place, to such a height, as they know by long Experience, is sufficiently above the Waters.

C H A P. III.

Of the Fruitfulness of the Country.

Rice.

IT is an easie matter to conceive the Fertility of *Cochin China*, by the Advantages accruing from the *Lut*; yet we will mention some other Particulars relating to it. The *Lut* leaves the Land so fruitful, that Rice is gather'd three times a Year, in such great plenty and abundance, that there is no Body will work for Gain, all Persons having enough to live on plentifully.

Oranges.

There are great Quantities of Fruit of several sorts, all the Year about; and they are the same with those in *India*, *Cochin-China* being within the same Climate. But to come to Particulars, the Oranges there are bigger than ours in *Europe*, and very full; the Rind of them is thin, tender, and so well tasted, that it is eaten with the Juice, which has a pleasant relish like Limons in *Italy*.

Banana's.

There is a sort of Fruit which the *Portugueses* call *Banana's*, and others *Indian Figs*; tho', in my Judgment, the Name of a Fig is neither proper to those in *India*, nor in *Cochin-China*, be-

cause neither the Tree nor Fruit has any resemblance with our Figs, the Tree being like that we call *Indian Wheat*, but higher, and the Leaves so long and broad, that two of them would serve to wrap a Man in quite round, and from Head to Feet. Hence some have taken occasion to say, that this was the Tree in *Paradise*, with the Leaves whereof *Adam* cover'd himself. This Tree at the top produces a Cluster of twenty, thirty, or forty of these *Banana's* together; and each of them is in shape, length, and thickness, of an indifferent Citron in *Italy*. Before the Fruit is ripe, the Rind is green; but afterwards yellow, as the Citrons are. There is no need of a Knife to pare this Fruit, for the Rind comes off as we shell Beans. This Fruit has a most fragrant smell; the Pith or Flesh of it is yellow, and firm, like that of a *Bergamot Pear*, when full ripe, that melts in the Mouth. By this it appears to be no way like our Fig, except in the taste and sweetness. There is another sort of

them, which is only eaten roasted, and with Wine: The Stem dies every Year, when it has produc'd, the Fruit, and leaves a young Sprout at the Foot, which grows up against the next Year. That which in *Italy* they call an *Indian Fig*, is nothing like the Plant, or Fruit of this *Banana*, we now speak of; nor is this which we have in *Italy* call'd an *Indian Fig*, in those parts. This Fruit is common throughout all *India*. There is another sort in *Cochin-China*, that is not found in *China*, nor *India*: It is as big as the largest Citrons we have in *Italy*; so that one of them is enough to satisfy a Man. These are nourishing, very white within, and full of black round Seeds, which chew'd together with the white Substance, are of a delicious Taste, and a good Medicine against the Flux.

There is another Fruit in *Cochin-China*, which I have not seen in any other Country of *India*; and this they call *Can*: The outward form and nature of the Rind is like our Pomegranate; but within it contains a Substance almost liquid, which is taken out, and eaten with a Spoon; the Taste is Aromatick, and the Colour like that of a ripe Medlar.

They have another peculiar to the Country, that grows, and is like our Cherries, but tastes like Raisins, and is call'd *Gnoo*.

There are also Melons, but not so good as ours in *Europe*; nor are they eaten without Sugar or Honey. The Water-Melons are large and delicate.

There is a Fruit they call *Giacca*, which is common to the other parts of *India*, but much larger in *Cochin-China*: It grows on a Tree as high as the Walnut, or Chestnut, and has much longer Prickles than the *Jubeb*. It is as big as a very large Pompon in *Italy*, so that one of them is a Man's Load. The out-rind is like that of a Pine-Apple, but soft and tender within. This Fruit is full of certain yellow round Kernels, like a small piece of Coin, that is round and flat; and in the middle of every one of them, is a Stone that is thrown away. There are two sorts of this Fruit; one in *Portuguese* is call'd *Giacca Barca*: The Bone of this is thrown away, and the Pulp is stiff; they do not take out the Stone of the other; nor is the Pulp hard, but soft as Glue: Both these in taste somewhat resemble that delicious Fruit called the *Durion*, whereof we shall speak next.

This *Durion* is one of the most delicious.

cious Fruits in the World, and only found in *Malacca*, *Borneo*, and the adjacent Islands. The Tree differs little from the *Giacca* last mention'd, and the Fruit it self is like it without, and that resembles the Pine-Apple, even in the hardness of the Rind. The Meat within is very white about the Bone, to which it sticks like Glue, and tastes very like our *Mangiare Bianco* (a Dainty among the *Italians*.) This Meat and Liquor is divided into ten or twelve little Apartments, in each of which the Flesh and Moisture is about its Stone, which is as big as a large Chestnut. And it is to be observ'd, that when they break and open the Shell of this Fruit, there comes from it an ill scent, like that of a rotten Onion, all the Substance within remaining of a most sweet and unexpressible flavour, whereupon I will relate what hapned in my preference: A Prelate arrived at *Malacca*, and one there open'd a *Durion* before him to give him a taste; the Prelate was so offended at that nauseous Smell that came from it when broke, that he would not taste it by any means. Being afterwards set down to Dinner, they gave the rest of the Company *Mangiare Bianco*; but on this Prelates Plate they laid the white Substance of this Fruit, which is so like the *Mangiare Bianco*, that he could not distinguish the difference by the sight. The Prelate tasted it, and thought it so much more delicious than usual, that he ask'd, What Cook dress'd it so rarely? Then he that had invited him to Dinner, smiling, told him, It was no other Cook but God himself, who had produc'd that Fruit, which was the very *Durion* he would not taste. The Prelate was so astonish'd, that he thought he could never eat enough; and they so dear, that even at *Malacca*, where they grow, they sometimes cost a Crown apiece.

Cochin China abounds in another sort of Fruit, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Ananas*; which tho' it be common to all *India*, and *Brazile*, yet because I have not found it well describ'd by those that have writ of it, I would not pass it by. This Fruit does not grow on a Tree, nor from a Seed, but on a Stalk, like our Artichokes, and the Stem and Leaves are much like those of the Thistle or Artichoke. The Fruit is like a Cilinder, a span long, and so thick that it requires both Hands to grasp it. The pulp within is close, and like a Radish, the Rind somewhat hard, ically like a Fish.

Fifth. When ripe, it is yellow both within and without, is par'd with a Knife, and eaten raw, the taste of it an eager Sweet, and as soft as a full-ripe *Bergamot-Pear*.

Areca.

There is besides, in *Cochin-China*, a Fruit peculiar to that Country, which the *Portugueses* call *Areca*. The Trunk of it is as frait as a *Palm-Tree*, hollow within, and produces Leaves like those of the *Palm*, only at the top among these Leaves, there grow some small Boughs, which bear the Fruit in shape and bigness like a *Walnut*, green without, just as the *Nut* is; within it is white and hard like a *Chestnut*, and has no taste at all. This Fruit is not eaten alone, but is wrapp'd up in Leaves of *Betle*, well known in *India*, which are like our *Ivy-leaves* in *Europe*, and the Plant it self clings to Trees like the *Ivy*. These Leaves are cut in pieces, and in them they wrap a bit of *Areca*, each of them making four or five Morfels; and with the *Areca* they put some Lime, which is not there made of Stone, as in *Europe*, but of Oyster-shells; and as among us there are Cooks and Caterers, &c. so in *Cochin-China* there is one in every Family, whose Business is to wrap up these Morfels of *Areca* in *Betle*, and these Persons being commonly Women, are call'd *Betleres*. They fill their Boxes with these Morfels, and chew them all Day, not only when they are at home, but when they are walking, or talking, at all times, and in all places, never swallowing, but spitting them out when they are well chew'd, retaining nothing but the relish and virtue of it, which wonderfully comforts the Stomach. These Morfels are so much in use, that when one of them goes to make a Visit, he carries a Box full of them, and presently presents some to the Party visited, who claps it into his Mouth; and before the Visitor departs, he that is' visited sends to his *Betler*-Woman for a Box of the same, and presents it to the Visitor, to return his Kindness; and these Morfels must be still making. And there is so much of this *Areca* us'd, that the greatest Revenues of that Country come from the Fields of it, as among us of *Olive-Gardens*, and the like.

Other Growth.

Tobacco is also us'd there, but not so much as *Betle*. The Country also abounds in all sorts of Pumpions and Sugar-Canes. The *European* Fruits are not yet come thither; but I believe Grapes and Figs would take very well.

Our Herbs, as *Lattice*, *Endive*, *Col-worts*, and the like, come up well in *Cochin-China*, as they do throughout all *India*: But they all grow into Leaf, without producing any Seed, so that it must be still supplied out of *Europe*.

There is also great plenty of *Flesh*, ^{Cartel} by reason of the great multitude not Fowl, only of tame *Cartel*, as Cows, Goats, Swine, Buffaloes, and the like; but of wild, such as Deer, much bigger than those of *Europe*, wild Boars, &c. and of Hens both tame and wild, of which sort the Fields are full, Turtles, Pigeons, Ducks, Geese, and Cranes, which are savory enough; and in short, other sorts, which we have not in *Europe*.

Their Fishery is very great, and Fish ^{Fish} so delicious, that tho' I have travell'd so many Countries, I do not think I have met with any to compare to that of *Cochin-China*. And the Country, as was said before, lying all along upon the Sea, there are so many Boats go out a fishing, and they bring in so much Fish to all Ports of the Kingdom, that it is really very remarkable to see the long Rows of People continually carrying Fish from the Shore to the Mountains; which is duly done every Day, for four Hours before Sun-rising. And tho' generally among the *Cochin-Chineses*, Fish is more valu'd than *Flesh*, yet the main Reason why they apply themselves so much to Fishing, is to furnish themselves with a kind of Sauce, which they call *Balachiam*, which is made of Salt ^{Bala} Fish macerated and steeped in Water. This is a sharp Liquor, not unlike *Mustard*, whereof every Body lays in such store, that they fill Barrels and Tubs of it, as many in *Europe* lay in their Stocks of Wine. This of it self is no Food, but serves to sharpen the Appetite to the Rice, which they cannot eat without it. For this Reason, tho' Rice be the general and most common Sustenance in *Cochin-China*, there must be vast Quantities of *Balachiam*, without which it is not eaten, and consequently there is continual Fishing. There is no less plenty of Shell-fish, Oysters, and other Product of the Sea, especially of one sort, which they call *Cameron*. (I suppose this to be the *Portuguese* word *Camerano*, signifying Shrimps, or Prawns.)

Besides all this, Providence has furnish'd them with a sort of Food so rare and delicate, that in my Opinion it may be compar'd to the *Manna*, wherewith
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the chosen People of God were fed in the Desert. This is so peculiar to *Cochin-China*, that it is no where else to be found: And I will give an Account of what I know of it by Experience, and not by Hear-say, having seen and eaten of it several times.

Wonderful
Nests.

In this Country there is found a small Bird like a Swallow, which fastens its Nest to the Rocks, the Sea-waves break against: This little Creature with its Beak, takes up some of the Foam of the Sea, and mixing it with a certain moisture it draws from its own Stomach, makes a sort of Slime, or Bituminous Substance, which serves to build its Nest, which when dry and hardned, remains transparent, and of a Colour between green and yellow. The Country People gather these Nests, and being soften'd in Water, they serve to season Meat, whether Fish, Flesh, Herbs, or any sort whatsoever; and give every thing so different a relish, and so proper to it, as if they had been season'd with Pepper, Cinamon, Cloves, and the richest Spice; this Nest alone being enough to season all sorts of Provisions, without Salt, Oil, Bacon, or any other addition; and therefore I said I thought it like Manna, which had in it the taste of all the most delicious Meats; saying that this is the Work of a small Bird, and that was made by God's Angels. And such great store of them is found, that I my self saw ten small Boats loaden with Nests, taken among the Rocks, in not above a Mile's distance. But they being so precious a Commodity, only the King deals in them, they being all kept for him; and his greatest Vent is to the King of *China*, who values them at a great rate.

Camelions
rare.

They eat no sort of White Meats, looking upon it as a Sin to milk the Cows, or other Creatures: And the Reason they give for this Nicety, is, that Milk was by Nature appointed for the Sustainance of the Young Ones: As if the Owner of the Young Ones could not dispose of their Sustainance. They eat some things which we loath, and count venomous, as Camelions, which are here somewhat bigger than those that are sometimes brought dry'd up into *Italy*, out of other Countries. I saw a Friend buy some ty'd together in a Cluster, and lay them upon the live Coals, which having burn'd the String, they walk'd about gently, as they use to do, till they felt the Heat of the Fire; which being of, a violent cold

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Nature, they resisted a-while, but were at last broil'd: My Friend took them up, and scraping off the burn'd Skin with a Knife, the Flesh remain'd extraordinary white; then he beat'd and boild them in a certain sort of Sauce like Butter, and then eat them as a great Dainty, inviting me to bear him Company: But I had enough with the sight of it.

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Cochin-China abounds in all other things necessary for the Support of Human Life; and in the first place for Cloathing. There is such plenty of Silk, that the Peasants and Mechanicks generally wear it; so that I was often pleas'd to see Men and Women at their Labour, carrying Stone, Earth, Lime, or the like, without the least fear of tearing or spoiling the rich Cloaths they had on. Nor will they wonder it, who shall know, that the Mulberry-Trees, whose Leaves feed the Silk-worms, grow in vast Plains, as Hemp does among us, and run up as fast; so that in a few Months the said Worms appear upon them, and feed in the open Air, spinning their Thread at the proper time, and winding their Bottoms in such plenty, that the *Cochin-Chinefses* have not only enough for their own uses, but they furnish *Japan*, and send it into the Kingdom of *Lais*, whence it afterwards spreads as far as *Tibet*; this Silk being not so fine and soft, but stronger and more substantial than that of *China*.

All w
Silk.

The Structures the *Cochin-Chinefses* build use of Wood, are nothing inferior to those of any other part of the World; for without falsifying, this Country has the best Timber in the Universe, in the Opinion of all that have been there to this time. Among the variety and multitude of their Trees, there are two that most usually serve for Building, and are so incorruptible, that they do not decay in the least, either under Ground, or under Water; and they are so solid and heavy, that they do not swim upon the Water, and a Log of them serves instead of an Anchor to a Ship. One of them is black, but not so as Ebony; the other is red, and both of them, when the Bark is taken off are so smooth and slick, that they scarce need any plaining. These Trees are call'd *Tin*; and they would not deviate much from the Truth, who should say, they were that incorruptible Wood, which *Solomon* made use of for building the Temple: For we know the Scripture

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BORRI.

gives them a Name much like this, calling them *Ligna Thyria*. The Mountains of *Cochin China* are all full of these Trees, all strait, of such a prodigious height, that they seem to touch the Clouds, and so thick that two Men cannot fathom them. Of this Timber the *Cochin-Chinese* build their Houses, every Man being free to cut down as many as he pleases.

The Houses.

The whole Fabrick of their Houses rests upon high, solid, and well setled Pillars, between which they place Boards to remove at pleasure; either to exchange them for Cane-Lattices, which they weave neatly, to let in the Air in hot Weather; or to leave a free passage for the Water and Boats, at the time of the Inundation, as we observ'd above. They have also a thousand curious Inventions, and ingenious Contrivances to set off their Houses, with Carving, and other Works on Wood, which are a very great Ornament.

Aquila, and
Calamba,
odoriferous
Wood.

Since we have begun to talk of the Trees, before we proceed upon any other matter, I will here mention something of a sort of Wood, accounted the richest Commodity that can be carried out of *Cochin-China* to other Parts; which is the most famous Wood call'd *Aquila*, or Eagle-Wood, and *Calamba*; which are the same thing as to the Tree, but differ in their Value and Virtue. Of these Trees, which are thick and high enough, the *Kemois* Mountains are very full; if the Wood be cut of a young Tree, it proves *Aquila*, or Eagle-Wood, and this there is most plenty of; every one cutting as much as he can: But when the Wood is of an old Tree, that proves *Calamba*; which were very hard to be found, had not Nature it self provided for it, causing these same Trees to grow on the tops of inaccessible Mountains, where growing old without being expos'd to destruction, some Boughs of them now and then drop down, breaking off either for want of Moisture, or through Age, and are therefore found rotten and worm-eaten, infinitely exceeding the common *Aquila*, or Eagle-Wood, in Virtue and sweet Scent; and this is the so highly valu'd and famous *Calamba*. The *Aquila* is sold by any Body, but the *Calamba* belongs only to the King, because of the high Value of its Perfume and Virtue. And to say the

truth, it is so sweet where they gather it, that some Pieces being presented me, for a Trial, I buried them above a Yard and half under Ground, and yet they discovered themselves by their Fragrancy. The *Calamba*, where taken, is worth five Ducats a Pound; but in the Port of *Cochin China*, where the Trade is, it bears a much greater Price, and is not sold under sixteen Ducats a Pound. In *Japan* it is worth two hundred Ducats a Pound; but if there be a Piece big enough for a Man to lay his Head on like a Pillow, the *Japoneſes* will give after the rate of three or four hundred Ducats a Pound: The Reason of it is, because they instead of a soft Down-Pillow, when they sleep, lay their Head on some hard thing, and generally it is a piece of Wood, which every one according to his Ability endeavours to have of as great Value as he can; and a piece of *Calamba* is look'd upon as a Pillow fit for none but a King, or some Great Lord. Yet the *Aquila*, tho' of less Price and Esteem than the *Calamba*, is so considerable, that one Ship's Load of it, enriches any Merchant for ever: And the best Advantage the King can allow the Governour of *Malacca*, is to grant him one Voyage of *Aquila*; because the *Brachmans*, and *Banians*, of *India*, using to burn their Dead with this sweet Wood, the Consumption of it is continually very great.

To conclude, *Cochin China* abounds Great Wealth in rich Mines of the most precious Metals, especially of Gold; and to reduce to a few words, what might be said more at large of the Plenty of this Country, I will conclude with that which the *European* Merchants trading thither commonly say of it; which is, That in some measure the Wealth of *Cochin China*, is greater than that of *China* it self; and we all know how rich that Country is in all respects.

I ought in this place to say something of the Beasts, whereof we before observ'd there was great Variety and Numbers in *Cochin China*: But that I may not dilate too much, I will only treat of the Elephants, and Abadas, or Rhinoceroes, chiefly found here; of which many curious Things may be said, which perhaps very many have not heard of.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Elephants, and Abadas, or Rhinoceroes.

There are abundance of Elephants in the Woods of *Cochin China*, which they make no use of, because they know not how to take, or tame them: Therefore they bring them tame and well taught from *Cambogia*, a neighbouring Kingdom. These are twice as big as those of *India*, the round Print of their Feet they leave behind them, is not less than half a Yard Diameter; the two Teeth striking out of the Mouth, whereof Ivory is made, are very often four Yards and a half long; that is, those of the Males, for those of the Females are much shorter; by which it is easie to compute, how much those Elephants of *Cochin-China* are bigger than those slewn about in *Europe*, whose Teeth are not above three Quarters of a Yard long. The Elephants live many Years; and I asking, how old one might be? The Driver of it told me, It was sixty Years old before it came from *Cambogia*, and had liv'd forty in *Cochin-China*: And having my self several times travell'd upon Elephants in that Kingdom, I can relate many things that will seem strange, but yet are very true.

Elephants, their Age.

They carry Land and Water

An Elephant generally carries thirteen or fourteen Persons, who are thus dispos'd of: As we lay a Saddle on a Horse, so they clasp a certain Machine upon the Elephant, which is like a Coach, wherein there are four Seats; it is fastned with Chains under the Elephant's Bully, as a Horse's Saddle is girt. The Coach has two Doors on the sides, where six Persons sit, three on a side; and another behind, where there are two more; and lastly, the *Nayre*, who supplies the place of a Coachman, sits over the Elephant's Head, and guides him. Nor have I travell'd in this manner by Land only, but very often by Sea too, crossing Arms of it above a Mile over: And it was wonderful to any Body that knew it not before, to see such a vast great Lump of Flesh swimming under such a Weight, so that it look'd like a Boat rowing. True it is, the Beast groan'd under the Toil, occasion'd by the unreasonable Bulk of its own Body, and the difficulty of Breathing; and therefore to ease it self in that Pain, it suck'd up Water with

the Trunk, and spouted it out so high, that it look'd like some great Whale gliding along the Ocean.

For the same Reason of its mighty Corpulency it finds much difficulty in stooping down; and this being absolutely necessary for the Convenience of Their Passengers to get up to, or down from the Coach, he does it not but when commanded by the *Nayre*; and if when he is kneeling, any one stops but never so little, upon Ceremony, or any other Account, he rises up, not having Patience to continue in that Posture, it is so painful.

Nor is it less wonderful to behold, how at the *Nayre's* Command, he makes, as it were, a Ladder of his Limbs, for the greater Convenience of those that are to get up into the Coach: The first Step is his Foot, which is high enough; for the second, he turns out the first Joint above the same Foot, distant enough from the other; for the third, he bends his Knee; for the fourth, his Hip bone, sticking out to that purpose; and from whence, he that gets up, lays hold of a Chain fastned to the Coach it self, where he seats himself.

By this it plainly appears, how much they are mistaken, who say and write, that the Elephant can neither kneel nor bow down; and that the only way to take him, is to cut the Tree he leans against to sleep: For that falling together with the false Support, and not being able to rise, he becomes a certain Prey to him that lies in wait: Which is all a Fable, tho' it be true that he lies not down to sleep, that being an uneasy posture to him, as has been said, but sleeps always standing, with a continual agitation of his Head.

Upon occasion of War or Battel, they take off the Roof of the Coach, whence, as it were from a Tower, the Soldiers fight with Muskets, Arrows, and sometimes a small Piece of Cannon, the Elephant being strong enough to carry it, his Strength being answerable to all the rest: And I have seen one my self, that would carry vast Weights upon his Trunk; and another that lifted up a great Piece of Cannon with it; and another, who by himself launch'd ten Gallions

How to Sleep.

Their v Strength.

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Gallies one after another, taking 'old of them very dexterously with his Teeth, and shoving them into the Sea. I have seen others pull up large Trees with as much ease as we do a Cabbage, or a Lettice : With the same ease they throw down Houses, levelling whole Streets when they are commanded, either to do harm to an Enemy in War, or to stop the Fury of the Flames upon occasion of any Fire.

The Trunk.

The Trunk's length is proportionable to the height of the rest of his Body, so that he can take up any thing off the Ground with it without stooping. It is made of abundance of small Sinews knit together, which makes it so pliable, that he can take up the least thing, and yet so strong and firm as we have shewn.

All the Body is cover'd with a rough Ash-colour Skin. An Elephant's usual Day's Journey is twelve Leagues, and his Motion has the same effect upon those that are not us'd to it, as that of a Ship has at Sea.

Great Sense of the Elephant.

I shall say nothing more wonderful concerning the Elephant's Docility, or aptness to learn, than what is generally reported ; by which it will appear, there was Reason to say, *No Beast was more sensible than the Elephant* : For it does such things as seem to be the Acts of Prudence and Understanding. In the first place, tho' the *Nayre* makes use of a certain Instrument of Iron a Yard long, which has a Hook at one end, wherewith he strikes and punches him, that he may be watchful and mind what he bids him do, yet for the most part, he governs him only by Words : By which it appears he understands the Language very well ; and some of them understand three or four that are very different, according to the several Countries they have liv'd in. Thus he that I travell'd on, seem'd to understand the Language of *Cambogia*, whence he came, and that of *Cochin-China*, where he was. And who would not admire to hear the *Nayre* discourse with his Elephant ? Tell him the Way and Road he is to take, what Place he is to pass by, what Inn they are to lie at, what they shall there find to eat ; and in short, give him an exact Account of all that is to be done during the Journey ? And to see the Elephant perform what he expects from him, as regularly as any Man of good Sense could do : Inasmuch, that when the Elephant seems to have understood what Place he was

to go to, he takes the shortest Cut to it, without minding the beaten Road, Rivers, Woods, or Mountains, but goes on, not doubting to overcome all Difficulties, as in effect he does : For if any Rivers be in the way, he either fords or swims them ; if Woods, he breaks the Boughs of the Trees, pulls them up whole, or cuts them with a sharp Iron like a Scythe, which to this purpose is fastned to the fore-part of the top of the Coach, wherewith upon occasion having first laid hold of the Boughs, he cuts them with his Trunk, and makes himself way, cutting through the thickest Forest, where it is easily known to have been an Elephant that made the way : And all this he does with great ease and expedition, in Obedience to the *Nayre*.

One only thing disturbs this Creature, The Elephant understands what is said. and puts it to great pain ; which is, when a Thorn, or such like thing, runs into the bottom of his Foot, which is extraordinary soft and tender, and therefore he treads very cautiously, when he goes through Places where there may be danger of such an Accident. I went a Journey once with seven or eight Elephants in a Company, and heard the *Nayres*, every one warn his own Beast, to look out carefully where he set his Feet : For they were to pass over a sandy place about a Mile in length, where Thorns grew up among the Sand ; upon this intimation all the Elephants held down their Heads, and looking out, as it were, for some small thing that is lost, they walk'd that Mile very cautiously, step by step ; till being told there was no more to fear, they lifted up their Heads, going on as they had done at first. Being come at Night to the Inn, the *Nayres* sent the Elephants to the Wood to feed, without taking the Coach off their Backs ; and I asking, Why they did not take it down ? They answer'd, That the Elephants fed on the Boughs of Trees, and therefore they left the Coach on their Backs, that they might cut them with that Iron we said was before it. The next Day being come where there was no Wood, every *Nayre* carry'd a large Bundle of Green Boughs for his Elephant. I took particular Satisfaction to observe one, who more nimbly than the rest, laying hold of those Boughs with his Trunk, bark'd them with his Teeth, and then eat them up as quick, and with as good a Gust, as we would a Fig, or any other sort of Fruit. Discourfing the next Day with

Any Fellow-Travellers, who were about twenty, I told them, how much I was pleas'd to see that Elephant eat the Boughs so cleverly. Then the *Nayre*, by Order of the Elephant's Master, call'd him by his Name, which was *Gnin*, he being at some distance, but presently lifted up his Head to give Ear to what was said to him. *Remember*, said the *Nayre*, *that Father, the Passenger that looked upon you yesterday, when you was eating; take such a Bough as one of them was, and come before him, as you did yesterday.* No sooner had the *Nayre* spoke the words, but the Elephant came before me with a Bough in his Trunk, singling me out among all the Company, shew'd it me, bark'd, and eat it; then inclining himself very low, he went away, as it were, laughing, making Signs of Joy and Satisfaction; leaving me full of astonishment, to see that a Beast should be so apt to understand, and do what it was commanded. Yet the Elephant is obedient to none but the *Nayre*, or his Master; and he will only endure to see them get upon him: For if he should see any other Person mount, there were danger that he would throw down the Coach with his Trunk, and kill him: And therefore when any Body is to get up, the *Nayre* generally covers his Eyes with his Ears, which are very large and ill shap'd.

How they
are cor-
rupted.

If at any time the Elephant does not obey so readily as he should, the *Nayre* beats him cruelly on the middle of his Forehead, standing himself all the while upright on his Head. One time when I was upon him, with several others, the *Nayre* beat him, as has been said, and every Stroke he gave him, it look'd as if we should have been all thrown down headlong. Generally they give him six or seven Strokes on the middle of the Forehead; but with such force, that the Elephant quakes, and yet bears all patiently. There is only one time when he obeys neither the *Nayre*, nor any other Body; which is, when on a sudden he is inflam'd with Lust: For then, being quite besides himself, he bears with no Body, but lays hold of the Coach with all that are in it, killing, destroying, and beating every thing to pieces. But the *Nayre* by certain Signs discovers it a little before it comes, and getting down speedily with all the Passengers, unloads him, taking down the Coach, and leaves him alone in some By-place, till that Fury be over: After which, being sensible of his Error, and

as it were ashamed of himself, he goes with his Head low to receive the Blows that are to be given him, thinking he has deserv'd them.

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Formerly the Elephants were of great use in War, and those Armies were for midable that carried great Troops of them into the Field; but since the *Portugueses* found out the way of using artificial Fireworks to them, they are rather hurtful than otherwise: For not being able to endure those Sparks of Fire which get into their Eyes, they betake themselves to flight, breaking their own Armies, killing and confounding all that stands in their way.

The tame Elephant fights with only two Creatures, which are the wild Elephant, and the Abada, or Rhinoceros; the latter it overcomes, by the first is generally conquer'd. The Rhinoceros is a Beast of shape between a Horse and an Ox, but as big as one of the smallest Elephants, cover'd all over with Scales, as it were so many Plates of Armour. He has but one Horn in the middle of the Forehead, which is strait and pyramidal, and his Feet and Hoofs are like those of an Ox. When I was at *Nacomon*, a City in the Province of *Pulucambi*, the Governour went out to hunt a *Rhinoceros*, that was in a Wood near our Dwelling place. He had with him above a hundred Men, some a Foot, and some a Horseback, and eight or ten Elephants. The *Rhinoceros* came out of the Wood, and seeing so many Enemies, was so far from giving any Tokens of Fear, that it turiously encountered them all; who open'd and making a Lane, let the *Rhinoceros* run through: It came to the Rear, where the Governour was a top of his Elephant, waiting to kill it: The Elephant endeavours to lay hold with his Trunk, but could not by reason of the *Rhinoceros's* swiftness and leaping, that striving to wound the Elephant with its Horn. The Governour knowing it could receive no hurt, by reason of the Scales, unless they struck it on the side, waited till leaping it laid open the naked place, and casting a Dart, dexterously struck it through from side to side, with great Applause and Satisfaction of all the multitude of Spectators; who without any more to do, laid it upon a great Pile of Wood, and setting Fire to it, leap'd and danced about, whilst the Scales were burning, and Flesh roasting, cutting pieces as it roasted, and eating them. Of the Entrails, that is the Heart, Liver,

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Liver, and Brain, they made a more dainty Dish, and gave it to the Governour, who was upon a rising Ground, diverting himself with their Merriment. I being present, obtain'd the Hoofs of the Governour; which are look'd upon

to have the same Quality as the Claws of the Great Beast (or the Hoof of the Elk) and so the Horn is good against Poison, as is the Unicorn's.

CHAP. V.

Of the Qualities, Customs, and Manners, of the Cochin-Chineses : Of their Way of Living, their Habit and Cures.

Colour and
Disposition
of Body of
the Cochin-
Chineses.

THE Cochin-Chineses are in Colour like the *Chineses*; that is, inclining to an Olive colour: I mean those that are nearest the Sea; for those up the Inland, as far as *Tonchin*, are as white as the *Europeans*. The Shape of their Faces is exactly like the *Chineses*, with flat Noses, little Eyes, but of an indifferent Stature, not so small as the *Japaneses*, nor so tall as the *Chineses*. Yet they are stronger and more active than either of them, and braver than the *Chineses*, but are out-done by the *Japaneses* in one thing, which is the Contempt of Life in Dangers and Battels; the *Japaneses* seeming to make no Account of Life, nor to apprehend the least Fear of Death.

Their Ci-
vility.

The Cochin-Chineses are naturally the most courteous and affable of all the *Eastern Nations*; and tho' on the one side they value themselves much upon their Valour, yet on the other they look upon it as a great shame, to suffer themselves to be transported with Passion. And whereas all the other *Eastern Nations*, looking upon the *Europeans* as a profane People, do naturally abhor them, and therefore fly from us when first we come among them: In *Cochin-China* it falls out just contrary; for they strive who shall be nearest us, ask a thousand Questions, invite us to eat with them, and in short use all manner of Courtesy with much Familiarity and Respect. So it hapned to me and my Companions when we first came there, being, as it were, among Friends of an old standing. This is a very good Disposition to facilitate the Preaching of the Gospel.

Liberality.

This loving and easie Disposition is the Cause of much Concord among them, they all treating one another as familiarly as if they were Brothers, or of the same Family, tho' they have

never known or seen one another before; and it would be look'd upon as a most vile Action, if one Man eating any thing, tho' never so little, should not share with all about him, giving every one a bit. They are also naturally kind and free-hearted to the Poor, to whom it is customary among them never to deny an Alms, when ask'd; and it would be reputed a great Fault to deny it, as if it were due to them. Thus it hapned, that some Strangers escaping from a Shipwreck in a Port in *Cochin-China*, and not knowing the Language to make known their want, but learning only this word *Doii*, which signifies, *I am hungry*: When the Natives saw Strangers at their Doors, crying out *Doii*, as if the greatest Misfortune in the World had befallen them, every one strove to be before another in giving them to eat; so that in a short time they gather'd so much Provision, that a Ship being afterwards given them by the King to return to their Country, they took such an Affection to that Country, where they found all things for their Sustenance at such an easie rate, that not a Man of them would go away; so that the Captain of the Ship was forc'd to drive them aboard with many Blows and Cuts, which he effectually did, loading the Ship with the Rice they had gather'd only by going about, crying, *I am hungry*.

But as ready as the Cochin-Chineses are to give, so are they as apt, if not more, to ask any thing they see, so that as soon as ever they cast their Eye on any thing that is new to them, and curious, they say, *Schin Mocaii*; that is, *Give me one of these Things*: And it is such a Rudeness to refuse them, tho' the thing be rare and precious, that whoever should do it, would be ever after look'd upon as a vile Person; so that a Man

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Man must either hide, or be ready to give what he shews. A Portuguese Merchant disliking this uncommon Custom, as not us'd to it, resolv'd, since every one ask'd of him whatsoever he saw, to do the same with them: Accordingly he came to a poor Fisherman's Boat, and laying hold of a Pannier full of Fish, in the Country Language, said to him, *Schin Mocan*, the honest Man made no Answer, but gave him all the Pannier as it was, for him to carry home, as he did, admiring the Liberality of the *Cochin-Chineses*; but taking Compassion on the poor Fisherman, he afterwards paid him the full Value of it.

Their Breedin^g,

The manner of Breeding and Civility the *Cochin-Chineses* use, is more or less the same with that of the *Chineses*, always punctually observing all Niceties; we know these latter observe between Superiours and Inferiours, Equals, and the Respect due to ancient Persons, ever preferring the Eldest, of what Degree soever, and giving them preference before the Younger. Wherefore some of those Gentlemen coming often a Visiting to our House, tho' the Interpreter told them, that a Father we had there somewhat elder than the rest, was not our Superiour: Yet they could never be brought to pay their Respect to the Young Superiour, before the Old Man. In every House, tho' never so poor, the *Cochin-Chineses* have three sorts of Seats: The first and meanest, is a Mat upon the bare Floor, on which Persons of equal Quality sit, as those that are of the same Family. The next is, a low Stool, cover'd with a very fine Mat; which is for Persons of better Account. The third, is a Couch about three quarters of a Yard high, on which only the Lords and Governours of Places sit, or Persons dedicated to the Divine Service, and on this they always make our Father's sit.

This Good Nature and Civility of the *Cochin-Chineses*, makes them so courteous to Strangers, whom they allow to live according to their own Laws, and to wear what Cloaths they please; and so they praise their Customs, and admire their Doctrine, frankly preferring them before their own; quite contrary to the *Chineses*, who despise all but their own Customs and Doctrine.

Fashion of Cloaths.

As for their Habit, we have before observ'd, that it is the general Custom in *Cochin-China* to wear Silk; it only remains to speak of the Fashion of

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the Cloaths. To begin with the Women; I think the modestest Garb of all *India*; for even in the hottest Weather, they suffer no part of the Body to be uncover'd: They wear five or six Petticoats one over another, all of several Colours; the first reaches to the Ground, which they train along the Ground with such Gravity and State, that the tips of their Toes are not seen: The second is half a Span shorter than the first: The third shorter than that; and so one over another; so that all the several Colours appear: And this is the Women's Habit from the Waste downwards, for on their Bodies they wear Doublets checkered, of several Colours; over all they have a Veil; but so thin, that tho' it covers them, yet it is transparent, and shews all their Gaiety with Modesty, and makes a beauteous majestick Appearance. Their Hair is loose, spreading over their Shoulders, so long that it reaches to the Ground, and the longer the greater Beauty they are reckoned. On their Head they wear such a broad Cap, that it covers all their Faces, so that they cannot see above four or five paces before them; and these Caps are interwoven with Silk and Gold, according to the Quality of the Person. The Women when met, are not oblig'd to any other Return of Civility, but to lift up the Brims of their Caps, so much, as their Face may be seen. The Men, instead of Breeches, swath themselves with a whole Piece of Stuff, putting on over them five or six long and large Gowns, all of fine Silk, and of several Colours, with wide Sleeves, like those of the Monks of the Order of *St. Benedict*; and these Gowns, from the Waste downwards, are all slash'd curiously, so that as a Man moves, he makes a shew of all those several Colours together, and if any Wind blows to lift them up, they look like Peacocks with their fine Feathers spread abroad.

They let their Hair grow as the Women do, down to their Heels, and wear the same sort of Hats, or broad Caps. Those who have any Beard, and they are but few, never cut it; being in this like the *Chineses*, as they are in suffering the Nails of their Hands to grow, which the People of Note never pare; this being a Mark of Distinction between them and the Commonalty, who always keep them short, for the convenience of their Trades; whereas the Gentry have them so long, that they cannot grasp any small thing in their

Hair and Nails ne^r cut.

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Hands.

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hands. Nor can they approve of our Fashion of cutting our Hair and Nails, being of Opinion, that they were given by Nature, as an Ornament to Man : So that some Discourse arising once concerning Hair, they started an Objection, which was not so easie to answer at sight, saying : *If the Saviour of the World, whom in your Allions you profess your selves to imitate, wore his Hair long, after the manner of the Nazarites, as you your selves do affirm, and shew by your Pictures, why do not you do so too ?* Adding, *That our Saviour's wearing long Hair, demonstrated it to be the better Fashion.* But at last they were satisfi'd with the Answer we made, that this Imitation did not consist in the outward Dress.

The Scholars.

The Scholars and Doctors are somewhat more gravely clad, without so many Colours and Stashes, and therefore cover all their Gowns with one of black Damask. They also wear a thing like a Stole about their Necks, and a blew Silk Maniple on their Arms, covering their Heads with Caps made after the manner of Miters.

Both Men and Women carry Fans in their Hands, rather for Ornament than Use, and they are not unlike to those the Women in Europe use. For Mourning, as we Europeans use black, they wear white. They never uncover their Heads in Saluting, that being look'd upon as an uncivil Action : Wherein they agree with the *Chineses*, among whom that Custom is reputed so un-mannerly, that to comply with them in this particular, the Fathers of the Society were forced to obtain leave of Pope Paul the Fifth, to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass cover'd. In short, the *Cochin-Chineses*, wear neither Shoes nor Stockins, only saving their Feet with Leather Soles fastned across the Toes with Silk, like Sandals; nor do they think it indecent to go quite bare-foot, and tho' going shod, or unshod, they are apt to dirty their Feet, they value it not, there being in every House at the Door of the chief Room, a large Pan of clean Water, in which they wash their Feet, leaving those Soles or Sandals they use there, to take them again when they go away, because they cannot then dirt their Feet, all the Floors being cover'd with Mats.

The *Cochin-Chineses* not being so fond of their own Customs, as to despise those of Sarangais, as the *Chineses* do, our Fathers in those parts have no occasion to change their Habit, wherein they differ but little from the generality

of all India. They wear a thin Cotton Cassock, which they call *Ehngon*, and is generally blew, without any Cloak, or other Upper-Garment. They have no Shoes, neither alter the European, nor Country Fashion, the first they cannot get, because there is no Body knows how to make them; and the latter they cannot endure, because of the pain it is to any Body that is not us'd to it, to have his Toes spread at a distance from one another, by reason of the Buttons that fasten them on, and therefore they choose as the less Evil, to go quite bare foot, tho' it exposes them to continual Pains in the Bowels, especially at first, by reason of the dampness of the Country, and their not being us'd to it. True it is, that in time Nature complies, and the Skin grows so hard, that it is no pain to walk upon Stones or Briars. When I return'd to Macao, I could not endure Shoes, thinking them a weight and encumbrance to my Feet.

The chief Suttenance of the *Cochin*. Their *D*: *Chineses* is Rice, and it is wonderful, that tho' the Country abounds in Flesh, Fowl, Fish, and Fruit, of so many several sorts, yet when they eat, they first fill their Belly with Rice, and then taste of other things, as it were for Fashion-sake. They make more account of Rice than we do of Bread, and that it may not clog them, they eat it alone without any seasoning of Salt, Sugar, Oil, or Butter, but boil'd in so much Water as will keep it from burning to, so that the Grain remains whole, only softned and moistned. For this very reason that the Rice is not season'd, it is the easier of Digestion, and therefore they that live upon Rice, as they do in the East, commonly eat it at least four times a Day, and a great quantity of it to support Nature. The *Cochin-Chineses* eat sitting cross-legg'd on the Ground, with a round Table before them Breast-high, with Mouldings, or adorn'd with Silver or Gold, according to the People's Quality or Wealth. It is not very large, because the Custom is for every Man to have one to himself, so that at a Feast, as many Guests as there are, so many Tables are provided, and the same is done when they dine privately; only, sometimes, Man and Wife, or Father and Son, will make a shift with the same Table. They neither use Knives nor Forks, of the first they have no need, because every thing is brought up from the Kitchen cut into small bits; the place of the last is supplied by two little Sticks, wherewith

hey neatly and very readily take up any thing; nor have they any need of Napkins, for they never foil their Hands, nor touch any thing with them.

There are frequent Invitations among Neighbours, and at these Entertainments they provide other sorts of Dishes than what we have hitherto spoke of; for they make no account of Rice, supposing every Man has enough of that at home; and tho' he that treats be never so poor, he does not come off with Credit, unless every Guest's Table be serv'd with at least an hundred Dishes, and it being the Custom to invite all their Friends, Kindred, and Neighbours, there is no Feast where there is less than thirty, forty, fifty, sometimes a hundred, and even two hundred Guests: I was once my self at a solemn Entertainment, at which no less than two thousand were feasted, and therefore these Banquets must be made in the Country, that there may be room for so many Tables. Nor must any Body admire that the Tables being small, they be furnish'd with a hundred Dishes at least; for upon these Occasions they very curiously make Frames of Sugar-Canes on the Table, on which they dispose of the said Dishes; and there must be in them all the Varieties of Meat the Country produces, as well Flesh as Fish, and Butchers Meat as Fowl, wild and tame Creatures, with all sorts of Fruit the Season affords; for if but one were wanting, it would be a great Fault in the Entertainer, and they would not count it a Feast. The Men of Quality that are invited eat first, being waited on by their chief Servants. When the Masters have tasted of all they like best, these same principal Servants take their places, and eat, being waited on by the inferior sort: Then these succeed in their places; and because all of them are not able to consume such Plenty, and according to Custom all the Dishes must be emptied; when these are satisfied, then the very meanest Servants of every Great Man come in, and do not only eat their Belly-full, but put up all the Fragments in Bags they carry for that purpose, and carry them home, where they merrily divide it among the Boys, and other mean Fry, and so the Feast ends.

Cochin-China produces no Grapes, and therefore instead of Wine they drink a Liquor distill'd from Rice, which tastes like Brandy, and resembles it in colour and harshness, spirit and briskness, and

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they have such plenty of it, that all People in general drink as much as they will of it, and are as drunk as People are among us with Wine. Graver Persons mix that Liquor with some other Water distill'd from *Calamba*; which gives it a delicious Smell, and is a delicate Composition.

Between Meals they drink hot Water, wherein they boil the Root of an Herb they call *Chia*, from which the Liquor takes name. It is cordial, and helps to dispel Humours from the Stomach, and advance Digestion. The *Japaneses* and *Chineses*, use such a sort of Drink, only that in *China*, instead of the Root, they boil the Leaves of the Herb; and in *Japan*, a Powder made of the same Leaves; but the effect is the same, and they all call it *Chia*.

Amidst this great plenty of Meat, and abundance of Provisions, it is incredible how much Hunger and Thirst we *Europeans* endure; not so much for want of Food, as because we are not us'd to that Diet, Nature finding a very great misf of Bread and Wine: And I believe the *Cochin-Chineses* would be in the same Condition, should they come into *Europe*, where they would be depriv'd of their usual Sustainance of Rice, tho' they had plenty of other delicate Provisions. To this purpose I will not omit to relate what hapned to us with a Governour of *Cochin-China*, he being a Friend of ours, was invited by us to eat at our House; and the more to shew our Affection, we endeavour'd to have several Dishes dress'd for him after the *European* manner. He sat down to Table, and when we expected he should acknowledge our Kindness, commend the Cookery, and thank us for the Rarity, because we had been at much trouble about it: When he had tasted them all, he could not eat of any one, tho' out of Civility he strove against his Stomach; and we were forc'd to dress more Meat after the Country-fashion, the best we could, whereof he afterwards eat very favourably, to his own and our satisfaction. Yet Providence does not neglect a thousand ways to support those that undergo these Hardships for the Preaching of the Gospel, finding means, even in this World, to requite what they suffer for the sake of God, as happens in this particular of Food, as was before said of going bare-foot; for by degrees Nature grows familiar with it, and comes to be so habituated to the Custom of the Country, that it looks

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when to return to its first ways. It hapned to me, who when I return'd from thence, covered nothing but the Rice of *Cochin-China*, which I thought satisfied me more than any other thing.

Physicians. As for Physicians, and their Way of Practice, there are abundance of Doctors, not only *Portugueses*, but Natives; and it often is experimentally known, that the Country Physicians easily cure several Diseases, which the *European* Physicians know not what to do with: So it sometimes happens, that after our Physicians have given over a Patient, they call one of the Country, and he cures him.

Way of Practice.

The Physicians of the Country use this sort of Practice: Being come to the Patient's Bed-side, they stay a little to settle themselves after the motion of coming; then they feel the Pulse for a long while together, very attentively, and with much consideration; after which they usually say, You have such a Distemper; and if incurable, they honestly say, I have no Cure for this Disease: Which is a sign the Patient will die. If they find the Disease curable, they say, I have a Medicine that will cure him; and I will do it in so many Days. Then they agree what they are to have if they cure the Sick Man, bargaining the best they can, and sometimes they draw up Writings to bind the Contract. After this the Physician himself prepares the Medicine, without the help of an Apothecary; for which reason there are none in the Country: And this they do, that they may not discover the Secret of the Art they work; and because they will not trust another to put together the Ingredients they prescribe. If the Patient recovers within the time appointed, as generally happens, he pays the Price agreed on; if he miscarries, the Physician loses his Labour and Medicines.

Medicines.

The Medicines they give are not like ours, which cause a loathing, and are laxative; but theirs are palatable as their Broaths, and nourishing without any other Sustenance, which makes them give the Patient several Doses in a Day, as we give Broath at so many Hours interval; and these do not alter the Course of Nature, but only help the usual Operations of Nature, dispersing the peccant Humours, without wracking the Patient.

A notable Story.

I remember a passage worth the relating in this place: A *Portuguese* falling sick, sent for the *European* Physi-

cians; who having us'd their Endeavours, gave him over. When they were gone, a Physician of the Country was call'd; who undertook to cure him in so many Days, strictly enjoining him, whilst he was under his Hands, to have a care of having to do with Women, upon pain of certain Death, from which the Virtue of his Medicine could not deliver him. They agreed upon the Price, and the Physician undertook to cure him in thirty Days. The Patient took the Medicines prescribed him, and in a few Days found himself so well recovered, that he was not afraid to transgress the Physician's Injunction; who coming to visit him, by the alteration of his Pulse discover'd the sick Man's Incontinency, and bid him prepare to die, because there was no Cure for him; but that he should pay him his Money, since it was none of his fault that he must die. The Case was try'd; the sick Man was adjudg'd to pay; And so he dy'd.

Bleeding is also used, but not so much as in *Europe*, nor is it done with a Steel Lancet; but they have abundance of Goose-Quills, in which they fix some bits of fine Porcelane, made sharp, and shap'd like the Teeth of a Saw, some bigger, some less, of several sizes. When they are to let Blood, they apply one of these Quills to the Vein, proportionable to the bigness of it, and giving it a flip with the Finger, open the Vein, only so much of the Porcelane entering as is requisite: And what is most wonderful, when they have drawn the Blood, they use no Fillet or Binding to stop it; but wetting their Thumb with Spittle they press the Orifice, so that the Fleth returning to the place whence it was parted, the Blood is stoppt, and runs out no more: Which I suppose to proceed from the manner of opening the Vein, as it were sawing it with that Porcelane full of Teeth, and therefore it closes again the easier.

There are also Surgeons, who have Surgeons some wonderful Secrets, whereof I will give but two Instances, one practis'd upon my self, the other upon one of our Brothers, my Companion: I hapned to fall from a very high place, with my Breast against the corner of a Stone, whereupon I presently began to spit Blood, and had a Wound in my Breast outwardly. We applied some Medicines after our *European* manner, but to no purpose. A Surgeon of the Country came and took a quantity of a certain

Great
Cures.

certain Herb like that we call Mercury, and making it into a Plaister, laid it on my Breast, then he caus'd some of that Herb to be boil'd for me to drink, and made me eat the same Herb raw : And thus in a few Days perfectly cur'd me. I to make another Experiment, caus'd the Leg of a Hen to be broke in several places, and making a Plaister as he had done of the same Herb, bound it upon the broken Leg, and in a few Days it was whole and found.

A Scorpion bit a Brother of ours, my Companion, in the Neck ; and in that Kingdom the Bite of a Scorpion is mortal. All his Throat swell'd immediately, and we were about giving him Extreme Unction. A Surgeon was sent for, who immediately set a Pot of Rice a boiling in nothing but fair Water, then clapping the Pot to the Brother's

Face cover'd him and it close with Cloths, that the Steam might not go out, and as soon as the said Steam and hot Smoke of the Rice came up to the place where the Bite was, the Brother felt the Pain assuage, the Swelling in his Throat fell, and he remain'd as found as if nothing had ail'd him.

Many other Instances might be added, but I shall only say, that the Medicines in those Parts have a greater Virtue than when they come to us ; and particularly I can affirm, that I brought with me a small Cask of *Rhubarb*, which was extraordinary good there, and when I came into *Europe*, having spent two Years by the way, I found it so chang'd, that I scarce knew it my self, so that those Medicines lose much of their Virtue in bringing from those Countries to our Parts.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Civil and Political Government of the Cochin-Chinefes.

I Will give a brief Account of as much as may suffice for the Reader's Information ; for it would be too tedious, and from the purpose of this my short Relation, to discourse of every thing in particular. The Government of *Cochin-China*, in general, is a Medium betwixt those of *China* and *Japan* : For whereas the *Japoneses* make less account of Learning than Military Knowledge : And on the contrary, the *Chinefes* attribute all to Learning, taking little Notice of Warlike Affairs. The *Cochin-Chinefes* following the Example of neither, equally encourage Learning, and Skill in War, according as occasion offers, sometimes preferring the Soldier, and sometimes the Scholar, and so repulsing them as appears most convenient.

• In *Cochin China* there are several Universities, in which there are Professors, Scholars, and Degrees conferr'd by way of Examination, in the same manner as is practis'd in *China*, the same Sciences being taught, and the same Books and Authors read ; that is, *Zinsu*, or *Confucius*, as the *Portugueses* call them ; which are Authors of such profound Learning, and in such Esteem and Reputation among them, as *Aristotle* is among us, being much, ancienter than

he. These Books of theirs are full of Erudition, of Stories, of grave Sentences, of Proverbs, and such like things, for the directing a Civil Life, as are *Seneca*, *Cato*, and *Cicero*, among us ; and they spend many Years in learning the true sense of the Phrases, Words, Characters, and Hieroglyphicks, they are writ in ; but that they most value is Moral Philosophy, or Ethicks, Oeconomy, and Policy. It is comical to see and hear them, when they are Studying, read and repeat their Lessons in such a Tone as if they were singing, which they do to use themselves to it, and give every Word its proper Accents, which are many, every one expressing a several thing : And therefore one would think, that to converse with them, a Man must understand the Grounds of Musick.

The Language they generally speak, is different from that they read and teach in at the Schools, and which their Books are writ in : As among us the Vulgar Language differs from the *Latin* generally us'd in the Schools. Wherein they differ from the *Chinefes*, who, if they are Learned, or Noble, always use the same Language, which they call of *Mandarines* ; that is, of Doctors, Judges, and Governours, and the Characters they use in writing and printing their Books, are

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are above 8000, all differing from one another. And for this Reason the Fathers of the Society spend eight, and even ten Years, in studying the *Chinese* Books, before they can be Masters, and go abroad to converse with them. But the *Cochin Chineses* have reduced the Characters to 2000, which they generally make use of: And these are enough to express themselves in their Harangues, Letters, Petitions, Memorials, and such things which do not belong to printed Books; for those of necessity must be in *Chinese* Characters. The *Japoneses* have been more ingenious, who tho' in all that belongs to Books, whether written or printed, they agree with the *Chineses*; yet for all common uses have found out 48 Letters, wherewith they express whatsoever they please, as well as we do with our Alphabet: And yet the *Chinese* Characters are in such esteem even among the *Japoneses*, that these 48 Letters, notwithstanding the use they are of above the others, are condemn'd in comparison of them; inasmuch, that in scorn they call them Womens Letters.

The ingenious Invention of Printing was found out in *China*, and *Cochin-China*, long before it was in *Europe*: but not in such perfection: For they do not Compose joining Letters and Characters, but with a Graver, Pen-knife, or such Instrument, cut and carve the Characters upon a Stone as they will have them in their Books: On this Board so carv'd they lay their Paper, and print it off, as we in *Europe* do Copper-plates, or the like.

Besides these Books of Morals, they have others, which contain things they account sacred; as for instance: The Creation and Beginning of the World: Of the rational Souls of Demons: Of Idols, and of their several Sects. These Books are call'd *Saye Kim*, to distinguish them from the profane, which they call *Saye Chiu*. Of the Doctrine of their Sacred Books, we shall treat in the Second Part of this Account, where the Subject will be more suitable.

Tho' the Language of the *Cochin-Chineses* be in one respect like that of the *Chineses*, both of them using all Monosyllables, deliver'd in several Tones and Accents; yet they utterly differ in the word it self, the *Cochin-Chinese* being more full of Vowels, and consequently softer and sweeter, more copious in Tones and Accents, and therefore more harmonious. The Language

of *Cochin China* is, in my Opinion, the easiest of any, for those that have a Musical Ear, to take the Tones and Accents; for it has no variety by way of Conjugation of Verbs, or Declination of Nouns, but one and the same word, with the addition of an Adverb, or Pronoun, signifies the Present, the Preterit, and Future Tenses, the Singular Number, and the Plural; and in fine, serves for all Moods, Tenses, and Persons, and the diversity of Numbers and Cases. For instance: This word, *To have*, which in the *Chinese* Language is *Co*, by only adding a Pronoun, serves all occasions, saying, *I have*, *Thou have*, *He have*; the Name of the Person making that diversity, which we express by altering the termination, thus, *I have*, *Thou hast*, *He has*. In the same manner they make the several Tenses; saying, for the Present, *I now have*; for the Preterit, *I heretofore have*; and for the Future, *I hereafter have*; And so without ever altering the word *Co*; by which it appears how easily this Language may be learn'd: As it hapned to me, who in six Months understood so much, that I could discourse, and even hear their Confessions, tho' not so perfectly, for it requires at least four Years to be a Master. [This variety of Moods and Tenses, appears better by the Latin, or other Languages, than in English, where we use much the same Method, as he represents in *Cochin-China*; our Variations the same, being but few, as to instance in the same word, *I have*, *You have*, *We have*, *They have*, *I shall have*, *May we have*: And so in this, and many others.]

But to return to our Relation: I was saying, that the *Cochin-Chineses* reward not only the Learned with Dignities, Employments, and Revenues; but that they make great account of good Soldiers, in which particular they act differently from us; for instead of assigning brave Commanders, some Land, Earldom, or Marquisate, as a Reward of their Valour, they allot him such a number of People, and Vassals, belonging to the King himself, who whatsoever part of the Kingdom they live in, are oblig'd to own him as their Lord, to whom they have been assign'd by the King, being bound upon all Occasions to serve him with their Weapons, and to pay him all those Duties they before paid to the King himself; and therefore, as we say, such a one is Lord, Earl, or Marquis of such a place; they say, such

Rewards
for Military
Men.

he Language.

such a one is a Man of fifty, such a one of a thousand Men, to such a one the King has added three thousand, to such a one two thousand; their Dignity, Wealth, and Grandeur increasing by the addition of many Vassals. We shall speak of the Wars of this Kingdom in the next Chapter.

Trials at Law.

It remains that we say somewhat worth being known of the Civil Government. In the first they govern rather after a Military manner, than by Judges, Counsellors, and Lawyers, and their Formalities, the Vice-Roys and Governours of Provinces performing that Function; for every Day they give Publick Audience for four Hours daily, in a large Court within their own Palace, two Hours in the Morning, and two after Dinner. Hither all Suits and Complaints are brought, and the Vice-Roy, or Governour, sitting on a Tribunal rais'd like a Balcony, hears every Man in his turn; and these Governours being generally Men of sound Judgment, Capacity, and Experience, they easily discover the truth of the matter by the Questions they put, and much more by the common Consent of the Stander by, which is gather'd by the Applause they give the Plaintiff, or Defendant, and accordingly they immediately, without delay, give Judgment with a loud Voice, which is immediately executed without any Demur, or Appeal, whether the Sentence be Death, Banishment, Whipping, or Fine, every Crime being punish'd as the Law appoints.

False Witnesses, how punish'd.

The Crimes generally try'd and severely punish'd are many, but they are particularly rigid against false Witnesses, Thieves, and Adulterers. The first of these being convicted of having given false Evidence, are themselves indissolubly condemn'd, as if they themselves had committed the Crime they accuse others of. And if the Crime they alledg'd deserv'd Death, they are sentenc'd to die: And Experience teaches, that this way of Trial is very proper to find out the truth.

Thieves.

Thieves, if the Theft be considerable, are beheaded; if small, as for Example, a Hen, for the first Offence they have a Finger cut off, for the second another Finger, for the third an Ear, and for the fourth the Head.

Adulterers.

Adulterers, both Men and Women, indifferently, are cast to the Elephants to be kill'd, which is done thus: They lead the Criminal out into the Field,

where in the presence of an infinite number of People flocking together, he is set in the middle with his Hands and Feet bound, near an Elephant, to whom the condemn'd Persons Sentence is read, that he may execute every part of it orderly; first that he lay hold of, grasp, and hold him fast with his Trunk, and so hold him in the Air, shewing him to all the Company; then that he toss him up, and catch him upon the Points of his Teeth, that his own weight may strike them through him; that then he dash him against the Ground; and lastly, that he bruise and crush him to pieces with his Feet: All which is exactly perform'd by the Elephant, to the great Terror and Amazement of the Spectators, who are taught by this Punishment, at another Man's cost, what Fidelity is due between married Persons.

Since we are upon this Point of Matrimony, it will not be from the purpose to deliver some farther Particulars concerning it, before we conclude this Chapter. The *Cochin-Chineses*, tho' Heathens, never use to contract Matrimony within those Degrees forbid by the Laws of God and Nature, nor within the first Degree of the Collateral Line of Brothers and Sisters. In other Degrees Matrimony is lawful to every Man with only one Woman; tho' rich Men use to have many Concubines, under pretence of Grandeur and Generosity, looking upon it as Covetousness, not to have as many as every Man's Income will conveniently maintain; and these are call'd second, third, fourth, and fifth Wives, and so on, according to every one's Rank, all which wait upon the first, which is accounted, and really is the true Wife, whose Business it is to chuse the others for her Husband. But these Marriages of theirs are not indissoluble, the Laws of *Cochin-China* allowing of Divorces, but not at the Will of either Party, being first requisite, that the Person suing for it, convict the other of many Offences; which being made out, it is lawful to dissolve the first Marriage, and marry again. The Husbands bring the Portion, and leave their own House, to go to the Wife's; upon whose Fortunes they live, the Women managing all the Household Affairs, and governing the Family, whilst the Husband lives idle at home, hardly knowing what there is in the House, satisfy'd that they have Meat and Cloth.

BORRI.

C H A P. VII.

*Of the Power of the King of Cochin-China, and of the Wars he has in his Kingdom.*Their Skill
in Cannon
and small
Arms.

I Took Notice at the beginning of this Account, that *Cochin-China* was a Province of the great Kingdom of *Tonchin*, usurp'd by the Grandfather of the King now Reigning; who being made Governour of it, rebell'd against the said King of *Tonchin*; to which he was not a little encourag'd, by having in a short time got together a great many Pieces of Cannon of the Wrecks of several *Portuguese* and *Dutch* Ships, cast away upon those Rocks, which being taken up by the Country People, there are above sixty of the biggest, at this time, to be seen in the King's Palace. The *Cochin-Chinese* are now become so expert in managing Artillery, that they perform it better than the *Europeans*, practising continually to shoot at a Mark, with such success, that being proud of their Skill, as soon as any *European* Ship arrives in their Ports, the King's Gunners challenge ours, who being sensible that they cannot stand in competition with them, as near as they can, avoid this Trial of Skill, being convinced by Experience, that they will hit any thing as exactly with a Cannon, as another shall do with a Firelock; which they are also very expert at, often drawing out into the Field to exercise. Another great Encouragement to Rebellion, was, his having above a hundred Gallies, which rendering him formidable by Sea, and the Artillery by Land, he easily compass'd his Designs against the King of *Tonchin*. Besides, by reason of the constant Trade in *Japan*, there were in *Cochin-China* abundance of *Catana's*, which are Scimitars made in *Japan*, and excellently temper'd: And all the Country abounding in Horfes, which tho' small, are handsome and mettlesome, on which they fight, casting Darts, and daily exercise themselves.

Gallies, Scimitars, and Horfes.

King's Power.

The Power of this King is so great, that whensoever he pleases, he can bring 80000 fighting Men into the Field, and yet is always in fear of the King of *Tonchin*, whose Power is four times as great; to whom, for quietness sake, he, by Agreement, pays a Tribute, of all

such things as his Kingdom affords, and are useful for that of *Tonchin*, particularly of Gold, Silver, and Rice; furnishing, besides all this, Plank and Timber for building of Gallies. And for the same Reason he was about entering into a League with the fugitive Son of the late King, who Lorded it in the utmost Province of *Tonchin*, which borders upon *China*, that in case he succeeded, and became Master of *Tonchin*, *Cochin-China* might remain free from all Tribute and Acknowledgment.

For the better understanding hereof, it is to be observ'd, that when I was in *Cochin China*, that Kingdom was in the possession not of the precedent King, but the Tutor or Governour of that Son, who made his escape from the said Governour to save his Life. The said Prince liv'd like a Fugitive, in the farthest Province adjoining to *China*; where being known to be what he was, that is, the late King's Son, he was receiv'd by that People as their Sovereign Lord, and by his good Government he had so strengthened himself, that his Tutor already declar'd King of *Tonchin*, was much afraid, seeing him grow so great, lest he should agree with the King of *Cochin China*, who is on the opposite side, to catch him between them, and expel him his unjust Possession. He therefore every Year form'd a considerable Army to destroy the aforesaid Prince; but always to no purpose, because the Army being of necessity to march five or six Days, tho' a Country where there is no other Water to drink, but that of some Rivers coming from the Enemies Country; the Army always found it poison'd by the Prince's Party, with a sort of Herb, the effect whereof was such, that it destroy'd both Men and Horfes; which oblig'd him always to retire after much Trouble and Expence cast away.

The Military Discipline, and Art of War in *Cochin China*, is almost the same as in *Europe*, the same Fortn being observ'd in drawing up, fighting, and retiring. This King has generally War in three parts of his Kingdom: First, he is always

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An ACCOUNT of Cochin-China.

upon his Defence against the King of *Tonchin*, who as has been said continually threatens and assaults his Frontiers, and therefore the King of *Cochin-China* has his Residence in *Sinuaa*, the extreme part of his Dominions, the better to oppose him, and march his Forces towards the Confines of *Tonchin*, which is a powerful Province, and generally under experienced and martial Governments.

The next is a sort of Civil War, rais'd by two of his own Brothers, who aiming to be equal in Command and Power, not satisfy'd with what has been allotted them, have rebell'd against him, and craving Succours from *Tonchin*, gave him perpetual trouble. Whilst I liv'd in those parts, they having got some Pieces of Cannon, which they carry'd upon Elephants, fortify'd themselves so well upon the Frontiers, that the King's Army marching against them, was in the first Engagement routed with the loss of 2000 Men; but coming to a second Battle, the King's Brothers lost all they had gain'd before, being both made Prisoners; and they had both immediately lost their Lives, had not his Majesty's Natural Clemency and Brotherly Affection prevail'd, and taken place of his Anger, so far as to spare their Lives, yet so as to keep them Prisoners.

The third place where he has continual War, is on the West-side, and utmost Bound of his Kingdom call'd *Rennan*, against the King of *Champa*; whose Efforts being weaker, are sufficiently repuls'd by the Troops of that same Province, and the Governour.

He is also in continual Motion, and making Warlike Preparations to assist the King of *Cambogia*, who has marry'd his Bastard Daughter, sending him Succours of Gallies, and Men, against the King of *Siam*; and therefore the Arms of *Cochin-China*, and their Valour, is famous and renowned, as well by Sea as by Land.

At Sea they fight in Gallies, as has been said, each of which carries Cannon, and is mann'd with Musketers: Nor will it seem strange, that the King of *Cochin-China* has an hundred, or more, Gallies in a readiness, when the Method of furnishing them is known. It is therefore to be observ'd, that the *Cochin-Chinenses* do not use to have a Crew of Criminals, or other Slaves, to row in their Gallies; but when they are to go

out to fight, or for any other purpose, the way to man them immediately is this: A great number of Officers, and Commissaries, go out privately, and scouring on a sudden all together throughout the whole Kingdom, with the King's Authority, press all they find fit for the Oar, conducting them all together to the Gallies, unless they be exempted by Birth, or any other Privilege. Nor is this Method so troublesome as it appears at first sight: For in the first place they are well us'd and paid aboard the Gallies; and besides, their Wives and Children are fed and provided with all things necessary, according to their Condition, all the while they are from their Houses. Nor do they only serve at the Oar, but upon occasion lay hold of their Weapons, and behave themselves bravely, for which purpose every one has his Musket, Darts, and Scimitar allotted him; and the *Cochin-Chinenses* being of an undaunted Spirit, and brave, they give good Tokens of their Valour, either rowing to join their Enemies, or with their Arms when join'd. Their Gallies are somewhat less, but particularly narrower than ours, but so near, and so well adorn'd with Gold and Silver, that they afford a glorious sight. Chiefly the Stem, which they account the most honourable Post, is all over Gold, there the Captain and Persons of chief Note have their Station; and the Reason they give for it is, that it being the Captain's Duty to be the first upon any danger, it is fit he should be in the properest part of the Gally for that purpose.

Among other sorts of Defensive Arms they use in War, they have certain oval, hollow Targets, so long that they cover a Man quite, and so light, that they can manage them without any trouble. The Cities of this Kingdom have a great advantage in the manner of their Houses, which being all of Wood upon Pillars of Timber, as has been said before, when the Enemy comes so strong, that they perceive they cannot oppose him, every Man flies to the Mountain with what he has, firing the Houses, so that the Enemy finds nothing but the Ruins left by the Flames, and having no place to fortifie himself, nor any thing to rely on, is forced to retire back to his own Country, and the Inhabitants returning to the same place in a short time, with great ease rebuild their Houses.

BORRI.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Trade and Ports of Cochin-China.

Trade of
Cochin-
China.

THE great plenty *Cochin-China* affords of all things necessary for the support of Human Life, as has been said before, is the cause that the People have no Curiosity, or Inclination to go into other Kingdoms to trade; and therefore they never go so far to Sea, as to lose sight of their beloved Shore; yet they are very ready to admit of Strangers, and are very well pleas'd they should come not only from the neighbouring Countries, but from the remotest Parts to trade with them. Nor do they need to use any Art for this purpose, Strangers being sufficiently allur'd by the Fruitfulness of the Country, and the great Wealth which abounds there, and therefore they resort thither not only from *Tonchin*, *Cambogia*, *Chincheos*, and other neighbouring places, but from the remotest, as *China*, *Macao*, *Japan*, *Manilla*, and *Malacca*, all of them carrying Silver to *Cochin-China*, to carry away the Commodities of the Country, which are not bought, but exchang'd for Plate, which is here put off as a Commodity, being sometimes worth more, and sometimes less, according as there is more or less plenty of it, as is usual with Silk and other Goods.

All the Coin they use is of Brass, and of the same value, like a *Quattrine*, 500 of which make a Crown. These Pieces are quite round, with the King's Arms and Ensign stamp'd on them, and every one of them has a hole through the middle, which serves to string them by thousands, and every thousand is worth two Crowns.

Rich Trade
of the Chi-
nese and
Japoneses.

The *Chinese* and *Japoneses*, drive the chief Trade of *Cochin-China*; which is manag'd at a Fair held yearly at one of the Ports of this Kingdom, and lasting about four Months. The *Chinese*, in their Vessels they call *Junks*, bring the value of four or five Millions in Plate; and the *Japoneses*, in their Ships call'd *Sampanes*, bring a quantity of very fine *Silk*, and other Commodities of their Country. The King has a vast Revenue from this Fair by Customs, and Imposts, and all the whole Country receives great profit. The *Cochin-Chinese* applying themselves very little to Arts, because

plenty makes them lazy; and being soon taken with the Curiosities of other Countries it comes to pass, that they put a great Value upon, and buy at great Rates, many things, which to others are of very small worth; as for instance, Combs, Needles, Bracelets, and Pendants of Glass, and such-like Womens Tackling. I remember a *Portuguese*, who bringing into *Cochin-China* from *Macao*, a Box full of Needles, which could not be worth above thirty Ducats, made above a thousand of it, selling that for Six-pence in *Cochin-China*, which had not cost him above a Farthing at *Macao*. In short, they out-bid one another, in buying any thing that is very new and strange, without sparing for Price. They are very fond of our Hats, of Caps, of Girdles, Shirts, and all other sorts of Garments we wear, because they are quite different from theirs; but above all, they put a great Value upon Coral.

As for their Ports, it is wonderful that in a Coast little more than an hundred Leagues in length, there should be above sixty most convenient Landing-places; which is so, because there are many large Arms of the Sea. But the principal Port, to which all Strangers resort, and where the afore mention'd Fair is kept, is that of the Province of *Caccbian*; which has two Mouths, or Inlets from the Sea, the one call'd *Puluchiampello*, and the other of *Turon*, being at first three or four Leagues distant from one another, but running in seven or eight Leagues like two great Rivers, at last join in one, where the Vessels that come in both ways meet. Here the King of *Cochin-China* assign'd the *Chinese*, and *Japoneses*, a convenient Spot of Ground, to build a City for the benefit of the Fair. This City is call'd *Kaiso*, and is so large, that we may say they are two, one of *Chinese*, the other of *Japoneses*, for they are divided from one another, each having a distinct Governour, and the *Chinese* live according to the Law of *China*, as the *Japoneses* do according to the Law of *Japan*.

And because, as the King of *Cochin-China* has admittance to all Nations whatsoever, the

Dutch resorted thither with all sorts of Commodities. Hereupon the *Portugueses* of *Macao*, resolv'd to send an Embassador to the King, to demand in their Name, that the *Dutch*, as mortal Enemies to their Nation, should be excluded all *Cochin-China*. One Captain *Ferdinand da Costa*, a Man well known for his Valour, was appointed to go upon this Embassy; which he deliver'd, and was favourably heard, with Assurances of obtaining his Demands. Nevertheless, whilst he was yet at that Court, there arriv'd a *Dutch* Ship, and coming to an Anchor in the Port, some of them landed with much Mirth and Jollity, and presently went with rich Presents to the King: He accepted of them very graciously, and granted them the usual Liberty of Trading freely in his Kingdom. *Acosta* hearing of it, went presently to the King, and complaining, That His Majesty did not keep his Word with him, in a *Portuguese* Bravado gave a Stamp on the Ground to shew his Resentment. The King, and all the Courtiers were pleas'd at his Proceeding, and bid him have Patience, they would see the event, and he should see them all in a short time, continuing, dissatisfied with him, till he had seen while he ordered the *Dutch* to go ashore, and land all their Goods against the Fair at *Turon*, as the *Portugueses* did; which they perform'd: But as they were going upon the River in Boats, they were on a sudden assaulted by the Gallies, which destroy'd most of them. The King remain'd Master of their Goods; and to justify this Action, alledg'd, That he very well knew the *Dutch*, as notorious Pyrates, who infested all the Seas, were worthy of severer Punishment; and therefore, by Proclamation, forbid any of them ever resorting to his Country: And it was actually found, that those very Men had robb'd some Vessels of *Cochin-China*, and therefore took this just Revenge; admitting the *Portugueses* as good and sincere Friends: Who not long after sent another Embassador from *Macao*, to obtain of the King a Confirmation of the aforesaid

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Fact at the instance of *Acosta*, alleging as a Motive, the Danger that the *Dutch*, in time, might cunningly possess themselves of some part of *Cochin-China*, as they had done in other parts of *India*. But this new Embassador was advis'd by knowing Men of that Country, not to mention any such thing to the King, because that very thing would be a Motive to him to grant the *Dutch* a free Trade, and invite all *Holland* to come over, he pretending to be afraid of no Nation in the World; quite contrary to the King of *China*, who being afraid of every Body, forbids all Strangers trading in his Kingdom; and therefore the Embassador must urge other Motives to obtain his Desire.

The King of *Cochin-China* has always shewn himself a great Friend to the *Portugueses* that trade in that Kingdom, and has several times offer'd them three or four Leagues of the fruitfulest Country about the Port of *Turon*, that they may build a City there with all sorts of Conveniences, as the *Chinezes*, and *Japoneses*, have done. And were it allow'd me to give his Catholick Majesty my Opinion in this point, I should say, he ought, by all means, to command the *Portugueses* to accept of the kind Offer made them, and to build a good City there as soon as possible; which would be a Refuge, and brave Defence, for all the Ships that pass by towards *China*: For here a Fleet might be kept in readiness against the *Dutch*, that sail to *China* and *Japan*, who of necessity must pass through the middle of the Bay, that lies between the Coast of this Kingdom, in the Provinces of *Ranran*, and *Pulucambi*, and the Rocks of *Pulussi*.

This is what small Matter I thought I could, with Truth, give an Account of, concerning the Temporal State of *Cochin-China*, according to the Knowledge I could gain in some Years I resided there; as will farther appear in the Second Part of this Relation.

The End of the First PART

BORRI.

The Second P A R T.

T R E A T I N G

Of the S P I R I T U A L STATE of *Cochin-China*.

C H A P. I.

Of the first Entring of the Fathers of the Society of J E S U S into that Kingdom : And of the two Churches built at Turon, and Cacchian.

The Jesuits the first that taught Christianity in Cochin-China.

BEfore the Fathers of the Society of Jesus went into *Cochin-China*, it was the Custom of the *Portugueses* trading thither, to carry thither with them from *Malacca*, and *Macao*, and the *Spaniards* from *Manila*, some Chaplains, to say Mass and administer the Sacraments to them, during their stay there, which generally was three or four Months in a Year. These Chaplains having no other Obligation but only to serve the *Portugueses*, never thought of promoting the Spiritual Welfare of the Natives of that Country, not applying themselves to learn their Language, nor using any other means to communicate the Light of the Gospel to them. And yet there was one of these who had the Face to publish in *Spain*, in a Book call'd, *The Voyage of the World*; that he had Catechiz'd and Baptiz'd the Infanta or Princess of *Cochin-China*, and a great many of her Ladies : Whereas never Infanta, nor any other Person of all that Royal Family, till this time, has shewn any Inclination to become Christian, notwithstanding we Fathers go every Year to visit the King, and discourse with all the Great Men of the Court; and yet the Infanta has not given any Token of being a Christian, or so much as knowing what a Christian is. And it may well be imagin'd, how fallily he talks in this Point, by the other Fables he adds in the same Book, concerning that Infanta, as that she would have

marry'd the said Chaplain, and the like. We know of none but some Fathers of the Order of St. Francis, that went from *Manila*, and one of St. Augustine from *Macao* to *Cochin-China*, merely for the Conversion of those Souls. But they meeting with no Success, by reason of the many several Difficulties that occur, they return'd to their Countries : Providence so ordering it, which had design'd that Land to be cultivated by the Sons of the holy Patriarch Ignatius, which was done as follows :

Certain *Portuguese* Merchants acquainted the Superiours of the Society of Jesus at *Macao*, with the great advantages that might be gain'd, to vance the Glory of God in *Cochin-China* if there were undaunted and zealous boursers sent thither; and particula one Captain earnestly press'd the Father Provincial, not to abandon a King so capable of being instructed in Holy Faith. The Proposal seem'd the Father very agreeable to the Spirit of our Vocation, and therefore with demurring upon the execution of it, made choice for this Enterprize of Francis Buzome, who had been Professor of Divinity at *Macao*, by Birth a *Genoese*, but educated in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he was admitted into the Society, and sent out for *India* : Together with a Cavalier, a *Portuguese* from *Cochin-China* was sent to him, to

Mistaken
Conver-
sions.

Japan, as he did. This was he, who being put into a Pool of cold Water in the dead of Winter, and expos'd to the Wind and Snow, gave up his Life for the sake of his Redeemer, freezing leisurely to Death. F. *Carvalho* being gone, F. *Buzome* was left alone in *Cochin-China*, with only a Lay-Brother to attend him: Being zealously inflam'd with the desire of saving Souls, he us'd all possible means for their Conversion, and to this purpose began his Mission at *Turon*. But as yet he knew not the Language, nor could he find any Interpreter that knew any more *Portuguese* than what was requisite for buying and selling, and some Words or Phrases, which the Interpreters of the Chaplains of Ships, who were there before the Fathers of the Society, made use of to ask the *Cochin-Chinese*, Whether they would be Christians? After this manner they had made some, but such as might rather be accounted so by Name than by Profession; for they did not so much as understand what the Name of a Christian meant: And this by reason of the Phrase the Interpreters us'd to ask them, Whether they would be Christians: For the Words they made use of, signify'd nothing more, than that they would become *Portugueses*; which F. *Francis Buzome* found out by this following Accident: A Play was acted in the publick Market-place, at which the Father saw one in the Habit of a *Portuguese*, brought in by way of ridicule, with a great Belly so artificially made, that a Boy was hid in it; the Player, before the Audience, turn'd him out of his Belly, and ask'd him, Whether he would go into the Belly of the *Portuguese*? Using these words, *Con gnou muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam*? That is, Little Boy, will you go into the Belly of the *Portugueses*, or not? The Boy answer'd, *He would*: And then he put him in again, often repeating the same thing to divert the Spectators. The Father observing, that the Phrase the Player so often repeated, *Muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam*, was the same the Interpreters us'd, when they ask'd any one, Whether he would be a Christian? Presently conceiv'd the mistake the *Cochin-Chinese* were under; who thought, that to become a Christian was only to cease being a *Cochin-Chinese*, and become a *Portuguese*; which to make Sport was express'd in the Play, by making the Boy go into the Belly of the *Portuguese*. The Fa-

ther took care, that so pernicious an Error should spread no farther, teaching those already baptiz'd their Duty, and instructing those that were newly converted, what it was to be baptiz'd and become a Christian, taking particular care that the Interpreters should be well inform'd in this particular, that they might afterwards serve faithfully in teaching of others; changing the above-mention'd Phrase into this, *Muon bau dau Christiam chiam*? That is, Will you enter into the Christian Law, or no? His great Diligence and Charity was so successful, that within a few Days he began to reap the Fruit of his Labours, as well by the Reformation of those who before were Christians only in Name, as the Conversion of many more. Nor was the Fame of his Charity and Zeal for the gaining of Souls confin'd to *Turon*, his usual Place of Residence, but spread abroad into other places; he labouring in all places to instruct, convert, and dispose the People to receive Baptism with such Fervour, and so great a Concourse about him, that in a short time those new Christians built a very large Church at *Turon*, in which the most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was publicly celebrated, and the Christian Doctrine preach'd and taught, by means of the Interpreters, then well instructed; all Persons being very much taken with F. *Francis Buzome*: Who besides his being a Person of great Knowledge and Vertue, entirely gain'd the Affections of those Heathens, by his great Meekness and Affability, insomuch that they all flock'd after him. This particularly hapned at *Cacchiam*, the City where the King resides, six or seven Leagues from *Turon*, up the River.

Church
erectd

Here F. *Buzome* made so great an Impression, that a place was presently allotted him for a Church, which was built in a very short time, every Body contributing to the Expence, and to the Work, according to their Power. Besides, he had a good House assign'd him, fit for to make a Residence of Fathers, who were to go thither in time to instruct that People in Matters of Faith: All which was done with the assistance of a most Noble Lady, who was converted, and in Baptism took the Name of *Joanna*. She not only took the Foundation of the House and Church, but erected several Altars and Places of Prayer in her own House, never ceasing to bless and praise God for the Mercy shewn her, in enlightning and

and drawing her to the Faith. All this his Divine Majesty brought to pass in the space of a Year, through the means of his Servant, F. Francis Buzome; whose Fame being spread as far as Macao, the following Year our Father Provincial thought fit to send him another Father, that was younger, with a Japanese Brother, that learning the Language, he might afterwards preach without standing in need of an Interpreter. This was F. Francis de Pina, a

Portuguese, who had learn'd Divinity under F. Francis Buzome. And tho' this second Year the Increase was not answerable to that of the first, as to the Conversion of Souls, yet the Advantage was much greater in the Sufferings of a cruel Persecution, rais'd by the Enemy that sow'd the Tares, who could not endure to see the Divine Seed grow up so prosperously in those Parts, and endeavour'd to choke it; as shall be shewn in the next Chapter.

CH A P. II.

Of the Persecution the New Church of Cochin-China endur'd, at its first Institution: And how I was sent thither to be assisting to it, by my Superiours.

Cause of the Persecution.

THE Persecution against the Fathers took its beginning from an Accident at first sight ridiculous, and of no moment, which afterwards gave them much cause to lament. That Year there hapned an universal Barrenness throughout the whole Kingdom, for want of the usual Inundation in Autumn; which, as was said in the first part, is so necessary for bringing up the Rice, the chief Support of Life in that Country. Hereupon their Priests, whom they call *Omnifants*, held a Great Council, to find out the Cause why their Idols were so angry with all their Kingdom, that seeing the People starve to Death about the Fields, yet they were not the least mov'd to Compassion for so great a Calamity. It was there unanimously agreed, that there was nothing new in the Kingdom, so opposite to the Worship of the Idols, as the admitting of Strangers freely to preach up a Law there, that utterly contradicted the Honour given to those Idols; and that they being justly provok'd at it, reveng'd themselves by denying them their desired Rain.

The Fathers banish'd.

This being agreed on as a most undoubted Truth, according to their Ignorance, they presently went in a tumultuous manner to the King, and press'd that the Preachers of the New Law may be banish'd all the Kingdom, that being the only Means to appease the Wrath of their Gods. The wise King laugh'd at their Pretect, knowing it to be a foolish Notion of those Priests, and

made little Account of it, having a great Esteem for the Fathers, and a Kindness for the Portuguese. Yet this Favour of the King avail'd them but little to oppose the Fury of the Ministers of Satan; for they so stirr'd up the People to press that the Preachers of the Gospel might be expell'd the Kingdom, that the King, not able to resist without danger of a Muiny, sent for the Fathers, and with much Concern told them, He was sensible of the Folly of the People, and Ignorance of the Priests; but that it was not Prudence to withstand a Multitude, so eagerly bent upon such an Affair as that was, which was designed for the removing so General a Calamity; and therefore they must depart his Kingdom as soon as possible. The Fathers having heard these Words with Tears in their Eyes, seeing themselves oblig'd to forsake those new and tender Plants of Christianity, yet ever submitting to the Will of God, went away to embark; but being got aboard, in Obedience to the King's Command, they could never get out of the Harbour, because at that time a sort of contrary Winds, which usually hold three or four Months, had begun to blow, which by the Portuguese are call'd *Moncao*, or General Winds. The King observing it, would not suffer them to return into the City, but sent them to remain upon the Shore, without any Comfort, and exposed to the burning Heat of the Sun, and the cold of those parts

is very violent. It was a great Satisfaction to them in the midst of their Sufferings, to see the Constancy of some of those new Christians, who never forsook their Masters, following, accompanying, and relieving them the best they could, becoming voluntary Companions in their Sufferings. F. *Bu-some* had here a new Trial of his Virtue; for the uneasiness of this uncomfortable Life, in a few Days, caus'd an Impotthume to break out in his Breast, from which abundance of Corruption ran, and was a mighty weakening to him.

An H. po-
crite Priest
of the Idols

The infernal Fiend, not satisfy'd to have brought the Preachers of the Gospel to this miserable Condition, made yet farther efforts to discredit their Doctrine, and Catholick Religion, making use to this purpose of one of those *Omfais*, who living a solitary Life, was therefore in great Reputation of Sanctity. This Man coming one Day, from his Hermitage, publickly boasted, That by his Prayers he would cause the Idols immediately to send Rain: And without more to do, went away follow'd by an innumerable multitude to the top of a Mountain, where he began to call upon his Devils, and striking the Earth three times with his Foot, the Sky was presently clouded, and there fell a Shower of Rain; which tho' not sufficient to supply the want, yet was enough to give a Reputation to that Minister of Hell, and to discredit our Holy Faith, every one saying, They had not yet seen the Foreign Priests obtain so much by their Prayers of the Great GOD, whose Servants they profess'd themselves. This Accident troubled the Fathers more than the Misery they liv'd in; but Providence comforted them by the means of the Lady *Joanna* above-mention'd. She, as it were, with a Prophectic Spirit, bid them not be concern'd at any thing that had hapned; for in a little time God would make the Hypocrite of that *Omfai*, and the Vanity of his Idols, known to all Men, by destroying the Reputation he had gain'd till then; all which was verified to a tittle soon after. For the Fame of his Sanctity being spread abroad upon account of the Rain, and coming to the King's Ear, he presently sent for him, and gave him an Apartment in the Palace. There he fell in Love with one of the King's Concubines, and found no difficulty to accomplish his Design; but the matter being known, tho' in *Cochin-*

China this be accounted a most heinous Crime, and it be Death to have to do with a Woman the King has once touch'd; yet they could not proceed to Execution against him, as being a Person Sacred among them, but according to the Form appointed by their Laws. The King therefore gave the Sentence, That the *Omfai* should vanish; but that he should neither go East, West, North, nor South, nor through any part whatsoever of his Kingdom. This Decree being publish'd, was immediately executed in such manner, that the *Omfai* vanish'd with great shame, and was never more seen in the Kingdom, nor out of it.

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But the Devil being enrag'd, vented his Fury against God's Servants, stirring up the People to fire the Church in *Turon*, to the great Grief of the Fathers, who beheld all from the Shore without hopes of redress.

The
Church
burnt

In the mean while the News of the Fathers Misfortune was spread all about the neighbouring Countries, and even as far as *Macao*, which was a great trouble to the Fathers of that College, who pitying their Brethren, resolv'd to send them some Relief by a *Portuguese* Vessel that was ready to sail to *Cochin-China*; and the Fathers judg'd the Business might succeed the better, if two Fathers going in it, one had the Name of Chaplain of the Ship, to return in it; and that the *Cochin-Chineses* might have no cause to complain, or be incens'd, he that remain'd was to go disguis'd: F. *Peter Marques*, a *Portuguese*, was appointed Chaplain; and I had the good Fortune to be his Companion, Obedience so ordering it: For tho' I had been destin'd for *China* by our Father General, I freely and affectionately embraced the opportunity of dedicating my self to God in the Mission of *Cochin-China*, and for the Comfort of those afflicted Fathers, seeing my self quite shut out of *China*, by Reason of the Persecution rais'd there. I set out from *Macao* in the Habit of a Slave, and soon arriv'd in *Cochin-China* upon my Birth-Day, which was very near opening the way for me to a blessed Life; but it pleas'd Providence to order Matters otherwise, either because my Sins made me unworthy of such a Mercy, or for other Causes only known to God: As the Vessel was entering the Harbour, upon which there were abundance of the Country People, there hapned, I know not how, a Quarrel between two *Portuguese*, and one of

The Au-
thor in
*Cochin-
China.*

ORRI.

of them falling down for dead the other leap'd into the Sea to escape the wounded Man's Friends and Companions, who would have kill'd him. He swam a-while, but being tir'd, drew towards the Ship again, to save himself from sinking, and endeavouring to catch hold could not, because they were ready above with Half-pikes, Javelins, and Swords, to wound him. I seeing him in that distress, endeavour'd to relieve him; and tho' I was in a servile Habit, ran among them, and calling out to one, and pulling another, took such Pains that I appeas'd them. The *Cochin Chinese* who were aboard the Ship, seeing the *Portugueses* pacified at the sight of a Slave, began presently to suspect the matter; and knowing by Experience, that the *Portugueses*, when in a Passion, are not so easily quell'd, unless Religious Men interpose, said to one another, This Man is certainly no Slave, as his Habit seems to suggest; and being no Merchant, as the rest are, he is certainly one of their Religious Men, that endeavours, contrary to the King's Command, to be conceal'd in our Country, but we will discover him to the King himself, that he may be punish'd as he deserves. Immediately they flock'd about me, and tho' I did not understand their Language, yet I plainly perceiv'd they had all a Jealousie of me; and notwithstanding all my Endeavours not to discover my self, I could not prevent their sending Advice to Court. When I had fixt my self as to this point, believing I was certainly a dead Man, I resolv'd to die as what I was: Accordingly I put on my Habit of the Society, a Surplice over it, and a Stole about my Neck; and in that Habit I began publickly to preach the Faith of Christ by means of the Interpreter; then erecting an Altar on the Shore, I said Mass, and gave the Communion to the *Portugueses* that were present, standing ready for whatsoever it should please God to appoint: But it pleas'd him not that I should then shed my Blood for him. Whilst my Cause was in hand, it rain'd so abundantly Day and Night, without ever ceasing, that every Man apply'd himself to tilling of the Ground, and sowing of Rice, and perhaps reflecting that they had obtain'd that at my Arrival, which they had so long wish'd for, looking upon it as a good Omen; and concluding it was not the Fault of the Fathers that they had wanted Rain, they repented them of all they had done

against us, and never gave us any farther trouble, but suffer'd us to live freely throughout the Kingdom.

Matters being thus pacified, I resolv'd to go look out F. *Buzome*, and his Companion, since I was gone thither to that end; and whilst I was endeavouring to hear some News of him, the Report of my Arrival being spread about the City, that Lady *Joanna* above-mention'd found me out. By her I understood, that F. *Francis de Pina*, with the *Japoneze* Brother, had been privately convey'd by *Japoneze* Christians to the City *Faisó*, all People certainly concluding that the Fathers were then got out of the Kingdom. Upon this Information, F. *Peter Marques*, who knew the Language of *Japan* very well, would have us go to *Faisó*, where we found F. *Francis de Pina*, who was there hid, but very well used by those good *Japoneze* Christians, to whom he privately administered the Sacraments. We receiv'd incredible Joy in meeting: For besides the general Charity of Religion, we had been Companions, and great Friends, in the College of *Macao*; and the Kindness of the *Japonezes* was extraordinary, for they treated us during a Fortnight very splendidly, with great Demonstrations of Affection and Joy.

Here I also understood how, through God's special Providence, F. *Buzome* was also safe in the Kingdom, as if God had particularly defended him for the good of that Mission, where whilst he was upon the Strand amidst so many Afflictions, and with that Imposthume in his Breast, the Governour of *Pulacambi* came to *Turon*; who seeing that Man so ill us'd, that he look'd like a walking Ghost, being mov'd to Compassion ask'd who he was, and what Misfortune had brought him to that miserable Condition. He was told all that had happen'd; and that the want of Rain being laid to his and his Companion's Charge, he had been banish'd by the King's Order. The Governour was not a little amaz'd, and laugh'd to think that this should be attributed to a poor Religious Man, which could no way depend of him; therefore he order'd him to be taken from that open Shore, and carry'd into one of his Gallies, in which he carry'd him to his Province, entertain'd him in his own House, had him look'd after by the most skilful Physicians in that City, and made his own Children attend him during a whole Year; for so long his sickness lasted:

All Men admiring that a Heathen should behave himself so charitably towards a Stranger utterly unknown to him only out of mere natural Compassion.

Thus we were four Priests of the Society in *Cochin-China*: *F. Buzome*, at *Pulucambi*, 150 Miles from the Port of *Turon*; *F. Peter Marques* remain'd at *Faisó*, as Superiour, and to serve the *Japoneſes*; keeping *F. Francis de Pina* for his Companion: And I return'd to *Turon*, there to serve the *Portugueſes*, to ſay Maſs, preach to them, and hear their Confeſſions, and learning at the ſame time the Language of *Cochin-China*, endeavour'd, with the aſſiſtance of the Interpreters, to perſuade ſome of thoſe Heathens to be baptiz'd; and above all, to encourage and confirm thoſe that were already baptiz'd. Soon after my firſt coming, there hapn'd to mean Accident worthy to be known: I was call'd to make a dying Infant a Chriſtian; I did ſo, and ſoon after it gave up the Ghoſt. I was concern'd, not knowing where to bury it, which made me think of fixing a Burying-place for all the Chriſtians that ſhould die for the future. To this purpoſe I order'd a Maſt of a Ship that was caſt by, to be ſunk, and a ſtately Croſs to be made of it: Which done, I invited all the *Portugueſes*, and Sailors, to help to carry it to the appointed place, I attending with my Surplice and Stole. Whilſt the Hole was digging to ereſt the

Holy Croſs, a Company of Armed Men came out from the Neighbourhood, who with their Muſkets threatned to kill me; which I perceiving, cauſ'd the Interpreter to endeavour to know of them, what it was they would be at? And was told, they would not have that Croſs ereſt there, becauſe they fear'd the Devils would infeſt their Houſes. I answer'd, It would be quite contrary; becauſe the Croſs had ſuch a Virtue, that it put the Devil to flight: With this they were ſo well pleas'd, that laying down their Arms, they all ran to help: And thus the Croſs was ſet up to the general Satisfaction of all Parties, and the Burial-place fix'd. Soon after the Governour of *Pulucambi* came thither, and brought *F. Buzome* with him; and we met all four Fathers of the Society, to our unſpeakable Joy at *Faiſó*, together with two Lay-Brothers, one a *Portugueſe*, and the other a *Japoneſe*. After a charitable Reception, we conſulted together about the moſt proper means of promoting that Miſſion. It was unanimouſly agreed, that *F. Peter Marques* ſhould ſtay at *Faiſó* with the *Japoneſe* Brother, becauſe he was a good Preacher; and the other three, with the *Portugueſe* Brother, ſhould follow the Governour of *Pulucambi*, who earneſtly deſir'd it; which was accordingly done, as ſhall be here related.

BORR.

CHAP. III.

The Governour of Pulucambi introduces the Fathers of the Society into his Province, building them a Houſe and Church.

F. *Francis Buzome*, *F. Francis de Pina*, and I, ſet out from *Faiſó*, for *Pulucambi*, with the Governour of that Province, who all the way treated us with unexpreſſible Courteſy and Kindneſs, always lodging us near himſelf, and behaving himſelf in ſuch manner, that there being no human Motives to incline him ſo to do, it plainly appear'd to be the Work of Providence.

He appointed a Gally only to carry us and our Interpreters, not ſuſtaining ſo much as our Baggage to be put aboard it, but order'd another Boat for it. In this eaſie manner we travell'd twelve

large Days Journey, putting into a Port Morning and Evening, and all the Ports being near great Towns or Cities of the Province of *Quangbia*, in which Province the Governour had as much Power as in his own of *Pulucambi*; all People ran to pay their Reſpects and Acknowledgments, bringing him rich Preſents, the firſt of which always fell to our ſhare, he himſelf ſo ordering it, every one admiring to ſee us ſo honour'd; which gain'd us much Eſteem and Reputation among thoſe People, that being the deſign of the Governour: And this was much forwarded by the great

great
goodneſs
of the Go-
vernour of
the Province.

BORRI.

account he made of our Intelligences, when any Criminal was to be punish'd : For we no sooner open'd our Mouths, but we obtain'd all we desir'd ; by which means we not only gain'd the Reputation of being great with the Governour, but of having Compassion and Kindness for those People, who therefore lov'd and respected us. Besides, during the whole Voyage, he treated us as if we had been some great Lords, contriving Sports and Pastimes in all parts, causing the Gallies sometimes to represent a Sea-fight, sometimes to row for Rewards. Nor did there a Day pass but he came aboard our Gally to visit us, seeming much pleas'd with our Conversation, especially when we discours'd of Religion and our Holy Faith. In this manner we came to the Province of *Pulucambi*, through which we had still some Days Journey to make, before we arriv'd at the Governour's Palace, who for our greater Diversion would have us travel by Land. To this purpose he order'd seven Elephants to be provided ; and the more to honour us, would have one for each, causing an hundred Men, some on Horseback, and some a Foot, to attend us : And the Journey being for Recreation, we spent eight Days in it, being Royally entertain'd wheresoever we came ; but particularly in the House of a Sister of his, we had a most splendid Entertainment, not only for the Variety and Number of Dishes, but much more for the Rarity of the Dressing, all things being dress'd after the *European* manner, tho' neither the Governour, nor any of the Family were to taste of them.

His Grandeur, and Affection to the Fathers.

Being at length come to the Governour's Palace, all the Entertainments and Dainties of the Journey concluded in such a Reception as he us'd to make for Kings and Great Princes, treating us for eight Days together in most splendid manner, making us sit in his Royal Throne, and eating with us himself in publick, with his Wife and Children ; to the great astonishment of all that City, where it was unanimously affirm'd, such a Reception had never been seen, unless it were for some Royal Person : And this was the Cause of the Report generally spread throughout the Kingdom, that we were a King's Sons, and were come thither about Matter of great Concern ; which being known by the Governour, he was mightily pleas'd, and before the chiefest Men of the Court he publickly said, *It is very true,*

that the Fathers were the Sons of a King, for they were Angels, come thither, not for any Want or Necessity of their own, being provided with all Things in their own Countries, but only out of pure Zeal to save their Souls : And therefore he advis'd them, to give ear to the Fathers, and observe the Law they would preach to them, learn the Doctrine they taught, and receive the Faith they deliver'd : For (said he) I have often discours'd and convers'd with these Men, and plainly perceive by the Doctrine they teach, that there is no true Law but theirs, nor any Way but that they shew, which leads to Eternal Salvation. But take heed what you do ; for unless you learn that true Doctrine, which I, your Chief, bring to you by means of these Fathers, your Neglect and Infidelity will be punish'd eternally in Hell. Thus spake that Lord, becoming a Preacher of the Gospel, tho' himself a Heathen ; all Men being the more amaz'd and astonish'd at it, because of the great Conceit they had of his Wisdom.

After the first eight Days, we gave ^{The Fa} him to understand, that we would rather go live in the City, the better to promote the preaching of the Gospel, which we could not so well attend in the Palace, because it was three Miles from the City, in an open Field, according to the Custom of the Country. The Governour would not have parted with us, because of the great Affection he had for us, but preferring the Publick Good before his own Satisfaction, he immediately order'd there should be a very convenient House provided in the City *Nuocman* : And moreover told us, we might see above a hundred Houses that were about his Palace, and take our choice of the convenientest of them, to make a Church of it ; and acquainting him with it, he would provide all that was necessary. We return'd him Thanks for so many Favours bestow'd on us during our Journey, and those we still receiv'd. Having taken our Leaves for the Present, we mounted the Elephants again, and with a great Attendance went away to the City *Nuocman*, which extends it self five Miles in length, and half a Mile in breadth, where we were by the Governour's Order receiv'd with extraordinary Honour. He not being able to endure to be so far from us, came the next Day to visit us, to know whether the House we had taken us was convenient ; and told us, he knew that we being Strangers, could not have Money

and other Necessaries, but that he took upon him to provide every thing; and immediately order'd a good Sum to be paid us Monthly, and every Day Flesh, Fish, and Rice, to be sent in for us, our Interpreters, and all the Servants of the House: And not so satisfied, he frequently sent us so many Presents, that they alone were sufficient to furnish us plentifully with all things. The more to honour and credit us among all Men, he one Day gave Publick Audience in the Court of our House, in the manner as we said above was practis'd in *Cochin China*. Here several Criminals were try'd, every one receiving Sentence according to his Crime; among the rest, two were condemn'd to be shot to Death with Arrows, and whilst they were bound we undertook to beg their Pardon; which was immediately granted, and he order'd them to be discharg'd, publicly protesting, he would not have done it at the Request of any other, but to these Holy Men, who teach the True Way for the Salvation of Souls, (said he) I can deny nothing; and I am my self impatient to be rid of those Impediments that obstruct my being Baptiz'd, and receiving their Holy Faith; which is what you all ought to do, if you desire to oblige me.

way of
building

Then turning to us, he again desired we would appoint the Place for the Church, that he might give Orders for its speedy fitting up. We shew'd him a place that seem'd convenient enough, and he approving of it, went away to his Palace. Before three Days were over, News was brought us, that the Church was coming: We went out with great Joy, and no less Curiosity, to see how a Church could come, which tho' we knew was to be made of Timber, as had been agreed, yet it could not choos'd but be a great Pile, according to the space it must fill, standing upon great Pillars. On a sudden, in the Field, we spied above a thousand Men, all loaded with Materials for this Fabrick. Every Pillar was carry'd by thirty lusty Men; others carry'd the Beams, others the Planks, others the Capitals, others the Bases, some one thing, some another, and so all of them went in order to our House, filling all the Court, which was very large, to our inexpressible Joy and Satisfaction. One thing displeas'd us, that we had not Provisions enough in the House, to give to great a Multi-

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tude small Entertainment; for tho' they were paid by the Governour, yet it look'd like ill Breeding to send them away without some Refreshment: But we were soon eas'd of this Trouble; seeing every one fit down upon the Piece he brought, being oblig'd to keep and deliver it, and take out of his Wallet, his Por with Flesh, Fish, and Rice, and lighting a Fire, fall to Cooking very quietly, without asking any thing. When they had eaten, the Architect came, and taking out a Line, view'd the Ground, mark'd out the Distances, and calling those that carry'd the Pillars, fix'd them in their places; this done, he call'd for the other Parts, one after another, that every Man might give an Account of what he brought, and go his way: And thus all things proceeding very regularly, and every Man labouring his best, all that great Pile was set up in one Day; yet either through over-much haste, or the negligence of the Architect, it prov'd somewhat awry, and leaning to one side, which being made known to the Governour, he presently commanded the Architect, upon pain of cutting off his Legs, to call all the Workmen he had need of, and mend it. The Architect obey'd, and taking the Church to pieces with a like number of Workmen, rebuilt it in a very short time very completely. And we bless'd God, for that at a time when Christians were so lukewarm, it had pleas'd him to stir up a Heathen so zealously to build a Church, in Honour of his Divine Majesty.

And to shew how affectionately the Governour look'd to our Affairs, I will give one particular Instance, and so end this Chapter. In the Months of *June, July, and August*, the South-West Winds generally reign in *Cochin-China*, which causes such an extraordinary Heat, that the Houses are perfectly parch'd and dry'd up; and being all of Wood, the least Spark of Fire, that through negligence or other accident falls upon them, immediately takes, as it would do in Tinder; and therefore during those Months, there are generally great Fires throughout the Kingdom; for when it has taken hold of one House, the Flame soon catches hold of those that lie the way the Wind blows, and miserably consumes them. To deliver us from this Danger, our House being in the middle of the City, and to make it farther appear

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what Esteem the Governour made of us, he put out an Edict, commanding, That the tops of all the Houses that lay South-West of us, should be taken off; and there were so many of them, that they extended at least two

Miles; which he did to the end, that if any of them took fire, it might be the easier to prevent its passing forward to ours: And this was readily perform'd by them all, by reason of the great Respect they bore us.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Governour of Pulucambi's Death.

OUR Affairs advanced very prosperously in this City, and it was now the time, when the Divine Providence was, according to its usual Method, to give us a Taste of Sufferings, where-with God frequently tries his Servants; and so we ever see he gives such a mixture of Prosperity and Adversity, that they neither be depress'd by the one, nor push'd up by the other: And as the Primitive Church was founded by the holy Apostles upon these two Pillars of Prosperity and Tribulation, even so it pleas'd the Almighty, that the new Church of *Cochin China* should be establish'd by his Apostolical Ministers. The first Beginnings of this Mission were very successful, as has been seen in the First Chapter of this Second Part; but very soon after ensu'd that terrible Persecution for want of Rain, which had like to have ruin'd all. Afterwards, with the Favour of the Governour of *Pulucambi*, the Storms seem'd to be blown off, and the budding Vine seem'd to promise abundance of Fruit: But it pleas'd him that disposes of all things, that the Governour of *Pulucambi's* Death, like a violent North-wind, almost destroy'd all in the Bud. This Misfortune hapn'd as follows: The Governour went out one Day a Hunting on his Elephant, very well pleas'd, and the Sport drawing him on, he made no reflection that he rode all Day over a scorching Plain, where the Heat pierc'd his Head in such manner, that at Night he fell into a burning Fever; upon Notice whereof we hasten'd to the Palace to visit, or rather to Baptize him, if we found him in imminent Danger. He kept us with him two Days, we still pressing him to be Baptiz'd, as he had often said he would; to which he always answer'd, he was ordering his Affairs for that purpose, but came to no conclusion. The third Day he lost

his Senses, God so permitting, for Cause only known to himself; and perhaps that vain Honour he ever passionately covetted, was the Reward of the Good Turns he did us: In fine, he began to rave, and so continu'd three Days, till overcome by the Violence of the Distemper, he died without Baptism.

Any Man may guess how much we were concern'd at this Accident, seeing our selves forsaken in a strange Country, and destitute of all human help; but it chiefly griev'd us, that a Person so well dispos'd, and through whose means we had conceiv'd hopes, that the Faith might spread throughout the whole Kingdom, should die so in our Hands without Baptism. Abundance of their Rites and superstitious Ceremonies were perform'd at this Governour's Death, at which we were present till the last. It would be endless to relate them all, and therefore I will set down two or three, by which the others us'd by those Gentiles upon such Occasions may be guess'd at. First, Whilst he lay in his Agony, there was a multitude of arm'd Men, who did not cease to cut and make thrusts in the Air with their Scimitars, cast Darts and fire Muskets in the Rooms of the Palace; but particularly two, that stood on each side of the dying Man, were continually striking the Air about his Mouth with their Scimitars, and both these and the others being ask'd, why they did so, told us, They frighten'd the Devils, that they might not hurt the Governour's Soul, as it was departing his Body. These superstitious Ceremonies made us pity their Ignorance, but not fear any Harm to our selves, as follow'd when the Governour was dead: For we had much cause to fear being expell'd that Province of *Pulucambi*, and perhaps all the Kingdom, with the loss of all we had acquir'd towards settling Christia-

Heathen Ceremonies at the Governour's Death.

The Governour's Death.

nity, and perhaps worse. It is the Custom when any Great Person dies, for all the *Omfais*, or Priests of the Country, to meet together, in order to find out not the natural, but the superstitious Cause of his Death; and being agreed upon what it may be, immediately that thing to which it is attributed, is order'd to be burnt, whether it be a House, Garment, Man, or Beast. Accordingly all the *Omfais* being assembled in a great Hall, they began to argue this Point: We who were present, remembering the Persecution for want of Rain, there being at that time nothing extraordinary in the Province, but the Governour's kind Reception to us, and his assigning a House, and building a Church in the City, with such extraordinary Tokens of Affection for our Holy Law; did not at all question, but that these things being represented to them, they would lay the Death of that Lord to our charge, and consequently would order us all to be burnt alive, together with our House and Church, and all our Goods. Therefore we stood in a Corner of the Hall, recommending our selves to God, and preparing our selves for whatsoever his Divine Majesty should suffer to be decreed against us; when one of the *Omfais*, who was the eldest of them, and as it were their Dean, standing up, said with a loud Voice, That, in his Opinion, the only Cause of the Governour's Death, was the falling of a Beam some Days since in the new Palace; and he was the more apt to believe it, because all the Distemper was in his Head, as appear'd by his Raving; an evident Sign, as he said, of the Stroke he had receiv'd in his Head by the aforesaid Beam: All which he meant metaphorically, and in a superstitious Sense, and therefore it pleas'd the other *Omfais*, who all unanimously agreed in the same Sentiment: And so rising without more to do, they went and set fire to that Palace, which was all reduc'd to Ashes, whilst we gave Thanks to God for having escap'd so manifest a Danger.

This done, some other *Omfais*, who profess Necromancy, came to the Governour's Palace, to perform another superstitious Ceremony, according to the Custom of the Country. The Kindred of the Party deceased looking upon it as a great Blessing, that any Body inspir'd by an evil Spirit, should speak concerning the State of the Soul departed; and to this purpose those Wiz-

ards were call'd, of whom they all earnestly beg that Devilish Favour, he that obtains it being much envy'd by the rest. These Conjurers made their Circles, and us'd several Charms both in Words and Actions, that the Devil might enter into some one of the Governour's Kindred, who were there in a suppliant posture, but all in vain. At last a Sister of the Governour's, for whom he had an extraordinary Kindness, came in, and begging the same Favour, immediately gave manifest Signs that she was possess'd: For being decrepid, by reason of her great Age, and not able to go alone, she began, to the astonishment of the Spectators, to skip as nimbly as if she had been a young Girl, and the Stick she threw from her hung in the Air, all the while the Devil was in her Body, during which time talking in a raving manner, and doing many disorderly Actions, she utter'd several Extravagancies about the State and Place her Brother's Soul was in; and concluding her mad Discourse, the Devil leaving her, she fell down as if she had been dead, remaining so spent for the space of eight Days, that she could not stir for meer weakness, all the Kindred and Friends flocking to visit her, and congratulate her Happiness, in that she had been chosen among all the Relations for an Action (as they thought it) so glorious and honourable for the dead Man.

At length they began to order the Funeral of this Lord; and as in the Catholic Church it is the Custom to honour the Memory of Men renown'd for Sanctity of Life, by a solemn Canonization; so in *Cochin-China*, the Devil always mimicking Holy Things, the more to delude the People, it is customary to honour the Death of those who have been universally reputed just Men, and upright in their Actions, and adorn'd with Moral Vertues, with great Solemnity and Magnificence, Canonizing them, if we may so call it, after their manner, by eternizing their Memory, and giving them immortal Veneration. For this Reason, the Governour of *Pulucambi*, who by all Men, not only in his own Province, but throughout all the Kingdom was, for his extraordinary Natural Parts, reputed a Man of great Wisdom, and incomparable Prudence, his Government being adorn'd with singular Justice and Integrity, together with an unusual Inclination and Affection for all needy Persons, was judg'd

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Sorecery to discover the State of the Soul departed.

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not to require a doleful sad Funeral Pomp, as was due to others; but on the contrary, all Demonstrations of Joy and Grandeur, which might declare him worthy of Religious Honours, and to be added to the number of their Gods. This being decreed, they all endeavour'd to lay aside their Mourning and Sorrow, and to express all Pleasure and Satisfaction; and to this purpose all the Governour's Kindred, for the space of eight Days, sumptuously treated all the People, during which time, they did nothing from Morning till Night, but eat and drink, sing, dance, and play upon Musical and Warlike Instruments.

The Governour's funeral.

After the eight Days, the Body was carry'd in a Silver Coffin gilt, under a Canopy, to the City where he was born, call'd *Chifu*, three Days Journey distant, attended by a multitude of all sorts of People, dancing and rejoicing, leaving the Palace where he dy'd utterly uninhabited, that it might run to ruin, and no sign of it remaining; to the Memory of the Governour's Death might be lost in perpetual Oblivion, he still remaining alive with perpetual Praise and Veneration in the Hearts and Mouths of all Men. Being come to a spacious Plain without *Chifu*, they all fell to work upon a Palace, twice as magnificent and sumptuous as that the Governour dy'd in; and to make a greater shew of the dead Man's Wealth, they built as many Gallies as he us'd to keep, upon Wheels, for them to run upon dry Land. In the same manner they made wooden Elephants and Horses, and all the other Movables us'd when the Governour went abroad when alive, without sparing any Cost. In the midst of the Palace they erected a stately Temple, with a fine Altar, on which they placed the Coffin cover'd, and hid with such curious Workmanship, that the Hieroglyphicks, Carving, and Painting, greatly mov'd those Gentiles to respect. For three Days continually they perform'd several Sacrifices and Ceremonies, by the Ministry of five or six hundred *Omsairs*, all clad in white, who spent the time in Singing and Sacrificing, offering Wine, Oxen, and Buffaloes, in great numbers, the Publick Entertainments continuing these three Days, for above two thousand Men of Note, every one having his Table to himself, according to Custom; and each of them cover'd with above two hundred Dishes. At the end of these three Days they set fire to all that Pile, burning the Palace and Tem-

ple, with all the Perfumes and Furniture, only saving the Coffin with the Body, which was afterwards bury'd, and privately remov'd to twelve several Graves, that the People being always in doubt where it had been left, that uncertainty might increase the Honour of the new Idol, they adoring it, in all those places where they thought the Bones might be. Thus the Solemnity ended for that time, till some Months after, that is, in the Seventh Moon, according to their Computation of Time, it was repeated in the same manner as it had been perform'd at first; a few Months after it was done a third time, and so from time to time for three Years, all the Revenues assign'd the Governour of that Province by the King, being spent upon this Solemnity for those three Years, and therefore no other Governour was appointed during that time, they being perswaded that the dead Man's Soul, which was placed among the Gods, would continue in the Government for those three Years. However, his own Son was appointed his Deputy-Governour, or Lieutenant.

We three Fathers of the Society then in that Province, were present at most of this Solemnity; and tho' we did not attend at their superstitious Ceremonies, yet to avoid being thought ungrateful, and unmannerly, we were forced to accept of some Invitations, in one of which we were forewarn'd we should be ask'd where the Governour's Soul was; assuring us, that if we said it was in Hell, we should presently be cut to pieces. We were a little after publicly ask'd the Question, and answer'd, That no Man could be sav'd without Baptism; but that, through the Mercy of God, an earnest Desire to be Baptiz'd sufficing, where better cannot be; if the Governour, at last, had such a Desire, as it was likely he had, because of the Affection he bore our Faith, as was said above, and that he would have ask'd it, but that the Violence of his Distemper hinder'd, therefore it might be believ'd he was sav'd, and not damn'd.

The Fathers questioned concerning the Governour's Soul.

This Answer, tho' new and unexpected, in some measure satisfy'd them, in Token whereof they offer'd us some whole Buffaloes, some boil'd, some roast'd, which had been sacrificed to their new Idol, the dead Governour; but we refusing them, saying, Our Law forbid us to eat of that Flesh so defiled by their Sacrifice: Instead of the dead

Women on the other side, seeing themselves excluded the way of Salvation, cry'd out aloud, They would forbear being the Ambassador's Concubines, since it obstructed their Baptism, and was the way to Damnation. The Lady seconded their good purposes, taking upon her to deliver them from that Sin, and get every one of them a Husband. All Lets and Impediments being remov'd by these Promises of the Lady, and firm Purposes of the Women, one Day, which was the joyfullest I ever saw in my Life, the Ambassador's Lady richly apparel'd, and dress'd with Jewels, and nobly attended to our Church by Gentlemen, was baptiz'd, with twenty five of her Women, and as chief of them call'd *Urfula*, to the Glory of Jesus Christ, who by means of these few Women, open'd a way to the Conversions made by our Mission in Cochin China.

Zeal of the Converts.

After they were baptiz'd, we went in Procession to the Palace of the Ambassador's Lady *Urfula*, where there was an Oratory, in which she us'd before to perform her superstitious Devotions to an Idol. When we came in, we first sprinkled the House with Holy Water, and then the Lady, and her Women, courageously laid hold of the Idol, and throwing it violently against the Ground, beat it to pieces, trampling on it; in whose place we set up a fine Picture of our Saviour, which those new devout Christians falling down, devoutly worshipp'd, owning themselves his most humble and devout Slaves. Then we put about their Necks some *Agnus Dei's*, Crosses, Medals, and Relickaries, which they valued above the Gold Chains, and Strings of Pearls they were adorn'd with. Having obtain'd this Victory over the Devil, after saying the Litany, and other Prayers in the Oratory, now bless'd, *F. Bucone*, and I, return'd home with that Satisfaction and Thanksgiving that every Man may imagine. The Ambassador's Lady, and her Women, came after this, every Day duly to Mass, Catechize, and other Spiritual Exercises, with great Tokens of Fervour, and Christian Piety.

The Lady's Carriage to her Husband.

At this time the Ambassador, Husband to the Lady *Urfula*, came from Court, to depart in a short time upon his Embassy to the King of *Cambogia*. It is the Custom of that Country, when the Head of the Family comes from afar off, for the Wife, Children, and rest of the Family, to go out at least a Mile

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upon a Way to meet him. The Lady *Urfula* fail'd to perform this Ceremony, being then retired in her Oratory. The Husband wond'ring at it, and suspecting she might be hinder'd by Sickness, ask'd what was become of her, but understanding she was well, admir'd it the more, till coming to the Gate of his Palace, and missing the usual Reception, he began to mistrust she was angry with him. At length he went up, and into the Oratory, where he found his Lady and her Maids, with *Agnus Dei's*, and Relicks about their Necks, Beads in their Hands, and other Christian Signs, praying before the Image of our Saviour. The Ambassador was astonish'd at this sight, and his Lady directing her Discourse to him, bid him not admire that she had forborne the usual Complements to him, because she was rais'd to a higher pitch of Honour than he was, both she and her Women being Children of the true God, and Saviour of the World, Jesus Christ, whose Picture she shew'd him, saying, he ought to adore him, if he would be equal to them in Dignity. The Ambassador mov'd by his Lady's Words, and the Beauty of the Picture, with Tears in his Eyes fell down and ador'd, then standing up, he turn'd to his Wife and Women, saying, *How is it possible you should be Christians? Have you a mind to leave me? Do not you know that the Law the Fathers preach forbids Polygamy? Therefore you must either find another Dwelling-place, or I leave this to you, and seek out another House.* His Lady answered, *Neither need you depart, nor we leave you, for there will be a Remedy for all things: Wisely concealing for the present, the Prohibition of Plurality of Wives, to avoid that difficulty which would have bred a disturbance.* The Ambassador took Heart at these Words, and conceiving, as yet, that he need not be oblig'd to leave his Women; thus piously impos'd on, he said, he would be a Christian too, and follow the good Example set him by his Wife, and her Women.

The next Morning betimes the Ambassador came to our House, to tell us, that since we had made his Wife a Christian, he had a mind to embrace the same Religion, if we thought it practicable. Very practicable, said we, full of Joy and Satisfaction at so grateful a Question: For in case he were resolv'd, we would in a short time instruct him sufficiently to be baptiz'd.

The Ambassador instructed

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He was pleas'd, and because the Affairs of his Embassy took up the Day, so that he had not leisure to be instructed: Upon his Request we agreed to go to his House at Night, where we began to Catechize him, continuing it for twenty Nights, four or five Hours at a time, informing him in the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, from the Creation of the World, till the Redemption of Man, the Glory of Heaven, and Pains of Hell. It was no small matter for so great a Person, and so full of Business, to lose his Sleep to hear the Word of God; and he gave himself to them with great application, asking many very ingenious Questions, which shew'd his great Wit. In all our Discourses, our whole aim was to imprint the Truth of our Holy Law in the Heart of this Noble-man, and make it agreeable to Reason, that being made sensible of the great Importance of Salvation, and the Terror of the Pains of Hell, and being well inclin'd to, and convinc'd of the Certainty of our Religion, he might afterwards make less difficulty in the main Point concerning Polygamy, which was the only thing he stuck at, and which we till then had design'dly forbore to speak of. Having gone so far towards the Ambassador's Conversion, we began to expound upon the Commandments, where we inform'd him, that among Christians it was unlawful to have many Wives.

Convinc'd
about Poly-
gamy.

This Proposition was so unexpected, that like Fire that has Water thrown on it, the Ambassador presently cool'd, and taking leave of us, said, This was a matter of great consequence, and therefore requir'd time to come to a Resolution. This Answer was so displeasing and grievous to us, that returning home we spent that Night in Prayer and Mortification, praying to God with all the Fervour we could, that he would be pleas'd to put a happy Conclusion to the Work he had so well begun. Next Morning one of the most learned *Omissans* in the City came to us from the Ambassador, to examine the Reasons for the Prohibition of Polygamy. Among other Objections, this Man made one, in his Opinion, of the greatest force; which was, Why Plurality of Wives should be forbid, since Generation and Children were a Work of Perfection, and so agreeable to Nature, chiefly when a Man had a barren Wife, as was the Ambassador's Case, and might not have another to get Heirs

upon. We wanted not Answers concurring to our Divinity, but perceiving they were not satisfactory to them, because they were not us'd to our Theological Notions, we at last added a Reason out of Scripture, whereof the Ambassador had before some knowledge from us, and it pleas'd God, this made an Impression on his Heart, and absolutely convinc'd him. This was putting of him in mind, that God being so just, and the Law he had prescrib'd so agreeable to Natural Reason, as he himself had own'd, he ought without doubt to obey in this point, since God himself commanded it; and this so much the more, in regard that God creating Man, intimated the same to him, when there was most occasion for propagating Human Race, and yet he gave *Adam* but one Wife, whereas he could as easily have given him many more, that Man might multiply the faster. This Reason, I say, fully satisfy'd the Ambassador, yet finding it difficult to observe the Precept, as being a thing he was much addicted to. *Is there no Remedy, said he, or Dispensation from the Pope, or any other means, tho' never so difficult, to have this Point remitted?* We told him, it was in vain to seek any Redress whatsoever in this Case; and therefore, if he desir'd to be sav'd, he must dismiss the other Women, and stick to his Wife. Then the Ambassador lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, as it were struggling with himself, and press'd on by Truth, with a generous Resolution said, *If then multiplicity of Wives be inconsistent with my Salvation, let them all go in the Name of God; for it is pity to lose an Eternity of Glory, for a transitory Delight.* Then turning to his Concubines, who were present with his Wife, he discharg'd them all: But perceiving they laugh'd at his Discharge, as a thing that would never stand good; to shew he was in earnest, he order'd his Wife to pay them all off immediately, and let not one of them stay in his Palace that Night. After which turning again to the Fathers, *Behold, said he, I have readily perform'd all you commanded me.* Having obtain'd our Desires, we went home to give Thanks to Almighty God.

But the Devil found out a way still to make opposition, making use of the Lady *Ursula's* Womanish Temper; for she had not the Heart to turn away those Women she had bred up from

His Conversion.

sacrific'd Buffaloes, they order'd others alive to be given us; the Governour's Kindred afterwards sending us Elephants, that we might return on them to *Pulucambi*, with as much Honour as when the Governour was living.

The Fathers in distress.

These were the last Favours we receiv'd in Virtue of the Governour of *Pulucambi*'s Favour; and therefore returning home, we were left like Fatherless Children, forsaken by all the World. Now no Body minded us, the Allowance of Rice for our Maintenance fail'd, and we having but twenty Crowns must in a few Days have been reduced to great Misery and Want; and if any one fell sick, we durst not call any Body to breathe a Vein, because we had not wherewithal to pay for it; and tho' there were among them People very ready to supply the Needy, especially with Sustenance, as was said above, yet it was not convenient for us to ask any thing, lest we should lose all the advantage we made, as to the Conversion of Souls, because they would have said, we went not thither to preach the Law of Jesus Christ, but to supply our own Wants under the Protection of the Governour. No Body now came to our House, that first shew'd of Authority ceasing, and tho' we had learn'd the Language of the Country, yet they made no account of the Words of three

Men, left in the midst of infinite Idolaters, and despis'd our Doctrines, as an Invention of our own, carry'd thither to oppose their ancient Sects and Tenets.

BOI

Three Years pass'd after this manner, and yet we were not so much troubled at our own Wants, which God knows were very great, as to see every Day less hopes of promoting the Service of God among those Pagans, having during those three Years converted but very few, and that with unspeakable labour and toil. Things being in this posture, in some measure desperate, we being inclinable to believe the time was not yet come, when it would please God to enlighten the Darknes of those People, either because our Sins obstructed it, or for some other hidden Judgments of God. But when our Human Frailty shew'd it self most diffident of Divine Assistance, even then, the more to confound us, the God of Mercy shew'd the wonderful Effects of his Divine Omnipotency, that the noble Undertaking of converting Souls might be wholly attributed to him, we then owning we had no power to proceed in it, and that we might know experimentally, that *neither he who waters, nor he who plants, does any thing; but it is God that gives the Increase*; as will appear in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

How God made way for the Conversion of the Province of Pulucambi, by means of the Noblest Persons in it.

The Fathers dispersed.

WE having nothing to maintain us at *Pulucambi*, and converting no Body, dispers'd our selves into several parts: F. Francis de Pina went to live at *Faisó*, a *Japonesc* City, as has been said, with a design to serve those Christians, whose Pastor he had been before, and to live upon their Alms. He being well skill'd in the Language of *Cochin-China*, and talking of it naturally, never ceas'd there to preach out Holy Faith. F. Francis Butome went away for *Turon*, carrying along with him the best Interpreter we had, to endeavour to obtain some Alms of the *Portugueses* there, that might at least maintain us two in *Pulucambi*, in our House

at *Nuoecman*, till some Supply came from *Macao*.

Thus was I left in *Pulucambi*, solitary and disconsolate, without any hopes of the Conversion of those Gentiles. When one Day being at home, far from any such thought, I saw a number of Elephants before our Door, with many Ladies, and a large Retinue of Gentlemen, after whom follow'd a great Lady, and principal Matron, most richly clad, and adorn'd with abundance of rich jewels, according to the Country Fashion. I was much surpris'd at the unusual Spectacle, and Majesty of the Lady; and in suspense, not imagining what might be the design of the new

Conve of a g Lady.

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Visit. Going out at last to receive her, I understood she was Wife to the Embassador the King of *Cochin-China* was sending to the King of *Cambogia*, which Embassador was a Native of *Nuocman*, where we dwelt, and next the Governour the chief Man in that City, who was then at the Court of *Sinud*, treating with that King upon the Subject of his Embassy. After the usual Ceremonies and Complements, according to the Custom of the Country, the Lady being unwilling to lose time upon matters that were not to her purpose, *Let us come* (said she) *to the Business I aim at, I have been fully inform'd, Father, of your coming into this our Country and Province, and of the occasion of your coming; I see the holy and unblemish'd Life you lead, I know you preach and teach the true God; and being satisfied that this is most agreeable to Reason, am persuaded that there is no true Law but yours, nor other God but yours, nor any Way to Life everlasting, but that you teach; and therefore my coming to your House, is for no other intent, but earnestly to beg of you, that bathing me in your Holy Water, you will add me to the number of Christians; this is the utmost of my Wishes and Desires.* In the first place I commended her good and holy Resolution, exhorting her to return Thanks to God for so signal a Mercy bestow'd on her, in calling her to the Knowledge of his Holy Law, there being nothing in this World to be valu'd equal to the Soul's Salvation. Next I made my Excuse for not complying out of hand with her pious and reasonable Request; because, altho' I had some knowledge of the *Cochin-Chinese* Language, yet it it was not enough to instruct her in the lofty Mysteries of our Christian Religion; and therefore I advis'd her Excellency to wait for *F. Buzome*, who in a few Days was to return from *Turon*, having with him an excellent Interpreter, by whose means she would be instructed as the ought to be to her own Satisfaction, and obtain the End of her Holy Desires. *The great Fire* (reply'd she) *that inflames my Heart, will not allow of such a long delay: and the more, for that my Husband is hourly expelled from Court, with whom I am soon to embark for the Kingdom of Cambogia, where the Dangers of the Sea being frequent, a Storm may happen to rise, where dying, I may perish for ever.* She added, That it was enough if I discoun'd of Matters Di-

vine, as I did of other things; for she should understand all I said. These visible Tokens of her Resolution obliging me to it, I began the best I could to inform her in several Matters and Principles of our Holy Faith. Soon after it pleas'd God, *F. Buzome* return'd, and seeing this good Success, gave infinite Thanks to God. The Lady was much pleas'd with the arrival of the Interpreter, whom she had so earnestly expected; with whose assistance, and her continual application, study, and attention at Catechizing, which was done for two Hours before, and two Hours after Dinner, in a Fortnight's time she became perfect in the Christian Doctrine. Above all, what made the greatest Impression on her Heart, was the knowledge of Jesus Christ, true God, made Man, and humbled for the sake of Man; and therefore in some measure to imitate our Saviour's great Humility, she for the future came to our House, which was a good Mile from hers, not only without the State and Elephants she us'd before, but bare-footed, in Dirt, and upon Stones, obliging her Gentlemen and Ladies, by her Example, to imitate her Devotion.

In our Spiritual Discourses, and Exposition upon the Catechize, when we came to make mention of Hell, describe its Torments, represent the greatness, eternity, and variety of Torments there suffer'd, the horrible Company of the Devils, the Darkness of those infernal Dungeons, and inhabitable Dens; and lastly, the Torture of Fire: Both she and her Ladies were so terrify'd, that having by themselves, all Night, consider'd upon what they had heard, they came again the next Day to tell us, they would all be Christians, to avoid that everlasting Misery: But we telling them it was impossible, they being Servants, and consequently Concubines to the Embassador, according to the Custom of the Country, as has been mention'd in the first Treatise, the Embassador's Lady answer'd, *That Impediment does not concern me. It is so*, said we, *for your Excellency is your Husband's only Wife, and has not to do with other Men and therefore may freely be baptiz'd.* At these words, lifting up her Hands to Heaven, she gave such Tokens of Joy as if she had been beffies her self, the she had never been truly so much herself, as when she shew'd such Signs of Joy, for that which ought to be the only Cause of all our Satisfaction. He

Twenty fit baptiz'd.

Mocen

An ACCOUNT of Cochin-China.

their Infancy in her House, and lov'd them as if they were her own Children. Therefore some Strife arising between the Man and his Wife, he pressing to have them gone, and she opposing, the Embassador dissatisfy'd, came to us to justify himself, and desire to be baptiz'd, since the Impediment was remov'd, he being willing the Women should depart his House. We were about going to work, perceiving he spoke rationally, and particularly because he resolv'd they should not continue in the House as his Concubines, but as his Lady's Servants. But the Good Man making a stand as if he were thinking, at last said he had a Scruple to propose: *Since, according to what you Fathers have taught me, said he, God sees into the Heart of Man, and cannot be deceiv'd, tho' I desire to forsake and send away the Women, yet whilst they continue in the House, I plainly see, either my ancient Habit, or frailty of Nature will easily cause me to fall again into Sin; therefore methinks I do not proceed with due Sincerity in this Affair.* We perceiving, by the Embassador's Discreet and Christian Discourse, he foresaw the danger of being in the immediate occasion of Sin, study'd some proper Means to remove so considerable an Impediment, but nothing occurring for the present, he himself being very earnest upon the Business, propos'd a Method, which we stuck to as the best of all others: *Fathers, said he, the safest way I can think of is that you as their Directors powerfully persuade the Christian Women that were my Concubines, (for the Heathens I will infallibly make my Wife turn away) that in case through frailty I should be under any Temptation, they resist me resolutely; and so much as I bear a great respect to, and stand in awe of our Saviour's Picture placed in the Oratory, if the Women lie in that place, I will rather be torn to pieces than have any thing to do, with them in the Presence of that Great Lord; and they being thus secur'd against me, till there be an opportunity of marrying them, it will be known abroad, that they are not kept in the House as my Concubines, but only as Servants to my only Wife Ursula, and the People will be sensible I do not act contrary to the Law of God.* This Method was so well approved of, that the Day after it was put in execu-

tion. The Embassador was baptiz'd in great State, attended by Drums, Fifes and other Instruments, and he himself clad in rich Apparel. With him were baptiz'd twenty other Gentlemen, his best Friends, and he had the Name of our holy Patriarch *Ignatius* given him. After which, taking his Wife *Ursula* by the Hand, she renew'd the old Contract of Matrimony as a Sacrament of the Church. The Joy they all conceiv'd at their Baptism, and new Marriage, was unspeakable.

It now remain'd that the Embassador should depart on his Embassy for *Cambogia*; and he order'd, that the Ship which was to carry him, should have a Cross in its Colours, and the Picture of the glorious Father *S. Ignatius* his Protector, causing all the Jacks and Pennants to express the Religion he profess'd. Embarking with all his Gentlemen and Christian Women, he had a prosperous Voyage from *Nuocman* to *Cambogia*. When the Squadron appear'd, being well known to the People of *Cambogia* to be the Embassador's, they were all astonish'd, seeing Christian Colours set up; and therefore they imagin'd that the King of *Cochin-China*, instead of the ordinary Embassador, had sent some extraordinary *Portuguese* Christian; but their doubt was soon clear'd, seeing the usual Embassador land with a Cross and Medals on his Breast, among the Gold Chains and Jewels. This sight on the one hand, mov'd the *Portuguese* and *Japanese* Christians, who reside there on account of Trade, to give Shouts of Joy, and bless God for this new Off-spring *Cochin-China* had produced; and on the other, the Heathens could not believe that the Embassador, who before was observ'd to be excessively lascivious, should embrace the Christian Religion, which forbids all immodesty. But the Grace of the Holy Ghost soon appear'd to strengthen Human Frailty; for tho' the Embassador at his Palace in *Cambogia*, had double the number of Concubines, as generally us'd to attend his Wife, he order'd them to be all dismiss'd; nor did he ever lift up his Eyes to look at them, which made his Fame spread abroad, as of a Man of singular Sanctity and Vertue; and being reputed a Man of great Knowledge, his Example mov'd many of the most learned Persons of *Pulucambi* to be baptiz'd.



C H A P. VI.

How God open'd another Way to Christianity, through the Means of the Learned People among the Heathens.

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mes. GOD's infinite Mercy, and his ardent Desires for the Salvation of Mankind, finds out divers Means suitable to the several Conditions of Persons, which are as it were so many Ways to direct and lead them to that End for which they were created. Thus we see he himself in Person call'd upon his People, and complying with the Inclination of the Persons, invited the Wise Men by means of the Star; Demas the *Arcopagite* the Astronomer, by the Prodigious of the wonderful Eclipse; *S. Augustine* by the Knowledge of the true Light and Law, and the Confusion and Obscurity of former Errors; and in fine, he calls the ignorant Multitude, by the means of Prodiges, Wonders and Miracles. So it fell out in the new Church of *Cochin-China*; for when his Divine Majesty had by himself convinced some of the principal Persons, as has been shewn, next he call'd not only the learned and wise Philosophers and Mathematicians, by means of some Eclipses, as shall be shewn in this Chapter, but also the *Omsais* or Priests, who were hardened in the Errors of their Heathen Sects, to the knowledge of the true Religion, as the following Chapter will make appear. And lastly, in the next to that we shall set down, how he open'd the way of Salvation to the People, by means of several Prodiges and Miracles.

Astrology
in great
esteem.

Now to come to the manner of converting the wise and learned *Cochin-Chineses*, reputed excellent Mathematicians, by means of the Eclipse. For the better understanding of what we are to say, it is requisite in the first place to be acquainted with a Custom they have in this Kingdom, relating to the Science of Astrology, but particularly of Eclipses; for they make such great account of it, that they have large Halls where it is taught in their University; and there are special Allowances assign'd the Astrologers; as for instance, Lands which pay them a Tribute or Stipend. The King has his peculiar Astrologers, and so has the Prince his Son, who use their Art to set down Eclipses ex-

of the Calendar, and other matters, relating to the Motion of the Sun and Moon which we have, they commit some Mistakes in the Calculation of the Moons and Eclipses, wherein they generally err two or three Hours, and sometimes, tho' not so often, a whole Day; tho' generally they are right as to the material part of the Eclipse. Every time they hit right, the King rewards them with a certain quantity of Land; and so when they mistake that same quantity is taken from them.

The Reason why they ~~do~~ ^{much} ^{Ac-} count of foretelling the Eclipse, is because of the many Superstitions at that time us'd towards the Sun and Moon, for which they prepare themselves in very solemn manner: For the King being told the Day and Hour a Month before the Eclipse happens, sends Orders throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, for the learned and common sort to be in a readiness that Day. When the time is come, all the Lords in every Province meet with their Governours, Commanders and Gentry, and the People with their proper Officers in every City and Liberty. The greatest Assembly is at Court, where the principal Men of the Kingdom are, who all go out with Colours and Arms. First goes the King cloath'd in Mourning, and after him all the Court, who lifting up their Eyes to the Sun or Moon, as the Eclipse comes on them, make several Obeisances and Adorations, speaking some Words of Compassion for the pain those Planets endure; for they look upon the Eclipse to be no other, but that the Dragon swallows up the Sun or Moon; and therefore, as we say, the Moon is all or half eclips'd; so they say, *Da an nua, Da an het*; that is, the Dragon has eaten half, now he eats all.

Which way of expression, tho' it be nothing to the purpose, yet it shews that they assign the same Ground for the Eclipse originally that we do, which is the cutting of the Ecliptick, that is the Sun's Circle and the Line of the Course of the Moon, in those two Points which we call the Dragon's

Superstiti-
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Eclipses.

Their A-
strologic
Terms
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alike.

An ACCOUNT of Cochin-China.

Head and Tail, as Astronomers well know: Whence it follows, that the very same Doctrine, and the same Terms and Names of the Dragon, are common both to us and them, and so they give Names like ours to the Signs of the Zodiac, such as *Aries, Taurus, Gemini*, &c. And thus in process of time the People have invented fabulous Causes of the Eclipse, instead of the true, saying that the Sun and Moon, when eclips'd are drown'd by the Dragon; whereas, at that time they are really in the Head or Tail of the Astronomical Dragon.

Now to return to the Compassion they have for those suffering Planets, when the Adoration is over, they begin first at the King's Palace, and then throughout all the City to fire Muskets and Cannon, ring Bells, found Trumpets, ~~beat~~ Drums, and play upon other Instruments, even to clattering of the Kettels, and other Utensils of the Kitchen in all Houses: And this is done, to the end the Dragon may be frighted with the great Noise, and not proceed to eat any more, but vomit up what he has already eaten of the Sun or Moon.

Conversion by means of an Eclipse.

When we were inform'd of this Custom, the first Eclipse that hapned was one of the Moon, in the Year 1620, on the Ninth of December, at eleven at Night. I was then in the City *Nuoc-man*, in the Province of *Pulucambi*, where there was the Commander of the Ward we liv'd in, whose Son was become a Christian; tho' the Father, as proud of his own Learning, despis'd not only our Religion but our Knowledge; and we earnestly desir'd his Conversion, hoping that if he receiv'd the Catholick Faith, his Example would induce those of his Ward or Quarter to do the same. This Man came once to visit us before the Eclipse of the Moon hapned, and in Discourse we hapned to talk of it, he positively affirming there would be no such Eclipse: And tho' we demonstrated it to him, according to our Calculation, and shew'd him the Figure of it in our Books, yet he would never believe it; alledging among other Arguments for his Obstinacy, that if any such Eclipse were like to be, the King would doubtless have sent him Notice a Month before, according to the Custom of the Kingdom, whereas there wanted but eight Days of the time by us appointed;

was a certain sign that there would be such Eclipse. He persisting obstinately in his Opinion, would needs lay a wager of a *Cabana*, which is a Silk Gown. We agreed to it upon Condition, that if we lost we were to give him such a Garment; but if we won, instead of paying the Gown, he was to come to us for eight Days together, to hear the Catechize and Mysteries of our Faith expounded. He reply'd, He would not only do so, but the very moment he saw the Eclipse would become a Christian: For he said, if our Doctrine was so certain and infallible in such hidden and heavenly things as Eclipses are, and theirs so erroneous, there was no doubt but our Religion and Knowledge of the true God was no less assured and safe, and theirs false. The Day of the Eclipse being come, the aforesaid Gentlemen with a great many Scholars came to our House at Night, bringing them as Witnesses of the Event. But because the Eclipse was to be at Eleven at Night, I went to say my Office, turning up the Hour-glass in the mean while. An Hour before the time these Men came several times, calling upon me by way of derision to see the Eclipse, thinking I had not withdrawn to say my Office, but had hid my self for shame that there would be no Eclipse. Yet they could not but admire at my assurance in answering them, that the Hour was not yet come, till the Glass was run out, which they gaz'd at, as if it had been some wonderful thing. Then going out, I shew'd them that the Circle of the Moon on that side the Eclipse began, was not so perfect as it should be, and soon after all the Moon being darkned, they perceiv'd the Truth of my Prediction. The Commander and all of them being astonish'd, presently sent to give Notice of it to all the Ward, and spread the News of the Eclipse throughout the City, that every Man might go out to make the usual Noise in favour of the Moon, giving out every-where, that there were no such Men as the Fathers, whose Doctrine and Books could not choose but be true, since they had so exactly foretold the Eclipse, which their Learned Men had taken no Notice of; and therefore in performance of his Promise, the Commander with all his Family became Christians, as did many more of his Ward, with some of the most Learned Men in the City and other

Such another Accident hapned at the same time, tho' among People of greater Quality, and in a more eminent Place. Tho' the King's Astrologers had not foreseen this Eclipse, yet those belonging to the Prince at *Cacciam*, being more studious and intelligent, foretold it; but with a gross Mistake as to Time: For it was not of an Hour or two, as is usual, but of a whole Day, giving out that the Full Moon, and consequently the Eclipse would be a Day sooner than it was. F. *Francis de Pina*, who was then at Court, had given Notice of it to a Courtier who was very great with the Prince, being his *Omgne*; that is, in the nature of Master of the Ceremonies. The Father told him, That since the Eclipse was not to fall out as their Astrologers said, but as F. *Christopher Borri* affirm'd, the following Night, he should give the Prince his Master Notice of it. But the *Omgne* not giving entire Credit to the Father, would not do that Duty of his Office at that time. The Hour appointed by the Astrologers being come, and the Prince having Notice of it, he went out with his whole Court, according to Custom, to see and help the Moon, that as they said was to be eclips'd; but finding he was deceiv'd, and growing angry with his Mathematicians for their Mistake, he order'd they should forfeit the Revenue of a Town, according to the Custom before mention'd. Hence the *Omgne* took occasion to acquaint the Prince that the *European* Father, had, before this hapned, told him the Eclipse would be the Night following. The Prince was mightily pleas'd that the Fathers should hit right, where his Mathematicians had miscarry'd.

The *Omgne* repair'd immediately to the Father, to know the precise Time of the Eclipse; who having shew'd him that it was to be exactly at Eleven the following Night, he still continu'd doubtful of the truth of the matter, and therefore would not wake the Prince till he saw the beginning of the Eclipse. Then he ran to rouse him, and he coming out with some of his Courtiers, perform'd the usual Ceremonies and Adorations to the Moon. Yet he would not make the matter publickly known, for fear of utterly discrediting their Books and Mathematicians, tho' all then conceiv'd a great Opinion of our Doctrine, and particularly the *Omgne*, who from that time forwards for a

chising, diligently learning all that belongs to our Holy Faith. However he was not baptiz'd, wanting Resolution to overcome the difficulty of the multiplicity of Women, as the Ambassador *Ignatius* had done before. He forbore not nevertheless publickly with much fervour to declare our Doctrine and Law were true, and all others false, and said he would certainly die a Christian, which mov'd many others to desire to be baptiz'd.

Having talk'd of the Eclipse of the Moon, we will conclude with another of the Sun, which hapned on the 22d of May, 1621, which the King's Astrologers foretold was to last two Hours; but having conceiv'd a great Opinion of us as to this particular, for their own greater Security, they came to ask our Opinions concerning it. I told them it was true there would be an Eclipse of the Sun, the Figure whereof I shew'd in our *Ephemerides*; but I purposely forbore to let them know, that it would not be seen in *Cochin China*, by reason of the Moon's Parallax to the Sun. Now they know not what the Parallax is, which is the cause they are often deceiv'd, not finding the just time by their Books and Calculations. This I did, that their Error being observ'd, our Knowledge might appear the more: I therefore demanded time to find out the precise time, saying in general terms, it was requisite to measure Heaven by the Earth, to discover whether that Eclipse would be visible in their Country; and I delay'd the Answer so long, till the time of making known the Eclipse being come, the Astrologers satisfy'd that our Book agreed with their Opinion, without farther reflection, concluded the Eclipse was most certain, and advis'd the King to publish it after the usual manner. When the Astrologers had spread their false Prediction throughout the Kingdom, I gave it out that the Eclipse would not be seen at all in *Cochin China*. This Assertion of ours was carry'd to the Prince, who being doubtful in the matter, sent his Mathematicians to me to ask my Opinion, and argue the Point. This Dispute had no other effect on them, but only to increase their doubt, and hold the Prince in suspense, whether he ought to send his Orders throughout the Kingdom, as the King his Father had done, or publish the contrary; for on the one hand it wrought upon him to see that

An Eclipse of the Sun mistaken.

Eclipse, wherefore he thought it would be a Dishonour to him, in case it happened not to have sent the usual Advice; and on the other side, he had a great Opinion of us on account of the antecedent Eclipse of the Moon. Hereupon sending to consult me again, I answer'd, that having calculated the Eclipse very exactly, I found it could not possibly be visible in his Kingdom; and therefore he need not take any care to send Advice about the Country, for I would be answerable for his and his Astrologers Reputation, against the King and his Mathematicians. He at last rely'd upon my Words, and took no care to give Notice in his Liberty of the Eclipse, the whole Court and King's Astrologers admiring at it; and they enquiring into the Cause of the Prince's neglect, were answer'd, that he had better Mathematicians in his Court than the King his Father: By which they understood that some of our Fathers being there, he forsook the Opinion of the Natives for theirs. However the Publication they had made being irrevokable, the usual Preparations were made against the Day of the Eclipse, till the Hour being come they experimentally perceiv'd their Error. The Day was clear and not a Cloud to be seen, and tho' it was the Month of May, when the Sun is there in the Zenith, and the Time of the Day about Three in the Afternoon when the Heat is violent, yet the King did not omit to go out with his Courtiers, enduring all the burning Sun for a long time; but finding himself impos'd upon, and being much incens'd, as well

by reason of the great Heat he endur'd, as at his Ignorance of his Mathematicians, who had put him to that trouble without any reason, he reprimanded them severely. They alledg'd for their excuse, that there would be an Eclipse infallibly, but that they had made a Day's Mistake as to the Conjunction of the Moon, and therefore it would be seen the next Day at that same Hour. The King submitted to his Astrologers, and coming out the next Day at the same Hour, suffer'd the same Inconvenience of Heat, to the great shame of his Astrologers, who escap'd not unpunish'd; for he not only took away their Revenues, but order'd they should kneel a whole Day in the Court of the Palace, bare-headed expos'd to the Heat of the Sun, and to the Scorn of all the Courtiers. To return to the Prince who had got the better in this point, he writ to his Father in a jesting manner, That tho' he was his Son, he had out-done him as to the Eclipse, and had more Learned Men at his Court.

It is not to be imagin'd how much Reputation this Accident gain'd us among the Learned, inasmuch that even the King's and Prince's Mathematicians came to us, earnestly begging we would receive them for our Scholars; and upon this account the Fame of the Fathers was every-where so great, that not only our Knowledge in Astronomy, but our Religion was extoll'd above their own, they arguing from the heavenly Bodies to things above the Heavens, as I said before.

C H A P. VII.

How God open'd another Way to Christianity, by means of the Omfaiis, or Heathen Priests.

Conversion of a Heathen Priest. GOD in his infinite Wisdom fore-knewing of how great Consequence it would be for the Conversion of those Heathens, that some of their Priests or *Omfaiis* should be converted, because of the great Authority they have among all the People, it pleas'd his Divine Majesty to open even this way to his Holy Faith. An *Omfaii* whose Name was *Ly*, liv'd near to our House, and had the Charge of an Idol

Temple, and being a Neighbour had frequent Opportunities of conversing with us, and of coming to some knowledge of our Rules, Actions, and Course of Life. This pleas'd him so well, that proceeding still farther, he would needs be inform'd as to the Law of God, whereof we gave him a full Account; and coming to discourse of the Resurrection of our Lord, shewing him how he rose again, that he and all Men might

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rife again the laſt Day, he was ſo pleas'd at it, that being inspir'd by God, he ask'd to be baptiz'd, which was accordingly granted to him and all his Family upon Chriſtmas Night, which he ſpent on his Knees in Prayer with Floods of Tears, uttering theſe words, *Tu cum Bict*: that is, I knew not, as if he would have ſaid, Forgive me my God, for till now I knew you not. Then continuing ſome time very ſtill, as it were contemplating, he repeated the ſame words, making a ſweet Harmony to the new-born Infant. After Baptiſm he took ſuch an Affection for us, that he reſolv'd to come to us with all his Family, that he might live under our Rule; but being inform'd that could not be, becauſe he was marry'd, he concluded to live nearer to our Houſe, that he might regulate his Actions by the Sound of our Bell, even to ſaying the long Litany in his Oratory, at the time we uſe to ſay it every Day, according to the Cuſtom of the Society. And it is remarkable, that obſerving me at a certain Hour us'd to ſay our Beads walking, he would walk at the ſame time, to the amazement of his Country-men, who look upon walking as a ſtrange and ridiculous Action, becauſe they never going a ſtep but what is about Buſineſs, or to ſome Diverſion, look'd upon our Action of walking as idle, becauſe we went to a place to no other end but to return; ſo that the People flock'd to ſee us walk, and admiring the ſtrangeneſs of it ſaid, *Omfai de Lay*; that is, the Father goes and comes, goes and comes. Yet then Gazing did not make *Omfai* leave his Cuſtom, which tended to nothing but to be like us in all Points. He had but one Wife, and had liv'd about thirty Years, which was his Age, ſo ſtrictly up to the Law of Nature, that he had never, as he ſaid, to that time, knowingly deviated in any matter of conſequence from what was juſt and upright; and his adoring of Idols was becauſe he thought it contrary to Reaſon not to adore them. This ſhews how true that Doctrin of Divines is, to wit, that God never fails to have Baptiſm adminiſtr'd, either by the Hands of Men, as this was, or the Miniſtry of Angels, to a Heathen who lives a good Moral Life, according to the Dictates of Reaſon, and Law of Nature. This *Omfai* Ly wholly devoted himſelf to the Service of God, and after providing for the Maintenance of his Family, all he and they could earn was beſtow'd

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when.

upon our Church, taking ſpecial Care of its Neatneſs and Decency, and of adorning the Altars.

Nor was this all God requir'd of this his belov'd Servant; for he ſo inflam'd his Heart, that he apply'd himſelf to preach the Faith of Chriſt publicly, making the Myſtery of the Reſurrection the uſual Subject of his Diſcourſe, whereby he attracted and converted abundance, not only of the common ſort, but ſeveral *Omfais*; for tho' he was none of the moſt learned, yet his fervour ſo well ſupply'd that defect, that among thoſe who came to deſire Baptiſm, there was one of the moſt learned and famous Men in the Kingdom, whoſe Authority, he himſelf proving the falſity of the Heathen *Seſts*, immediately increas'd the Harveſt of the Church. This Man therefore took upon him to oppoſe the other *Gentiks*, eaſily confuting them, as being well acquainted with the Grounds they went upon; herein very much eaſing our Fathers, who not being ſo well acquainted with their *Seſts*, could not ſo well oppoſe them.

Other Con-
vers.

And in truth there was need of ſuch a help; for there is ſuch variety of *Omfais* in that Country, that it looks as if the Devil had endeavour'd among thoſe Gentiles, to repreſent the Beauty and Variety of Religious Orders inſtituted by Holy Men in the Catholick Church, their ſeveral Habits answering their ſeveral Profeſſions; for ſome are clad in white, others in black, others in blue, and other Colours; ſome living in Community, ſome like Curates, Chaplains, Canons, and Prebends; others proteſs Poverty, living upon Alms; others exerciſe the Works of Mercy, miniſtring to the Sick, either Natural Phyſick, or Magick Charms, without receiving any Reward; others undertaking ſome pious Work, as building of Bridges, or other ſuch things for the Publick Good, or erecting of Temples, and going about the Kingdom, begging Alms to this purpoſe, even as far as the Kingdom of *Tonchin*; others teach the Doctrin of their Religion, who being very rich, have Publick Schools, as Univerſal Maſters. There are alſo ſome *Omfais* who profeſs the Farriers Trade, and compaſſionately cure Elephants, Oxen, and Horſes, without asking any Reward, being ſatisfy'd with any thing that is freely given them. Laſtly, Others look to Monafteries of Women, who live in Community, and

Several
ſorts of
Omfais.

admit of no Man among them but the *Om-fai* who looks to them, and they are all his Wives

2 Tem- There are vast Temples with beautiful Towers and Steeples, nor is there any Town, tho' never so little without a Temple to worship its Idols, which are generally very large Statues, with abundance of Gold and Silver shut up in their Breasts or Bellies, where no Body dares to touch it, till extream necessity obliges some Thief to gut the Idol, without regard to so great a Sacrilege as that is accounted among them; and what is very remarkable, they have Chaplets and Strings of Beads about their Necks, and make so many

Protections that they out-do the Christians in praying to their false Gods. There are also among them some Persons resembling Abbots, Bishops, and Arch-Bishops, and they use gilt Staves, not unlike our Crostiers, inasmuch that if any Man come newly into that Country, he might easily be persuaded there had been Christians there in former times; so near has the Devil endeavour'd to imitate us. This will give us an Opportunity of adding here a Chapter of the Sects in *Cochin-China*, to give some Light how we may draw that People out of such Darkness, and bring them into the Light of the Gospel.

BORRI.

C H A P. VIII.

A short Account of the Sects in Cochin-China.

THE End of all Sects is either the God they adore, or the Glory and Happiness they expect, some believing the Immortality of the Soul, others concluding that all ends when the Body dies. Upon these two Principles the Eastern Nations build all their Sects; all which took their Origin from a great Metaphysician of the Kingdom of *Siam*, whose Name was *Xaca*, much antienter than *Aristotle*, and nothing inferior to him in Capacity, and the Knowledge of Natural Things. The sharpness of this Man's Wit raising him to consider the Nature and Fabrick of the World, reflecting on the beginning and end of all things, and particularly of human Nature, the chief Lady of this worldly Palace; he once went up to the top of a Mountain, and there attentively observing the Moon, which rising in the Darkness of the Night, gently rais'd it self above the Horizon to be hid again the next Day in the same Darkness, and the Sun getting up in the Morning to set again at Night, he concluded that as well Moral as Physical and Natural Things were nothing, came of nothing, and ended in nothing. Therefore returning home, he writ several Books and large Volumes upon this Subject, calling them, *Of nothing*; wherein he taught that the Things of this World, by reason of the duration and measure of Time are nothing: For tho' they had a being,

he Philo-
sophy Xaca.

said he, yet they would be nothing, no thing at present, and nothing in the time to come, for the present being but a moment, was the same as nothing.

His second Argument he grounded on the Composition of things: Let us in stance, said he, in a Rope, the which not being naturally distinguish'd from its Parts, inasmuch as they give its Being and Composition, so it appears that the Rope as a Rope is nothing; for as a Rope it is no distinct thing from the Threads it is compos'd of, and the Threads themselves are no distinct thing from the Hemp they are made of, and the Hemp has no other Being but the Elements, whereof its Substance consists: So that resolving all things after this manner into the Elements, and those to a sort of *Materia Prima*, and meer *Potentia*, which is therefore actually nothing, he at last prov'd, that as well the heavenly things, as those under Heaven, were truly nothing.

His Opin-
on, that al
this World
is nothing.

In the same manner did he argue as to Moral Things: That the Natural Happiness of Man did not consist in a positive Concurrence of all that is good, which he look'd upon as impossible, but rather in being free from all that is evil, and therefore said, it was no other thing but to have no Disease, Pain, Trouble, or the like; and for a Man to have such power over his Passions, as not to be sensible of Affection or Aversion, to Ho-

So of all
Moral
Things.

BORRI.

nour or Disgrace, Want or Plenty, Riches or Poverty, Life or Death, and that herein confist true Beatitude. Whence he inferr'd, that all these things being nothing, they took their origine as it were from a Cause not efficient but material, from a Principle which in truth was nothing, but an eternal, infinite, immense, immutable, almighty, and to conclude, a God that was nothing, and the origin of this nothing.

The World
how made.

As a Prelude or Introduction to his Sect, this Philosopher gave some Account of the making of the World under two Metaphors. The one was, that the World came out of an Egg, which stretch'd out so vastly, that the Heavens were made of the Shell; the Air, Fire, and Water, of the White; and of the Yolk, the Earth and all earthly Things. The other Metaphor he took from the Body of a vast great Man, whom they call *Banco*, whom we would call *Microcosm*, saying that the Mass of the World came from him, his Skull extending to form the Heavens, his two Eyes making the Sun and Moon, his Flesh the Earth, his Bones the Mountains, his Hair Plants and Trees, and his Belly the Sea, and thus applying all the Limbs and Parts of Man's Body, to the Fabrick and Ornament of the World; he added, that the other Men spread about all the World, were made of this great Man's Lice.

Another
Doctrine of
the same
Philoso-
pher.

Having establish'd this Doctrine of Nothing, he gather'd some Scholars, by whose means he spread it throughout all the East. But the *Chineses* who knew that a Sect which reduced all things to nothing, was hurtful to the Government, would not hearken to it, nor allow there was no Punishment for wicked Men, or that the Happiness of the good should be reduced only to the being free from Sufferings in this World, and the Authority of the *Chineses* being so great, others following their Example, reject'd his Doctrine. *Xaca* dissatisfy'd that he was disappointed of Followers, chang'd his Mind, and retiring writ several other great Books, teaching that there was a real Origine of all Things, a Lord of Heaven, Heaven, Hell, Immortality, and Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another, better or worse, according to the Merits or Demerits of the Person, tho' they do not forget to assign a sort of Heaven and Hell for the Souls departed, expressing the whole metaphorically under the Names of Things Corporeal,

and of the Joys and Sufferings of this World.

This 2d Doctrine being made publick, The *Chineses* receiv'd it, and above others the *Bonzois*, who are generally the meanest and most inconsiderable People in *Japan*, who being zealous for their Spiritual Advantage admitted this Doctrine, and preserv'd it in twelve several sorts of Sects, all differing from one another, tho' that which is most follow'd and esteem'd, is the Opinion and Sect that believes all to be nothing, which they call *Genfu*. These sometimes go abroad into a Field to hear a Sermon, that is a Discourse of Bliss made by a *Bonzo*, who treats of no other Subject, but to persuade his Congregation, that human Bliss is nothing, and that he is happy who values not whether he has Children or no Children, whether he is rich or poor, sick or well, and the like; and the *Bonzo* preaches this Doctrine with such strength of Argument, and vehemency, that the Audience being fully hent upon the Contempt of all things, which in themselves they look upon as nothing, suffering themselves to be in a manner transported, they express their Satisfaction and Happiness in this manner, that is often crying out with a loud Voice, *Xin, Xin, Xin*; that is, Nothing, Nothing, Nothing, accompanying their Voices with certain Bits of Boards they clap between the Fingers of one hand striking them together with the other (as Boys play on their Snappers) and with this Noise they are quite besides themselves as if they were drunk, and then they say they have done an Act of Bliss. The *Japoneses* and others making so great account of this Opinion of Nothing, was the cause that when *Xaca* the Author of it was come to his last, calling together his Disciples, he protested to them upon the Word of a dying Man, that in the many Years he had lived and study'd, he had found nothing so true, nor any Opinion so well grounded, as was the Sect of Nothing; and tho' his second Doctrine seem'd to differ from it, yet they must look upon it as no Contradiction or Recantation, but rather a Proof and Confirmation of the first, tho' not in plain Terms, yet by way of Metaphors and Parables, which might all be apply'd to the Opinion of Nothing, as would plainly appear by his Books.

But it is time to return to our *Cochin-Chineses*, who not receiving this most foolish and vain Doctrine, which de-

ors of
Cochin-
China.

nying the substantial Form, reduces all things to nothing, they generally throughout all the Kingdom hold the Immortality of the Soul, and consequently the eternal Rewards for the Just, and Punishments for the Wicked, yet mixing a thousand Errors with these Truths. The first of which is, that they do not distinguish between the immortal Soul and the Demons, calling both by one and the same Name *Maa*, and attributing to them both, the same Practice of doing Mischief to the living. The second is, that they assign one of the Rewards of the Soul to be Transmigration from one Body to another, more worthy, nobler, and in greater Dignity; as from one of the common sort to a King, or Great Lord. The third, that the Souls of the Dead stand in need of Sustenance and ~~Corporal Food~~, and therefore at certain times in the Year according to their Custom, the Children make plentiful Entertainments for their dead Parents, Men for their Wives, and Friends for their Acquaintance departed, expecting a long time for the dead Guest to come and sit down at Table to eat. We one Day confuted these Errors with Arguments which the Philosophers call *a priori*, and therefore told them that the Soul was a Spirit, and had no Mouth or other material part to eat, and therefore they were deceiv'd to think they could feed. And then *a posteriori*, for in case they did eat, then the Dishes would not be as full after they had done as they were before. They laugh'd at these Arguments, saying, These Fathers know nothing; and to solve both Difficulties, answer'd, That Meat consisted of two Parts, one the Substance, the other the Accidents of Quantity, Quality, Smell, Taste, and the like. The immaterial Souls of the Dead, said they, taking only the Substance of the Meat, which being immaterial, was proper Sustenance for the incorporeal Spirit, left only the Accidents in the Dishes, as they appear to our Corporal Eyes, to which purpose the Dead had no need of Corporal Parts as we said.

Any se Man may by this false Answer discover the Acuteness of the *Cochin Chinese* Philosophers, tho' they absolutely err as to the reality of the Argument.

They also err in respect to the Souls themselves, adoring those of Men who were look'd upon as holy in this World, adding them to the number of their Idols, whereof their Temples are full, placing them orderly according to their several Degrees, in Rows along the sides of the Temples, the least first, and so bigger and bigger, till the last are extraordinary large. But the high Altar being the most honourable Place in the Temple, is purposely kept empty, behind which is a vacant dark space, to express that he whom they adore as God, and on whom the Pagods, who like us were visible and corporeal Men, is invisible, wherein they think the greatest Honour consists. Such a multitude of Idols, by them accounted Gods, giving us occasion to endeavour to demonstrate to them, that there can be but one only God: They answer'd, they agreed to it, supposing those that were placed along the sides of the Temples, were not they that had created Heaven and Earth, but holy Men whom they honour'd, as we do the holy Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, with the same distinction of greater and lesser Sanctity, as we assign among our Saints. And therefore to corroborate their Assertion they added, That the vacant dark place about the high Altar, was the proper place of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who being invisible, and quite remote from our Senses, could not be represented by visible Images of Idols, but that under that Vacuity and Darknes the due Adoration was to be given him as to a thing incomprehensible, using the Intercession of the Idols, that they may obtain Favours and Blessings of him. And altho' according to what has been hitherto said, they seem to have an efficient and intellectual Cause for God, yet upon mature Examination of the Matter and their Books, we find that they certainly adore a predominant Element.

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C H A P. IX.

How God open'd another Way to the Conversion of the meaner sort by miraculous Means.

Frequent Apparitions of Devils.

IT remains that we shew how God acting conformably to the mean vulgar People of *Cochin-China*, who were us'd to see Phantoms, Visions, and Apparitions, the Devil often appearing to them, was pleas'd to shew some Miracles, to the end that declining in their Opinion of Diabolical Prodigies, they might own the only Lord and singular Worker of true Wonders. The Devils appear so frequently among those Heathens, that not to speak of the Oracles they deliver by the Mouth of Idols, which are in great esteem among the wretched Gentiles, they walk about the Cities so familiarly in human Shapes, that they are not at all fear'd but admitted into Company, and this is carry'd so far, that there are abundance of *Incubi* and *Succubi*. And among great People those Husbands account themselves happy, who know their Wives have such Familiars; for generally they have to do with none but marry'd Women, publicly boasting that they are worthy to mix with a Nature so much above their own as is the Devils. It hapned in my time, that a Woman of great Quality, Mother to two Sons who were Christians, envy'd by her Neighbours not so much for her Beauty, as for her dishonest Familiarity with the Devil, positively refusing to become a Christian, came to die in Labour, and by the assistance of the Devil brought forth two Eggs: Now it being held as most certain among them, that the Devil her *Incubus* was God of the Rivers, they did not bury the Body in a Cave, building a Chapel over it as is the usual Custom, but carrying it in solemn Procession to a River cast it into the Deep, together with the two Eggs, saying, Let her go to the Lord of the River, since she was worthy to have to do with him when living. Among the common sort this Filthiness is not esteem'd an Honour, but they rather account it a grievous Distemper when their Women are thus molested by the Devil, as we should their being possesst. These Women therefore understanding that the Religion of the Fathers

was altogether opposite to the Devil, they imagin'd they might have some Medicine against this Distemper, calling Holy Things as the Water of Baptism, *Agnus Dei*, and the like, Medicines, and therefore came to our House to beg such Medicines; and by the Grace of God all those that carried away with them any bit of *Agnus Dei*, were never more molested by the Devil, yet with this difference, that those who were not Christians saw the *Incubus* come to the Bed's-side, but had not power to lay hold on, or touch their Persons, whereas the Christians perceiv'd he could not come near the Chamber-door, which occasion'd several to be baptiz'd.

Tho' these *Incubus* Devils appearing in human Shapes, do no harm to the Body, yet sometimes there are others that appear in horrid and frightful Shapes, and the *Cochin-Chineses*, who have often seen, describe them after the same manner as we paint them, for example, with a Cock's Face, a long Tail, a Bar's Wings, a hideous Look, bloody flaming Eyes; and when they appear in such Shapes, they are much fear'd, being then generally hurtful to Men, sometimes carrying them up to the tops of Houses to cast them down headlong. We once heard a wonderful Noise of People in our Street, crying out very loud, *Maqui Maco*, that is, the Devil in a monstrous Shape; whereupon some Gentiles came running to desire us, that since we had Weapons against those evil Spirits, we would go relieve those distress'd People who were infested by them. Having recommended our selves to God, and arm'd our selves with Crosses, *Agnus Dei* and Relicks, we went two of us to the place where the Devil was, and came so near, that we only wanted turning of a Corner to be upon him, when he suddenly vanish'd, leaving three Prints of Feet upon the Pavement, which I saw, and were above two Spans long, with the Marks of a Cock's Talons and Spurs. Some attributed the Devil's flying to the Virtue of the holy Cross and Relicks we carry'd with us.

Incubi and Succubi.

Other monstrous Visions.

An ACCOUNT of Cochin-China.

Good
Visions.

These frightful Apparitions God has made use of to attract many to his holy Faith, yet not denying them good Visions, as will appear by the following Accidents, which hapned before me in that Kingdom. The first was, that as we were one Day in our own House, we saw a Procession of a vast multitude of People in a Field making towards us, whither when they came, being ask'd what they would have, they answer'd, That a most beautiful Lady came from their Land through the Air, on a Throne of bright Clouds, who bid them go to that City, where they should find the Fathers, who would shew them the sure Way to Bliss, and the Knowledge of the true God of Heaven. This made us give Thanks to the blessed Virgin, whose this great Benefit was own'd to be, and having catechis'd and baptiz'd the People sent them home well pleas'd.

The second was at another time, F.

Francis Buzome and I returning homeward together, such a multitude of People came to another place, who having paid us very much respect, told *F. Francis Buzome*, they were come to him to teach them what he had promis'd them the Night before when he was in their Town. The Father was astonish'd at their Demand, having never been in the place they spoke of; but examining into the matter, I found that God of his infinite Mercy had caus'd some Angel in the Father's shape, or in a Dream had given those People some knowledge of our holy Faith. The Fame of these Miracles being spread abroad, such numbers of People were converted, that the Church given us by the Governour was too little, and we were forced to build one larger, his Wife, Children, and Kindred, with many other Christians contributing towards it.

C H A P. X.

Of the Churches and Christians of Faifo, Turon, and Cacchiam.

What the
Fathers did
at Faifo.

F. *Francis de Pina* being gone to *Faifo*, a City of the *Japoneses*, as was said before, he there joyn'd *F. Peter Marques*, and they did great Service in that City. The last of them, who was Master of the *Japoneſe* Tongue, in a short time reform'd some of those Christians who were become Libertines, and kept Women, and converted many Pagans. The other who understood the Language of *Cochin-China* made many Christians, and having convinced some *Bonzos* and *Omfans*, by that means drew over many more to the Holy Faith; so that between *Japoneſes* and *Cochin-Chineſes*, that Church for Number and Religious Observance might compare with many in *Europe*, such was their Piety, Zeal, frequenting of the Sacraments, and other godly Works. The Church of *Turon*, which we said in the second Chapter of this Book, the Heathens burnt down during the first Persecution, was by God's permission rebuilt by means of the Fathers of the Society, who gain'd many Christians in that City.

At Turon.

At Cac-
chiam.

Abundance of People were likewise converted to our Faith at *Cacchiam*; which good Work was much forwarded

by the *Omgne*, who on account of the Father's foretelling the Eclipse so certainly, as was before observ'd, publicly affirm'd, there was no other true Religion but that the Father's taught. This was the State of Affairs there, when I came away out of that Country for *Europe*, which was in the Year 1622.

Afterwards by the annual Letters sent me by those Fathers, my Companions left there cultivating that Vineyard, I understood that there were still about a thousand converted and baptiz'd in a Year, and that Christianity flourish'd more than ever it had done at *Cacchiam* particularly. But now of late they write, that the King had forbid any more becoming Christians, and threatened to expel the Fathers out of the Kingdom, and this because the *Portuguese* Trade fail'd. Yet it pleas'd God this Persecution went no farther, the King being satisfy'd, provided one of the Fathers went away to *Macao*, to endeavour to persuade the *Portuguese* to continue the Trade, as it seems was afterwards done; so that things are now quiet, and the Fathers continue gaining new Christians as they did at first.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Kingdom of Tunchim.

WHEN the Superiours of *Macao* sent me into *Cochin-China*, they told me, they did not absolutely design I should continue in that Mission, but only to learn the Language, that I might afterwards discover the Kingdom of *Tunchim*. For this reason during those five Years I dwelt there, I almost made it my Business to enquire into, and get certain Information of the Affairs of that Kingdom, the Language being the same, as formerly it was but one Kingdom. I will therefore say as much of it as any way concerns *Cochin-China*, which has some dependance upon *Tunchim*, and this according to the Accounts given me by Natives of *Tunchim*, who came to the Province of *Pulucambi*, where I resided most part of my time; the rest I will leave to the News we shall receive from our Fathers, who are there still making further Discoveries.

A Description
of Tunchim.

This Kingdom, besides *Cochin-China* which belongs to it, contains four other Provinces, all extending equally in length and breadth. In the very Center of them is the Royal City of *Tunchim*, from which all the Kingdom takes Name, there the Court is kept, and the King resides, being encompass'd on all sides by those four Provinces, composing a Square four times as big as *Cochin-China*. On the East-side of this Kingdom is the Gulf of *Annam*, into which falls a great and navigable River that runs down eighteen Leagues from the City *Tunchin*, and *Japonefe* Ships call'd *Jonks* go up it. This River generally overflows twice a Year, in *June* and *November*, drowning almost half the City, but it lasts not long. On the South are the Frontiers of *Sinuva*, the Court of *Cochin-China*, as has been observ'd already. On the North of it is *China*, without the Defence of a Wall, the Trade and Commerce between the *Chineses* and *Tunchineses* being so mutual and constant, that it will not allow of Walls and Gates shut, as they are against other Foreigners. This is the Reason that induces the Fathers of our Society to attempt the entrance into *China* that way, knowing they shall not on this side meet with all those Im-

throughout all the rest of the Kingdom, and more especially about *Canton*. Lastly, On the West it borders on the Kingdom of *Lai*, into which *F. Alexander Rhodes* of *Avignon* made his way thro' *Cochin-China*; and this Kingdom, I am of Opinion, cannot but border upon that of *Tibet*, newly discover'd, which I am apt to believe, as well by reason of the extent and length of the Land of *Tibet* and Borders of *Lai*, because by the greatness and compass of these two Kingdoms, it seems impossible that any other Land should lie betwixt them; as also much more on account of what the same Fathers who were there relate of *Tibet*, who report that the farthest Province of *Tibet* Eastward borders upon, and trades with a People, who sell them Raw Silk and fine Dishes, like those of *China*, and such like Commodities, which we know *Tunchim* abounds in, and sell them to the *Lais*.

As to the Government of this Kingdom it is hereditary, and rul'd as follows: The Supreme Regal Dignity resides in one they call *Buna*; but he of himself does nothing at all, all things being left to his Favourite, whom they call *Chiuaa*, whose Power is so absolute both in Peace and War, that he is come by degrees to own no Superiour; the *Buna* remaining in his Royal Palace, quite cut off from all Management of the Publick Affairs, satisfy'd with an exterior Respect due to him as a sort of Sacred Person, and with the Authority of making Laws, and confirming all Edicts. When the *Chiuaa* dies, he always endeavours to have his Son succeed him in the Government; but for the most part it falls out that the Tutors of those Sons aspiring themselves to that Dignity, endeavour to murder them, and by that means possess themselves of the Dignity of *Chiuaa*.

The *Chiuaa's* Power is so great, that suitable to the bigness of the Kingdom, he is able to bring into the Field three or four times the number of Men as the King of *Cochin-China*, whose Army as was said above amounts to 80000 Men. Nor is it any difficult matter for the *Chiuaa*, as often as he pleases, to

cause the prime Lords of his Kingdom, such as among us, Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls, are oblig'd in time of War to furnish them at their own Expence. The *Bana's* Strength is not above 40000 Men for his Guard. Yet he is always own'd as Superiour to the *Chiuaa* of *Tunchim*, by the King of *Cochin-China*, and by that other *Chiuaa*, we observ'd in the first Book to be fled into the Province bordering upon *China*, tho' these are continually at War against one another; and the King of *Lais* bordering upon *Tunchim*, pays him a certain Tribute.

Therefore when we say this Crown is hereditary, it is to be understood only in reference to the *Bana*, whose Children always succeed the Royal Race being continu'd in his Family. This is as much as I thought fit briefly to say of the Kingdom of *Tunchim*, from what I could learn of it till my return into Europe.

Since then I have been inform'd, that F. *Julian Baldinotte*, an *Italian* born at *Pistoria* in *Tuscany*, was sent into that Kingdom to make some way for the Gospel, and arriv'd from *Macao* at the City *Tunchim*, after a Month's Sail. As for what the said Father found in that Country, what pass'd between the King and him, the Solemnity of his Reception, and the first Foundation he laid to Christianity, I refer the Reader to the Account given lately by that Father himself; and we are still expecting fresh Advices from the other Fathers, as F. *Peter Marques* a *Portuguese*, and F. *Alexander Rhodes* of *Avignon*, who we said before had been in *Cochin-China*, and are there still gaining Christians. We therefore hope both these Kingdoms of *Tunchim* and *Cochin-China*, will soon be united to the Flock of the Church, acknowledging and giving the due Obedience to the universal Pastor and Vicar of Christ our Lord on Earth.

THE CONCLUSION.

IT is not possible but that such as have least Inclination to the Discovery of the World, and are most affected to their own Countries and Homes, must be excited by this short Account to desire to see not only the Variety but the Truth of such strange things, which tho' they be not supernatural, may yet be term'd Miracles of Nature. Such are those I have said I saw in *Cochin-China*, a Land as to its Climate and Seasons of the Year habitable, by reason of the fruitfulness of its Soil abounding in Provisions, Fruit, Birds, and Beasts, and the Sea, in choice and delicious Fish; and most healthy, because of the excellent Temper of the Air, inasmuch that those People do not yet know what the Plague is. It is rich in Gold, Silver, Silk, *Calamba*, and other things of great value, fit for Trade by reason of the Ports and resort of all Nations: Peaceable, because of their loving, generous, and sweet Disposition: And lastly secure, not only by the Valour and Bravery of the *Cochin-Chinenses* accounted such by other Countries, and their Store of Arms, and Skill in managing them; but even by Nature, which has shut it in on the one side by

Alps, and uncouth Mountains of the *Kemois*. This is that part of the Earth call'd *Cochin-China*, which wants nothing to make it a part of Heaven, but that God should send thither a great many of his Angels, so *S. John Chrysostom* calls Apostolical Men, and Preachers of the Gospel. How easily would the Faith be spread abroad in this Kingdom of *Cochin-China*, where there are not those Difficulties which we Fathers of the Society dispers'd about the *East*, do meet with in other Countries; for there is no need here of being disguis'd or conceal'd, these People admitting of all Strangers in their Kingdom, and being well pleas'd that every one should live in his own Religion. Nor is it necessary before Preaching to spend many Years in studying their Letters and Hieroglyphicks, as the Fathers in *China* do, for here it is enough to learn the Language, which as has been said is so easy, that a Man may preach in a Year. The People are not shy, nor do they shun Strangers, as is practis'd in other Eastern Nations, but make much of them, affect their Persons, prize their Commodities, and commend their Doctrine. They do not lie under that


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the Grace of the Gospel, that is, the Sin of Sodomy, and others contrary to Nature, which is frequent in all the other Eastern Countries, the very Name whereof the *Cochin-Chineses* naturally abhor. In short, these People may very easily be taught the principal Mysteries of our holy Faith, they, as we have shewn, in a manner adoring but one only God, accounting the Idols as inferiour Saints, allowing the Immortality of the Soul, Eternal Punishments for the Wicked, and Bliss for the Just, using Temples, Sacrifices, Processions; so that changing the Objects, it would be easie to introduce the true Worship. That there will be no difficulty in making out the Mystery of the holy Eucharist may appear by the Distinction they make, between the Accidents and Substance of the Meat they provide for the Dead, as has been said above in this Second Book. All these things inflame the Minds of the Children of the Society, who tho' recluse and shut up in the Colleges and Provinces of *Europe*, have an ardent Desire to convert the

World. And tho' many of them put it in practice with the Assistance of the Holy See Apostolick, which with a Fatherly Care relieves the Mission of *Japan*; as also by his Catholick Majesty King *Philip*, and his Council of the *Indies*, who so frequently with incredible Bounty supply the *East* and *West-Indies* with Ministers of the Gospel, yet it is impossible that these two great Pillars which support other mighty Weights, and bear almost all the World on their Shoulders, can sufficiently supply all that daily occurs and is discover'd. I therefore trust in God, that his Divine Providence will rouse up some generous Soul, inflam'd with the Zeal of God's Honour, to send and maintain some Evangelical Ministers, who satisfy'd with a religious and poor Sustenance, may convey the Food of the Gospel not only throughout *Cochin-China*, but unto the great Kingdom of *Tunchin*, founding a Church and Christian Flock that may compare with the most renowned in the World.

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